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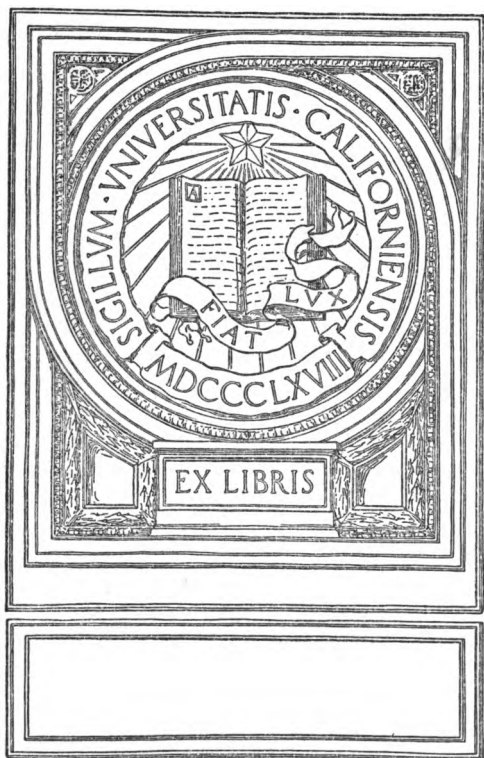
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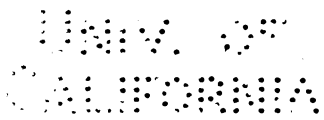
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The Critical review of theological and philosophical ..



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THE  CALIFORNIA

CRITICAL REVIEW

OF

THEOLOGICAL & PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

EDITED BY

PROFESSOR S. D. F. SALMOND, D.D.

VOL. IV.

EDINBURGH:

T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.

1894.

NO. 1011
AUGUST 1900

BR1

C7

V.4

PRINTED BY TURNBULL AND SPEARS

FOR

T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH.

LONDON, . . . SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT AND Co., LTD.

NEW YORK, . . . CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

TORONTO, . . . WILLARD TRACT DEPOSITORY.

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RECORD OF SELECT LITERATURE	

**Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey, Doctor of Divinity, Canon
of Christ Church, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the
University of Oxford.**

By Henry Parry Liddon, D.D., late Canon and Chancellor of St Paul's. Edited and prepared for publication by the Rev. J. O. Johnston, M.A., Vicar of All Saints, Oxford; and the Rev. Robert J. Wilson, Warden of Keble College. In four volumes. Vols. I. and II. Second edition. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 8vo, pp. 1010. Price 36s.

NEWMAN's well-known description of Dr Pusey's adhesion to the Oxford Movement is apt to convey the impression, although we may be certain it was not intended, that Pusey was merely a titular chief, useful to the real leaders because he possessed an assured position in the University, and in the world outside the University. This impression, if not altogether erroneous, is certainly incomplete. If the Oxford Movement is viewed from the standpoint of general Religious History, Pusey must be regarded as a much less important figure than either Keble or Newman; for the poetry of the former has ministered to the devotional life of the whole English-speaking world, and Newman's writings shaped the more serious thoughts of a multitude of cultivated men of every school, although it often gave a direction to their thoughts of which Newman disapproved. The position of the leaders is, however, reversed when the Movement is viewed solely in its relation to the Church of England. To genuine Anglicans, the fervours and the prophetic denunciations of Keble always appeared somewhat overstrained, and Newman's intellectual subtlety and speculative audacity created an uneasy feeling of distrust. Such persons turned to Pusey with a sense of relief, with the feeling that he at all events was a true son of the English Church, who could not be credited with foolish or dangerous designs. By the secession of Newman this feeling was strengthened; and in the crisis created by it, Pusey exhibited those qualities of leadership which the occasion most required. Had it not been for his stable English character, the Oxford Movement could hardly have survived within the Church of England. We are informed by the editors of the present volumes that it was the unanimous wish of Pusey's friends that Dr Liddon should undertake the duty of biographer, and that having accepted the responsibility, he henceforth devoted to it all the leisure that he could command. No better choice could

have been made, for Liddon was fitted by his literary gifts, and by his theological sympathies, to do full justice to one whom he described as "the most dear and revered of friends." Liddon's very limitations made him all the fitter to be Pusey's biographer; for although sometimes quickened and inspired by foreign influences, Liddon had but little insight into any form of religious thought outside his own communion. He was under no temptation, therefore, to become impatient, as a more philosophical divine might have been, with Pusey's innate tendency to measure all opinions by their fitness for promoting spiritual life within the Church of England.

There is not much in the narrative of Pusey's early years to suggest the future leader of an innovating movement. He sprang from the most stationary section of English society. His father, the Honourable Philip Bouverie Pusey, was a Berkshire squire, an estimable man, with good principles and strong prejudices. One of these was dislike to the teaching of the Evangelicals. The son was a dutiful and industrious boy, who became an excellent scholar more by dint of hard work than through the possession of special talents. His early letters from Eton, from Oxford, and from abroad, although they manifest kindly feeling, are conventional and commonplace. His father's opposition to a marriage on which he had set his heart, and which ultimately took place, caused him a good deal of unhappiness, and he used to describe his condition of mind by the then fashionable phrase, *Byronism*; but Pusey's *Byronism* appears to have been a very gentle form of the epidemic, to judge from his dutiful and rather conventional letters. But already his character possessed that magnetism which was so prominent in later life; and he must have been a considerable scholar, for in 1823 he was elected a fellow of Oriel College, the highest distinction in Oxford that could be won by competition. This brought him into the company of the most remarkable group of men that ever gathered in a single Oxford Common Room. Dr Copleston was provost, and among the fellows were Whately, Keble, Hawkins, Jelf, and Newman, while Davison, Hampden, and Arnold had only recently resigned. It is interesting, at a time when the proper method of examination is a subject of much heart-searching, to know the sort of examination set by the fellows of Oriel to candidates for the much coveted honour of a place in their society. Dr Liddon prints a letter from the late Dean of St Paul's, which gives a description of what the examination was at a somewhat later date, but it was probably of exactly the same character at the time Pusey was elected. He describes it as follows:—

"The idea of the examination was an old-fashioned one, rather pointedly contrasted with the newer modes then coming in, of setting questions implying a good deal of modern and of somewhat preten-

tious reading, in history, philology, and modern books of philosophy and political science. The Oriel common room was rather proud of its seemingly easy and commonplace and unpretending tests of a man's skill in languages and habits and power of thinking for himself. They did not care if he had read much, so that he came up to their standard of good Latin, good Greek, good English, and good sense. It created a prejudice against a man if he seemed to be trying to be flash, or to show off his reading, especially if he also showed that he did not know how to make good use of it."

Dr Liddon writes, that to belong to Oriel Common Room was itself an education. The distinctive characteristic of the Oriel mind was exactness of thought as the basis of exactness of expression; and everybody practised, more or less, the Socratic method of improving thought by constant cross-questioning. Among those brilliant debaters, Pusey, grave, slow, and silent, did not take an active part, but the discussions he listened to must have opened his mind to the problems which were already occupying the minds of some of the most acute and farseeing men of his generation. His fellowship brought him into closer contact with Newman, with the result that Newman conceived a high admiration for his religious character. On May 17th, 1823, he thus writes of the new friend whose name will be always associated with his own.

"That Pusey is Thine, O Lord, how can I doubt? His deep views of the pastoral office, his high ideas of the spiritual rest of the Sabbath, his devotional spirit, his love of the Scriptures, his firmness and zeal, all testify to the operation of the Holy Ghost; yet I fear he is prejudiced against Thy children. Let me never be eager to convert him to a *party* or to a form of *opinion*. Lead us both on in the way of Thy commandments. What am I that I should be so blest in my near associates?"

Pusey's life in Oxford was interrupted by a somewhat prolonged residence in Germany, whither he went, by the advice of Dr Lloyd, to study Oriental languages. This residence gave him a knowledge and experience which, according to Mr Matthew Arnold, would have changed the whole course of English religious thought had they fallen to the lot of Newman. But Pusey did not go to Germany as a seeker after truth and certainty, but as a loyal and convinced member of the Anglican communion, desirous to gather some of the fruits of German science, for the defence of the faith of his Church. He studied Oriental languages under Freytag, and became the friend of Ewald. He also took a warm interest in the conflict which was going on between the older Rationalists and the representatives of a more positive and historical Christianity. He thus formed the acquaintance of Schleiermacher, of Hengstenberg, and of Neander, and he became the close personal friend of Tholuck. His residence

in Germany was the occasion of his earliest publication, which was entitled "An Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalistic character lately predominant in the theology of Germany." Following Tholuck, whose lectures he used with a greater freedom than Tholuck quite liked, he traced the origin of Rationalism to prevalence of dead orthodoxy in the preceding period; he defended the theology of Germany from the extreme strictures of Mr Rose, who had pointed to the Church of Germany as an awful example of a Church whose faith had not been watched over by bishops; maintaining that the condition of German theology was full of hope for the future. The work was translated into German, and was well received in Germany, as a generous and timely word of sympathy from England, but it created at home some doubts as to the author's orthodoxy. Pusey himself lived to regret that he had spoken in such favourable terms of German theology; but there seems to be no grounds for charging him with inconsistency. He gave his sympathy to Tholuck and Hengstenberg, and in part to Schleiermacher, because he recognised their genuine piety, and because he believed they were destined to bring back Germany to the theology of the Creeds, and of the Fathers. This expectation was disappointed; for while the older Rationalism disappeared, and was succeeded by systems more philosophical and historical in spirit, there has been no such return to primitive and Patristic doctrine as Pusey had hoped for.

Soon after his return to Oxford, in 1828, he was appointed, by the Duke of Wellington, Regius Professor of Hebrew. His supposed leanings towards Rationalism created some misgivings, but his explanations were deemed satisfactory, and he was allowed to assume the office without opposition. He applied himself with zeal to the duties of his chair, and undertook the completion of a catalogue of Arabic manuscripts—an onerous task which his predecessor had commenced. Only a sense of duty induced him to persevere in an uncongenial work, which he found so burdensome that he was wont to envy the bricklayer, as he passed through the streets in the morning on his way to the Bodleian. He was, in fact, destitute of the instincts of the scholar pure and simple, who is satisfied to labour to add to the sum of knowledge, and he only took pleasure in scholarly work when he could connect it with practical religious interests. He complained that his labours in the Bodleian shut him out from the theological and religious life of the University, which was fast assuming a new aspect through the influence of Newman and his friends.

Dr Liddon's account of the origin of the Oxford Movement, while it is lucid and interesting, suffers through the author's adoption of a somewhat superficial and conventional philosophy of

religious history. He perceives that it was a section of a much larger movement, that it was the Romantic Movement modified by an Oxford and Anglican environment; he mentions that Pusey often spoke of Sir Walter Scott as a pioneer of the Oxford Movement through the new interest he created in the Middle Ages. Coleridge is also alluded to as contributing to the Tractarian Movement, by making men dissatisfied with the superficiality so common a hundred years ago in religion as in other matters. After such remarks, one would have expected Dr Liddon to have found at all events the human causes of the Movement in the deep needs of the human soul, which could no longer rest satisfied with an eighteenth-century philosophy, and the religion which shared its spirit. Instead of that, he speaks as if men adopted new modes of religious thought in order to save civilisation. "When the flood-gates of human passion had been opened on a gigantic scale in the horrors of war and anarchy, men felt that religion and a clear, strong, positive religious creed was necessary, if civilisation was to be saved from ruin." It is true that rulers in Church and State may have encouraged religion from such motives, but that explains little. A religion or a religious movement may save a civilisation, but men do not become religious in order to save civilisations. It is not correct to say that the earliest and most important manifestations of the Romantic Movement showed any care for a "strong, positive religious creed"; at first it was indifferent to creeds, and only asked for hopes and for emotions. Even the Oxford Movement originated rather in devotional longings for a fuller and more satisfying means of worship, than in a desire for a rigid creed and a strong Church, although in its later phases the latter tendency was developed.

Pusey was busy writing lectures, and with his catalogue of Arabic manuscripts, when, by the publication of the "Tracts for the Times," public attention was called to the Oxford Movement. He was not in the councils of the party, and took no share in the work until a number of the Tracts had been already published; nor was it supposed that he was in sympathy with them. Dr Liddon quotes a passage from the Autobiography of Isaac Williams, which gives an interesting account of the occasion on which he first consented to lend his pen to the Movement, of which, even at the time he did so, he stood somewhat in doubt.

"Pusey's presence always checked Newman's lighter and unrestrained mood; and I was myself silenced by so awful a person. Yet I always found in him something most congenial to myself; a nameless something that was wanting even in Newman, and I might perhaps add even in Keble himself. But Pusey was at this time not one of us, and I have some recollection of a conversation which

was the occasion of his joining us. He said, smiling, to Newman, wrapping his gown round him as he used to do, 'I think you are too hard on the Peculiars, as you call them. You should conciliate them: I am thinking of writing a letter myself with that purpose.' 'Well,' said Newman, 'suppose you let us have it for one of the Tracts!' 'Oh, no,' said Pusey, 'I will not be one of you!' This was said in a playful manner; and before we parted, Newman said, 'Suppose you let us have that letter of yours which you intend writing, and attach your name or signature to it. You would not then be mixed up with us, nor in any way responsible for the Tracts!' 'Well,' Pusey said at last, 'if you will let me do that, I will.' It was this circumstance of Pusey attaching his initials to this tract which furnished the *Record* and the Low-Church party with his name, which they at once attached to us all."

Pusey was, in the first instance, drawn into the Movement because he believed that it would introduce a more self-denying type of Christian character, and give depth and stability to the devotional life of his Church, by the place it gave to the doctrine of the Church and of the Sacraments. His love for the Movement, which deepened into an absorbing passion, converted him into a partisan and controversialist, and notwithstanding his natural gentleness, he was a keen and persistent controversialist. The party he had joined were not satisfied with toleration; they made it their avowed aim to discredit, and, if possible, to silence, all teaching not in accordance with their own. One cannot affect surprise at this; for from the beginning of the history of the Church, it has been the habit of earnest men to stop the mouths of adversaries whenever it was in their power; but it led them into proceedings of high-handed injustice, which are too often defended by Dr Liddon, who might have written of them more in the spirit of an historian. To Mr Golithly and his friends of the *Record*, as much indulgence is shown as was to be expected—possibly as much as they deserved. But the references to the Latitudinarian party betray an animus which was excusable during the height of the controversy, but is now, to say the least, out of place. They are always spoken of as traitors within the camp, conscious or unconscious Socinians; and yet surely if the doctrines of Laud had a right to a place in the Church of England, so had those of Chillingworth and Tillotson. Whately is described as "a man with a bias towards a meagre creed and an easy theory of living, entirely ignorant of any theological literature, and too scornful to make himself acquainted with it." Dr Hampden is said to have been a pupil of Blanco White; in his sluggish mind the new speculative solvent of his master, and his old religious views lay side by side in a grotesque and illogical juxtaposition. On the other hand, full justice is done to the mental

ability and to the profound learning of Blanco White, for whom Dr Liddon had evidently a certain kindness, because he carried the principles of his school to their logical conclusions. Pusey and his friends waged almost incessant warfare with the Latitudinarians. They came into conflict with them on the question of undergraduate subscription to the Articles. Dr Liddon publishes a correspondence between Pusey and Mr Gladstone, which is interesting as showing the incipient Liberalism of the High-Church and Conservative statesman. He concurred with Pusey that the Church of England system of education must be maintained within the University ; but he adds that it would give him pleasure to see Dissenters avail themselves to the utmost practicable extent of the Church education of the University, and with his usual hopefulness he suggests that many Dissenters might thus be gained to the Church. Pusey, always distrustful of men, replied that the pupils who came to the University were so ill instructed in the truths of their own religion that they could not, with any regard to their safety, be "mixed up with Baptists, Socinians, or Roman Catholics." To this Mr Gladstone made the characteristic answer—he has often repeated the words in other connections—that if we are to wait until the whole body of Churchmen is in such a state that all will be individually as well as collectively "secure against labefaction," the prospect of relaxing the entrance will have to be indefinitely postponed.

Pusey took an active part in the controversy that arose in 1836 about the appointment of Dr Hampden to the Regius Chair of Divinity. A vigorous attempt was made by means of pamphlets and protests to persuade Lord Melbourne to cancel the appointment ; but when these failed—the easy-going Prime Minister could be as firm as a rock when he pleased—the Tractarians and their allies persuaded Convocation to pass a statute which deprived the Regius Professor of Divinity of the right of sitting at the Board of Inquiry into Heretical Doctrines, and at the Board of Nomination of Select Preachers. Had Pusey and his friends been men of the world, they would have perceived that, if they once violated the understanding according to which the Church of England is comprehensive of all parties, and endeavoured to exclude from it the Latitudinarian school, the question would be raised as to the right of the school of Laud to a place within its borders. But to do them justice, they were not men of the world, and cared little for personal consequences. Ten years later came the Nemesis ; Pusey was himself summoned before the Board of Inquiry into Heretical Doctrines to answer for a sermon which he had preached before the University, entitled, "The Holy Eucharist a comfort to the penitent." On this occasion the Anti-Roman party triumphed, and Pusey was suspended from his office.

The popular impression that the Tractarians were on the high-road to Rome, although erroneous as regards Pusey himself, had a good deal to justify it; for his language must have often appeared to uninstructed people as identical with that of Roman Catholic divines. The Scriptures were still to him the supreme rule of faith, but he scarcely felt free to expound their meaning except in language borrowed from the Fathers; and he was able to show—somewhat to the discomfiture of his opponents—that almost every sentiment in the condemned sermon was an echo of what had been said by Fathers held in honour by the Church of England. Pusey's study of the Fathers was profound, but devotional rather than critical, and so convinced was he that only in this spirit could they be studied with profit, that he almost declined to recommend books on the Fathers to Dr Arnold when the latter applied for his advice. But while he had become a disciple of the Church of the Fathers, he did not identify it with the modern Church of Rome. That Church had lost a portion of its authority, and of its holiness, first by the secession of the Eastern Church, and secondly by the secession of the Teutonic races in the sixteenth century; the sundered portions of the Catholic Church must wait, therefore, until God united them, content each to regard themselves as divided sections of a great whole. He was nevertheless anxious that the Church of England should learn from the Roman Church. As in his younger days he sought to enrich the intellectual life of his own Church from the treasures of German science, he now sought to make the devotional works of the Roman Church accessible to English readers; but as Newman clearly perceived, it never seemed even to have crossed his thoughts that it was his duty to leave the communion in which he was born. Newman could not remain satisfied with Pusey's attitude of meek expectancy. A theory which deprived the world of a Church that could teach with authority, and left religious truth at the mercy of individual feeling and opinion, appeared to Newman nothing less than disbelief of the promises which Christ had given to His Church. Although probably less learned in the Fathers than Pusey, he applied what he knew in a more critical and logical fashion, and came to the conclusion that the Church of England was not a portion of the Church Catholic. The friends thus came to the parting of the ways.

The story of Newman's defection, often as it has been told, will be read with undiminished interest in Dr Liddon's pages, who gives long extracts from the letters which passed between the friends. They have all the pathos of the last act of a tragedy. When it first became known that Newman was contemplating going over to Rome, some of his friends were exceedingly indignant, and complained that he had betrayed them. Manning became, for a season, boisterously

Protestant. Dr Hook wrote a letter, full of vulgar bigotry, which ought not to have been published by those who had a regard for his memory; in that letter he delivered Newman to perdition in the spirit of a Mediæval Churchman, and almost asserted that salvation is the exclusive privilege of Englishmen, and only of those who are members of the Established Church. Pusey's friendship for Newman had by this time grown into reverence for a Prophet. "The well-being of our Church," he wrote, "seems to me to have been wrapped up in you. I mean in the same way as that of the Church Universal was in Saint Athanasius, or Israel (in its disorders) in one of the Judges." It seemed impossible to doubt that Newman had been rightly guided, and yet he could not follow him. There is little of pleading with Newman in the letters of Pusey, and even less in those of Newman; the latter wrote almost with reluctance, fearing to give pain, with the utmost tenderness and consideration, and never in a polemic spirit. When it became evident that Newman would go, Pusey comforted himself with the thought that his friend had been the subject of a special dispensation of Providence, that God had called him to enter the Church of Rome that he might exercise within it his mighty prophetic gifts, but that his action was not to be regarded as an example by others. The theory is a striking proof of Pusey's reverential love for Newman, and likewise of the slender hold speculative theories about the Church had gained over his practical and eminently unspeculative mind. If Newman was to do good in the Church of Rome let him go; but on that principle might he not with equal right have joined any of the sects if the prospects of his doing good work within them had been equally promising? One cannot feel surprise that Dr Liddon here indicates dissent from the pious opinion of his master.

Readers of Dr Liddon's volumes will differ widely as to Pusey's theology, as to his ecclesiastical theories and his ecclesiastical policy, but there will be one opinion, we imagine, regarding the beauty and the charm of his character. He belonged to a party which was singularly happy in the characters of the men who were its representatives. The charlatan, the self-seeker, and the fussy religionist left it severely alone—warned off by the spirit of self-discipline, of high personal honour, and of meditative piety which marked the leaders. Its inner history contains much to excite admiration, and even envy, in those who have no great respect for its theological views, in which there was a good deal of crude bigotry, only partially redeemed by a glow of pious sentiment. But while often unjust and uncharitable towards opponents, they were full of love and tender loyalty towards those within the charmed circle, which was never therefore disturbed by those jars and personal jealousies which have so often brought discredit upon religious parties. We know nothing

in the whole literature of friendship more tender and winning than the correspondence between Newman and Pusey which appears in Dr Liddon's pages. Pusey's domestic life, of which we learn much from Dr Liddon, was as beautiful as his life of friendship. His wife, whose early death was the great sorrow of his life, was in full sympathy with his views, and especially shared in his admiration for Newman, whom she regarded as her teacher in religion. Although possessed of considerable wealth, they lived in frugal simplicity, that they might give with munificence to the poor and to the various works of the Church.

In creative power and in intellectual originality, the Oxford Movement was inferior to the Romantic Movement in Germany, with which it has been compared; but when one turns to the characters and private lives of the leaders, it is at once felt that the superiority is all on the side of the self-disciplined Englishmen, not with the Schlegels, Schleiermacher, and their friends, whose biographies had better be let alone by the admirers of their writings.

Dr Liddon's volumes carry the narrative down to the year 1846. The work will be completed by the editors, and a promise is given that it will be finished at an early date. The volumes which are to come will not possess the same interest as the present, for the ecclesiastical history of England; but they will afford an opportunity of describing Pusey's work as a spiritual counsellor—a work to which he devoted much time during his later years. The details of that work must necessarily remain untold, but it may be possible, without revealing secrets or wounding susceptibilities, to indicate the tenor of his esoteric teaching, and the sources of his remarkable powers as a spiritual adviser.

JOHN GIBB.

Lehrbuch der Alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte.

Von Dr Rudolf Smend, Prof. an der Universität Goettingen. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xix. 550. Price, M. 12.

PROFESSOR SMEND'S work on the Religion of Israel has been looked for with many expectations. He had already done such excellent work in his Commentary on Ezekiel, and in many essays on points in the religion of Israel, that much was hoped from his newest and most important undertaking. On the whole, he has not disappointed the expectations which were formed. He has not produced, indeed, a brilliant book. It is hard reading and without grace of style; but it is full of matter, and whoever will go through it will be instructed in many ways. Smend's position is that of Wellhausen—we

use the comparison merely because it is brief and will be understood ; if it differs it is in being somewhat pushed forward. This position is not merely what might be named a critical one, a position in regard to the literature of the Pentateuch and other parts of the Old Testament. In addition to being this it is two other things. In the course of the past critical investigations, and as the result of them, a general conception has been formed regarding the movement of religious thought in Israel and the progress of ideas, a general theory of the religious history. But this again naturally must react upon the text and descend to the lower or textual criticism, because many passages are found, some even in very early books such as Hosea, which do not accommodate themselves to the theory or to some part of it, and have to be dealt with. In all these three divisions, Smend may be said to occupy the most advanced position, or, at least, not to stand behind any person of consideration. Apart, therefore, from the question whether his opinions be true, it is instructive to learn what they are, and to have from him a systematic construction of the religious history of Israel upon the basis of them. The object of the present notice is to give some account of the author's excellent work rather than enter upon controversy, but we cannot help thinking that a number of views are advanced which will require reconsideration, and that many passages are excised from the text for no reason but that they conflict with a theory, while the balance of probability has not yet been shown to be in favour of the theory. To take a single instance. There may be some things in the last verses of Amos which raise the question whether they have remained altogether in their original form ; but the interpretation which the author (after Wellhausen) puts upon the words, "The eyes of the Lord are upon the sinful kingdom and I will destroy it from off the face of the earth ; saving that I will not destroy the house of Jacob " (v. 8), is anything but natural. He finds an antithesis here between the "sinful kingdom" (that is Israel) and Judah, and considers the passage a Judean interpolation. But where is there the faintest reference to Judah ? The antithesis which naturally suggests itself is one between the present form of the House of Jacob—the sinful kingdom (*cf.* Is. x. 6)—and the House of Jacob in itself, the family brought up out of Egypt (iii. 1), an antithesis found in all the prophets, who announce destruction to the one, but salvation eventually for the other. Smend, indeed, goes so far as to say that the prophet's words, "The virgin of Israel is fallen, she shall no more rise" (v. 2), imply that he had no hope of a final restoration. This would be to make Amos a monstrosity among the prophets.

Of the two things, history and religious belief, contained in the term *Religionsgeschichte*, the author throws most weight upon the

history, upon the historical causes of the belief, and the historical movements which led to changes, modifications and advancement in it. He repudiates, if not reprobates, all theological headings or titles, making it his endeavour to weave the religious opinions and aspirations of the various periods into a connected and progressive historical narration. The heaviness of the book is largely due to this method. The author disdains to help the reader even by division of his chapters into sections. He has, however, provided an extremely full analysis in the table of contents, and the reader would do well to keep this always before him.

Smend divides the history into three great sections—the pre-prophetic, the prophetic, and the law. There is no division which does not disrupt things related and combine things dissimilar. By fixing the limit of the first period at 800 or 750 B.C., he throws into the pre-prophetic age the oldest writer of the Pentateuch, who certainly, if any one, deserves to be called prophetic. Smend, however, regards the *note* of the prophets to be their breach with the people and the state, and their conviction of its approaching downfall. He regards this conviction as a mystery which neither the prophets' feeling of the sin of the people nor their idea of the might of Assyria, nor both together, are adequate to explain. He acknowledges, however, that the position of Elijah a hundred years earlier did not differ materially from that of Amos and his followers; and when we go back as far as Ahijah of Shilo, and consider his relation to the house of David, we may conclude that the prophetic principles were, from the beginning, the same. It was the nature of the kingdom of God, its righteousness and piety, not its form, which appeared of value to them. Indeed, as Smend rightly concedes, the drift of the prophetic views and teaching was always in the direction of depreciating the external framework of the State, and conceiving it as a religious community; and though even the latest of the prophets are unable to conceive a people of God which is not in a sense still a nation with a land of its own, the nation appears to them a thing purely religious, something with which Jehovah will glorify himself, and whose calling is to bring forth judgment to the nations. By making the *differentia* of the prophets to be their breach with the existing State, the author gains a telling point for the post-prophetic or legal age. It was this threat of destruction which laid most hold of the people, particularly when they saw it verified, and led them to accept the prophetic judgment regarding themselves and their past history—in a word, revolutionized the popular mind, and made them adherents of the prophetic faith. This is not quite new, and it may not be without some exaggeration, but it can hardly be doubted that it was the people's disastrous history that impressed them with the sense of sin, and not, as the old theory was, the ceremonies of the law.

The commencement of the Legal period is fixed by Smend at the promulgation or the royal sanction by Josiah of Deuteronomy as the religious law of the people's life. Here, again, of course, such a prophet as the author of the second half of Isaiah is thrown into the legal age, and even the greater part of Jeremiah's career falls within it. But incongruities of this sort can hardly be avoided if divisions be adopted at all.

In the pre-prophetic period the author discusses these three general points :—1. How Jehovah approved himself as Lord and helper of Israel through the leaders of the people, judges, kings, priests, and prophets. 2. How the relation of Jehovah and the people reflected itself in the people's consciousness—their faith as to Jehovah their God. And 3. How Israel, as the people of the Lord, lived in worship and morals. It need not be said that Smend regards much in this period as legendary, and instead of following the Old Testament representation regarding the Patriarchs and the early religious condition of Israel, he prefers to construct an idea of what they were in morals and religion from an investigation into the condition of the surrounding peoples to whom they were allied. The materials for such an investigation are too scanty to yield any certain results, and the assumption that at the period of the Exodus, or before it, Israel and these peoples stood altogether on the same plane, is a precarious one to make. While the creative genius and influence of Moses cannot be conceived too highly, his very greatness makes it not unlikely that some Hebrews before his day had glimpses of that which he saw face to face. The prophets drew on Moses and the past, and it is not just at once to be assumed that Moses had absolutely no past to draw upon. Neither does it quite dispose of Abraham and Hebrew tradition regarding him to affirm that he is merely an idealized type of Israel, a glorified presentment of Israel's conception of itself and of its place in the world. To idealize and to create are two things. David and Solomon are idealized, but both existed. A mythological genius does not appear to have been a characteristic of the Hebrew people. Smend, however, strongly affirms the historical worth of the main incidents of the Exodus and the life of Moses; he thinks, indeed, that if they had not been recorded in history, we should have had to postulate them to account for Israel as we find it even in its early times. The mystery of the name Jehovah and the revelation to Moses still, after all the author's researches, remains a mystery. The theory of some authors that Jehovah was the name of the God of Jethro, and that Moses borrowed it from there, is contradicted by all Hebrew tradition. The change in the mind of Moses, the new consciousness of the divine that inspired him, and his resolution to free his people and found a kingdom of God, remain inexplicable. There is an old ex-

planation, which for awhile has been almost forgotten ; perhaps men will return to it.

Turning to the Prophets, the author's method changes. Former leaders of action and thought, judges, kings, and priests, could be dealt with under general categories—each person was but the type of a class. But every prophet is unique, and represents only himself. Naturally, after such works as that of Robertson Smith upon the prophets, there was not much altogether new left the author to say ; nevertheless, his chapters on Amos and his followers will well repay perusal. Fresh things are said, and some things that not long ago were held fresh are criticised and denied. The great idea of Hosea of the marriage relation between Jehovah and his people is denied to be due to ways of thought current in heathendom, or among the native races. This return to sanity is thankworthy ; it is to be hoped that the day of the mythologists is nearly over. Further, the author puts in a protest against the "love" to Jehovah demanded by Hosea and Jeremiah and Deuteronomy being regarded as nothing profounder than mere avoidance of idolatry and laying hold of the covenant of Israel—this love is the essential meaning of religion. Perhaps it is because Jeremiah has been less written upon than other prophets that it so strikes us ; but at any rate the author's chapter on this prophet appears very instructive and attractive. His estimate of Ezekiel, too, has gained, we venture to think, in temperance, and insight, and truth since he wrote his commentary.

The third part of the author's work, that which he calls Judaism, will probably awaken most interest. He is here at his best, and nothing better or so good on this period has appeared. He begins this period, as has been said, with Josiah's imposition of Deuteronomy as the *Law* of the people's life ; and, for purposes of Old Testament religion, he fixes its lower limit at the Maccabean crisis, which in his view separates the older Judaism from the newer. The former had still very much of the spirit and thought of the prophets in it, while after the Maccabees the legal spirit acquired predominance. This view will, no doubt, be subjected to question. But of more importance is the author's judgment regarding the ritual Law and its meaning, and the condition of religion in the ages after the return. And we cannot help thinking that his judgment on the ritual system, as it has its place in Ezekiel's scheme of thought, and as fully codified by others, is more just than that of some other writers, even of Schultz. The ritual Law, he tells us, was, in the main, morality. Further, he remarks that the place assigned to it was not altogether the result of reflection. These are things worth hearing. Of course there was reflection. There was an ideal to be attained or preserved, and the means to it must have been reflected

on. But the ideal and the means to it are not to be confounded. The ideal was Monotheism and Morality, the Law was but the way to it. And it cannot be doubted that the ideal was for long the thing thought of importance, and that it was not for many ages (if ever) that the means became something like an end. But even the adaptation of the means to the end was not altogether a thing of reflection. There was an instinct, a spirit, operating unconsciously, and laying hold of the means it used with equal instinctiveness. The spirit operating in those who codified the ritual Law and laid it at the basis of the new Constitution and the new Israel, was the same spirit that operated in the prophets and in Moses, the spirit of the religion of Israel, an inner inspiration which, throughout all the ages of Israel's life and history, however varied they were, threw up always upon the web of the people's life as it was woven the same two flowers of Monotheism and Morality. And whatever we may think of the form, these two things, as expressed or conserved in the Law, were, if possible, purer than they were when expressed in the prophetic idealism. The problems connected with this period of Israel's religious history are not yet fully solved. But supposing the Law became the basis of the new Constitution at the Restoration or after it, it is hard to see why it should be less divine at this period than it would have been if made the basis of the Constitution by Moses.

In the last years of Judah, in the Exile and at the return, Israel's religion had attained its full stature. The Enthusiast of *Is. xl. seq.* is its truest exponent. Its God was God alone, and all that He is who is God alone. The world and the nations were but His instruments. Israel had within it the cause of Jehovah ; it was this that gave it significance (*Is. l. 4 seq., li.*). It possessed His revelation, which would accomplish that whereto He sent it. But with all this Israel was oppressed—subject to the heathen world. This is the problem, the efforts to solve which constitute the profoundest parts of the Old Testament. To begin with, Israel's sufferings were brought into connection with its sin, and the author of *Is. xl. seq.*, standing, as he conceived it, at the end of Israel's history and in front of the one act of it yet to be performed, the restoration to eternal felicity and righteousness, read the history to mean that the sufferings of the ideal being Israel all through history had atoned for the sins of the actual Israel. But later, when the oppression continued, and when Israel, conscious of knowing the truth of the true God, contrasted itself with the heathen nations who trod it down, the problem returned in all its complexity. In one aspect of it, it became a problem about the ways of God, about God Himself. There was no longer, if there had ever been, any question of His power over all forces of whatever kind, but He remained inactive,

caring nothing for His self-vindication—the earth is given into the hands of the wicked, He covereth the face of the judges thereof: if not He, who then is it? The problem, in this aspect of it, inspires the author of Job. Smend, indeed, considers the problem in Job to be entirely an individual one, but this seems as one-sided as when, on the other hand, he regards the Psalter as altogether the expression of national feelings. Of course, Jehovah, known to the nations only as God of Israel, though known to Israel as God alone, could vindicate Himself and His religion only by vindicating Israel; and the passionate demands of this age, from Ezekiel downwards, for the redemption of His people are inspired less by a national than a purely religious interest, by zeal for the true God and the true faith. The vindication of Israel and its faith is called in this age Israel's justification—He is near that will justify me (Is. l. 4); and this justification could be verified to the eyes of men and the heart of the people in no way except by Israel's restoration to freedom and prosperity. This was the outside of justification, the heart of it was the bestowal upon men of actual righteousness of mind.

But the subjection and misery continued age after age, and it could not but lead to another thing. From seeking the cause of their afflictions in God, and speculating on His nature, they turned their eyes upon themselves to seek the cause of their sorrows there. They were due to their sin. The fatal continuity with the past had never been truly broken—we and our fathers have sinned. How deep the sense of sin was in those ages may be felt in the prayers of Nehemiah and Daniel, and in much of the Psalter. The community had no refuge but hope. The individual, however, was probably able in many cases to break through into light. His faith was a self-verifying thing, his consciousness was stronger evidence than the contrary testimony of the afflictions into which He was plunged. So it is represented in Job, and such is the surprising exclamation of the Psalmist, Nevertheless I am continually with thee!

The above are some of the points which Smend enlarges upon in his chapters entitled "God's Victory over the World," "The Justification of the Community over against the World," "The sin of the Community and Forgiveness," "Wrath and Grace," &c. Though the author endeavours to weave the religious opinions of the various ages into a narrative, he gives in the form of notes or otherwise a number of excursus on individual points. One of the best of these is his discussion of "righteousness."

A. B. DAVIDSON.

The Mummy : Chapters on Egyptian Funeral Archæology.

By E. A. Wallis Budge, Litt.D. Cambridge : University Press. Pp. 404. Price 12s. 6d.

AT the request of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Dr Wallis Budge undertook the preparation of a catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in that collection ; and while so engaged, it was suggested to him that the utility of his catalogue would be increased if a short account of the general nature of the objects in the collection were given in the form of a prefatory chapter. Acting on this suggestion, Dr Budge put together the material of this work ; and the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, wisely thinking that this portion might be useful to many to whom the catalogue itself would be of little value, proposed and ultimately carried out the separate publication of this part as an independent work.

The circumstances under which this compilation was made explain the somewhat discontinuous nature of the contents. It begins with a short, but excellent preliminary account of the Egyptian race and country, which is followed by a brief *résumé* of their history, brought down to the present date.

In accordance with the weight of anthropological evidence, Dr Budge considers the typical Egyptian as a primitive offshoot of that hypothetical Western Asiatic stem which, according to the nomenclature of Blumenbach, is usually called "Caucasian." That these were not the earliest colonists is certain, as relics of at least one older race have been found, and the observations of Professor Petrie on the twofold disposal of the dead at Medûm, seem to indicate that a duality of race existed at that early date.

In later times there is evidence of the introduction of other strains into the population, derived from intermixture with Semitic and Canaanite races, and with the tribes of the Mediterranean and the Sûdân.

The author also follows Bunsen in the belief that the Egyptian language is descended from a pre-historic, proto-Semitic source, and in this he has the concurrence of the highest authorities on the subject, such as Lagarde, Erman and the late Professor Wright.

As an introduction to the archæology of the Egyptian language, the author has given at considerable length the history of the decipherment of the Rosetta stone. It has been usual in this country to depreciate the work done by the distinguished English scholar, Thomas Young, and to call the coupling of his name with that of Champollion "a gross error." After giving a carefully-digested statement of the facts of the case, Dr Budge has put in parallel columns the critical opinions of eminent men on the subject.

On the one side are those who testify to the priority of Young's work, and on the other those who bear witness as to the greater value of the results obtained by Champollion. The evidence so well marshalled clearly shows that Dr Young is entitled to the credit of having been the earlier in making the discovery of the phonetic nature of the signs, and that Champollion had in his hand the record of Young's work, which he probably used. On the other hand, Champollion's final work was so far in advance of that of Young that, except in the matter of priority, the former certainly must be considered as the first great expositor of the Egyptian language.

The remaining sections of the book are descriptive of Egyptian funeral observances, and of the material accessories of these rites. As the Egyptian antiquities commonly met with in museums are objects which belong to the latter category, the work is well fitted to serve as an explanatory guide to any collection of Egyptian relics. The author confines himself to description, and rarely touches on the comparative side of the religious ideas underlying the ceremonial, the aspect of the subject which is of the deepest interest to the student of Comparative Religion.

The religion of Egypt is the earliest cultus of which we have contemporary records; and with the increasing knowledge of the language, the ability to understand its various phases is daily growing. In the formulæ embodied in the texts inscribed in the pyramid tombs of Unas, Teta, Pepi, and other rulers of the fifth and sixth dynasties, we have the expressions of these religious ideas as they existed in the old empire five thousand years ago.

Of the later embodiment of the cultus in the "Book of the Dead," many copies are extant; but in spite of the great progress which has been made within recent years in the knowledge of the Egyptian language, we have not yet reached the stage at which we can with certainty set forth a standard text, still less a critical translation. We are still in the condition in which it is necessary to work at the collection of variants, and to acquire additional grammatical knowledge, before we can take definite steps towards these desirable ends. The edition of variants, compiled by Naville, is an excellent contribution in that direction, and the recent ingenious version given by Mr Renouf, in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, although greatly in advance of any previous translation, only demonstrates how far we are yet from the attainment of this desirable consummation. There are still many lacunæ in our knowledge which must be filled before we can attain to the requisite standard of precision in our lexicography. We need a more critical knowledge of the phonetic and grammatical changes which have taken place in the course of ages. Such

knowledge must be sought, in the first instance in the historical and secular texts; for the "Book of the Dead" is about the last text which can be profitably studied, on account of its obscurity, its archaisms, the numerous allusions to unknown points in mythology, and the corruptness of so many of our copies. We are, however, on the high road to an adequate knowledge of the contents of this work, which is of surpassing interest as it embodies the oldest religious thoughts accessible to us.

One great hindrance in the way of a proper appreciation of the Egyptian mythology with its doctrine of immortality, of a future state of rewards, of the identification of the dead with the murdered and revived Osiris, has been the danger of reading into it modern ideas derived from Christian and Western philosophical sources. Dr Budge keeps himself free from this, as he confines himself chiefly to descriptions of the personalities of the Pantheon; for, as the limits of his work preclude a critical study of the Egyptian Theogony, he contents himself with adopting the solar theory in its rather crude form, as expounded in Renouf's Hibbert Lectures, and in Pierret's *Pantheon*. In this exposition he has brought his descriptions up to the latest information. We note, for instance, that he follows Renouf in enumerating *Apuat* as a divinity separate from Anubis. It is, perhaps, premature to decide how far this is justifiable, as the texts quoted by Renouf only show that *Apuat* was identified with Osiris, and are scarcely sufficient to prove that he had necessarily a separate personality. There is material, in the numerous texts at present known referring to the gods, for a more exhaustive critical study of their mutual relations than has been as yet made, a study in which the various factors of time and place should be taken into account; but such would have been outside the scope of Dr Budge's introduction.

The short account of the Egyptian tombs of the several periods is clearly and concisely given, and well illustrated. Dr Budge appends a list of the commoner hieroglyphs, with their phonetic values. This is much the best list which has been hitherto given in any English book, but it is one we should like to see extended and classified. If some Egyptologist of experience were to compile, for the sake of students beginning the study of the language, a list of this nature containing the radical and stem words systematically arranged, it would be of great value, and would save much time and labour in their earlier essays in translating; as the vocabularies of Birch and Pierret, and the Dictionaries of Brugsch and Lanzzone, although invaluable to students as repertories of texts, are not well arranged, and are even now behind the level of our latest knowledge.

There are a few trifling omissions to be noted; for example, there

is no description of the hypocephali of which so many were described some years ago by Dr Birch. The typography of the work is good and clear, and typographical errors are few; the name Rouelle is spelled Ronelle on p. 189, and on p. 128 the date of Young's appointment as Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society should be 1804 (see Weld, p. 237); but considering the difficulties of correcting the proofs of a work containing so many foreign words, it is singularly well printed. We note that Dr Budge adheres to the old etymology of Pharaoh as *Perāa* or "Great House," and has not adopted Mr Renouf's view that it is a purely Semitic word, derived from the same root as the word for the leaders in the Song of Deborah (Judges v. 2, *cf.* Fürst *Lex.*, p. 1155).

It is to be regretted that in this country, whose museums contain such a wealth of Egyptian inscriptions, there has not hitherto been developed a school of Egyptology. We may, however, hope that better days are dawning, and that the foundation of the Chair of that subject in University College, London, by the munificent benefaction of the late Miss Edwards, will be followed by similar foundations in our other Universities. There is a great work yet to be done, which can only be accomplished by the systematic labour of those who give their whole attention to the subject. In the meantime, for those who wish to gain a general notion of the meaning of the Egyptian relics in our museums, we can with confidence commend Dr Budge's book as an accurate, concise, and interesting introductory manual.

ALEXANDER MACALISTER.

The Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance.

*By John Owen. Second Edition. Pp. xvii. 419, and xxxvi.
London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Price 10s. 6d.*

MR OWEN uses the term "skeptic" in its wider sense to include all those who are animated by the spirit of free inquiry—all who refuse to accept any authority or dogma as unquestionably final. He chooses the Renaissance for his subject because in that period the mind of Christendom shook off the doctrine of absolute paternal authority in Church and State, which held almost undisputed sway during the Middle Ages. Many influences contributed to the work of emancipation. Commerce and the crusades brought the Christianity of Europe into contact with the East; the purity of Mohammedan religion, at its best, gave a new life to the truths buried out of sight under ritual and dogma; Arab science helped to secularise the literature and the schools of the West. Again, the revival of classical learning brought men into contact with Greek

philosophy and Roman law, and thus enabled them to examine for themselves the foundations of the authority which they were required to obey. On all these points Mr Owen has much curious and useful information to impart. He has thought fit to arrange his book in the form of a series of papers, which are read by an imaginary Dr Trevor to a coterie of friends, most of whom seem to be almost as well up in the history of Italian literature as the Doctor himself. We are disposed to think that the book would be more attractive without the dialogues which precede and follow the author's more systematic exposition of his subject. Here and there Mr Owen seems to be carried a little too far in his desire to prove that received authorities are open to criticism. He tells us, for example, that the Koran has done less harm to science than the Bible "in the hands of misinterpreters and fanatics." This may be true, but it would only be fair to point out that the Koran, "in the hands of misinterpreters and fanatics," has quenched the light of Arab philosophy, and reduced the schools of the Mohammedan world to futility.

What Mr Owen has to say of the Italian Renaissance in particular he has thrown into the form of biographical essays on Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, Luigi Pulci, Machiavelli, Guicciardini, and Pomponazzi. He does not, of course, claim Dante as a skeptic; but the great Florentine is one of the spiritual fathers of the Renaissance, by virtue of the freedom with which he tested the authorities of his time, and found them wanting. The essay on Pomponazzi is especially valuable; it gives a full and sympathetic account of an interesting, but little known, personality. The concluding chapters of Mr Owen's book are devoted to Giordano Bruno, and Vanini. In these, as in the previous chapters, we find ample evidence that the author has read widely, and thought out his conclusions carefully. Without being able to subscribe to all his judgments, we receive them all with the respect that is due to learning and sagacity. The excellence of the Indices deserves a word of gratitude and praise.

T. RALEIGH.

Siebeck's Philosophy of Religion.

Lehrbuch der Religionsphilosophie. Von Dr Hermann Siebeck, Professor der Philosophie in Giessen. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1893. [Sammlung Theologischer Lehrbücher.] London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xiv. 456. Price 10s.

SEVERAL causes have co-operated to throw stress, of late, upon the Philosophy of Religion, such causes, for instance, as the Positive and Agnostic movements in philosophical, and the Ritschlian movement

in theological thought. The comparative study of religions, too, which has followed upon the better means of communication of this century, has of course necessitated examination into the Philosophy of Religion. Thus the various border questions between Theology and Philosophy have been forced into unusual prominence. For the moment, indeed, it is with the Philosophy of Religion that the future lies of much in Apologetics and Dogmatics.

To this redoubled, if we may not say revived, interest, such American books testify as Harris's *Philosophical Basis of Theism*, and Kellogg's *Genesis and Growth of Religion*; and such English books as Max Müller's and Stirling's *Gifford Lectures*, John Caird's *Philosophy of Religion* and Edward Caird's *Evolution of Religion*, Boyd Carpenter's *Permanent Elements in Religion*, Martineau's *Study of Religion*, and Knight's *Aspects of Theism*; and such German books as the well-known philosophical writings of Lotze, Pfleiderer, and Von Hartmann; as the doctrinal systems of Lipsius, Biedermann, and Dorner; and such special contributions as Teichmüller's *Religionsphilosophie*, Rawenhoff's *Religionsphilosophie*, Gloatz's *Spekulative Theologie in Verbindung mit der Religionsgeschichte*, Bender's *Das Wesen der Religion*, Kaftan's *Das Wesen der christlichen Religion* and his *Glaube und Dogma*, Max Reischle's *Die Frage nach dem Wesen der Religion, Grundlegung zu einer Methodologie der Religionsphilosophie*, Seydel's *Religionsphilosophie*, and this book of Siebeck's.

The main contents of Siebeck's book have resulted, the author says, from studies and reflections occasioned by lectures on the subject at Bâle and Giessen. In this origin, probably, lie at once the strength and the weakness of the treatment. The strength is its clearness, its consecution and climax, its constant thought for the unskilled reader. The weakness is its dogmatic method, its frequent superficiality, its surrender of thoroughness to interest, its sacrifice of carefully founded and reasoned treatment to the immediate needs of the class-room. As a text-book, too, we have here only a guide to Siebeck's own views, and by no means a guide to the great subject of which it treats, its history and development and present state.

The "Philosophy of Religion" is a term which has stood for one of two things, for theology treated philosophically or for the systematic psychology of the religious sense. Thus Pünjer, in his *History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion*, expressly defined his task as the rational consideration of religious thought throughout the Christian centuries, and therefore, with perfect consistency, Pünjer commenced his history with the Apologists of the Early Church, passing on through the Middle Ages and the Reformation to the history of Deism and of the early German Rationalists. But this is not the

more common use of the term to-day. Usually by the Philosophy of Religion is meant the philosophical study of the religious consciousness, the systematic psychology of religion, or, as Pfeiderer once expressed it, "a science of the nature and development of the human consciousness of God." According to such a definition, the history of the Philosophy of Religion begins where Pünjer's history ends, viz., with Kant. This Pünjer himself saw, for he said that "if his history were to confine itself to an exposition of the complete systems of the Philosophy of Religion, it could hardly begin with anything before Hegel's *Philosophy of Religion* or Kant's *Religion within the Limits of Mere Reason*."

It is this latter view which Siebeck holds. Alas! in the treatment of his subject he adopts a method which is really suicidal. He states his aim to be the treatment and criticism of the substance of the religious consciousness, but wholly independently of any definite metaphysic, or even of any theory of knowledge. In plain speech, Siebeck proposes to give a Philosophy of Religion without a philosophy. Although swerving very vitally from the Ritschlian standpoint, he has imbibed the Ritschlian horror of metaphysics. By such a treatment, Siebeck makes it impossible for him to give us a Philosophy of Religion; all he is able to do, under such conditions, deliberately adopted, is to give some minor contributions towards a Philosophy of Religion.

According to Siebeck, then, the Philosophy of Religion is the same thing as an examination, apart from any doctrine of cognition, of the nature and proof of the religious life. Consequently, he divides his book into two parts, the first of which deals with the Nature, the Nature and Development, of the Religious Consciousness, and the second of which deals with the Truth of Religion.

The first part, again, which expounds religion as a fact, has three subdivisions. In the first, a place is claimed for religion side by side with language and manners, law and morals, family and state, school and education, science and practice; the office of religion being at once to affirm and to negative the importance of the mundane. Religion, indeed, which emphasizes the supra-mundane, is contrasted with civilization, which emphasizes the mundane. But, continues Siebeck, the Philosophy of Religion belongs to that branch of the philosophic disciplines which considers the spiritual life and work of man, not only in the abstract, but in the concrete—in different forms and developments, that is to say. It asks, for instance, what roots religion has in human nature? How is its development to be understood? Wherein lies its importance? What is its justification? Therefore, in the second subdivision, Siebeck gives a glance over the entire sphere of religions, to see whether and how far there has been an actual

development. And, in his view, there has been a very definite historical development, commencing with the stage of myth, passing on to and through the moral stage to the stage of redemption. And, he says, this development is due to the reciprocal action of two fundamental ideas, viz., that of the existence of God or gods, and that of the consciousness of misery in its two forms of physical and moral evil. In the third subdivision, Siebeck examines the function and characteristics of religion still as a fact, and quite apart from its truth. Here he makes many acute remarks concerning religion in its relation to myth, morals, dogma, and worship, in a series of interesting chapters on Faith, on Faith and Knowledge, on Religion and Morals, on Myth and Doctrine, on Cult and Church, on Forms of the Religious Life, on Mysticism, on Orthodoxy, on Asceticism, on Pietism, and on Rationalism.

From the Nature of the Religious Life, Siebeck passes, in his second part, to its Proof. Religion is proved to be sanity and not madness, reality and not illusion, by a careful study of its normality. In any stage of development religion is, he argues, a normal constituent of human nature ; whereas, at the highest stage of development, religion accredits itself as normal, inasmuch as it announces a redemption,—upon entrance into the Kingdom of God,—by means of an historical revelation. In illustration of this position Siebeck examines in successive chapters the ideas of the Universe, God, Final Cause, Freedom, The Destiny of Man, and Theodicy. An able summary and a good index bring the whole to a conclusion.

From this outline the richness of the contents may be judged. A Textbook of the Philosophy of Religion the book is not. It is a series of interesting essays upon subjects within the range of the Philosophy of Religion.

ALFRED CAVE.

Das Heiligkeits-Gesetz—Leviticus xvii.-xxvi.

Eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung. Von Bruno Baentsch, Lic. theol. Dr. philos. Erfurt, 1893. 8vo, pp. vii. 152. Price, M. 4.

THE Book of Leviticus, as is well known, contains a group of chapters (xvii.-xxvi.) which are distinguished by certain peculiarities of thought and diction, and which in recent years have usually been known as "The Law of Holiness" (*das Heiligkeitsgesetz*). Modern critics are fairly well agreed in thinking that the chapters in question once formed a separate book, which was afterwards incorporated with the Priestly Code, one of the main sources of the present Pentateuch and Book of Joshua. But whether the Law of Holiness

was itself the work of one author or of several, at what date it was composed, and how far it was subsequently altered by the redactor of the Priestly Code—these are questions about which there is much difference of opinion. In the elaborate work before us, Dr Baentsch has endeavoured to throw light upon the subject by a very minute examination of the Hebrew text. Parallel passages from other parts of the Old Testament have been carefully collected for the purpose of shewing the relation in which the Law of Holiness stands to other writings, in particular to Deuteronomy and the Book of Ezekiel. Dr Baentsch does not profess to have made any startling discoveries, but he thinks that he has succeeded in establishing the following points: (1) the Law of Holiness is the work of several distinct authors; (2) the earlier part of it was composed shortly before Ezekiel, and was largely used by that prophet; (3) the latter part of it is dependent upon Ezekiel.

A. A. BEVAN.

Die Evangelische Geschichte, und der Ursprung des Christenthums.

Von Dr W. Brandt. *Leipsic: P. K. Reisland. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1893. 8vo, pp. xii. 591. Price, M. 11.*

THIS is a destructive desolating critical work by a clever German scholar, who, examining the historical foundations of Christianity in a "scientific" spirit, comes to the conclusion that there is extremely little solid ground to stand on. He tells us in his preface that he can afford to be quite impartial, because his religion is entirely independent of the uncertainties and probabilities or improbabilities of historical investigation. "The evangelic history has charmed and edified me from of old, as I read it in the Bible, as the beautiful traits of the fourfold narrative range themselves beside each other in my phantasy, and stir in my soul earnest, now elevating now humbling, thoughts. In these words is expressed my *religious* interest therein. And it will continue to charm and edify me so long as it remains as it is, and my spirit reacts in response to noble ideas." This is a new presentation of Christianity independent of history. It is a phenomenon with which British piety in its present phases makes us familiar, and the patrons and promoters of this subjective Christianity sufficient to itself might do well to get this work and learn from it what the tendency which holds them under its spell comes to.

Dr Brandt thinks that of the real history of Jesus very little is known. From this sweeping statement the words of Jesus are, in

his opinion, no exception. "In general, as it seems to me, the modern theologians of Germany arrive far too easily at conclusions in favour of genuineness." This is levelled at such men as Wendt, though no one is named.

The critical examination of the Gospel History is confined to the death and resurrection of Jesus. The author regards the critical examination of what goes before as, after Strauss, superfluous; whence we infer that he accepts in the bulk the arguments and conclusions of the famous *Leben Jesu*. The analytical or critical portion of the work before us is broken up into three divisions; the first having for its rubric, CAPTIVE AND TRIED; the second, CRUCIFIED AND DEAD; the third, BURIED AND RISEN. It is not worth while to go into detail as to the conclusions arrived at on the numerous particulars included under each of these heads. The general verdict is: a few grains of fact, and a vast accumulation of fiction owing its origin to the Christian faith and Church policy of after days.

The fourth part of the work, forming less than a fourth part of the volume, may be said to be constructive. Its general heading is JESUS AND THE EVANGELIC HISTORY OF JESUS, and its aim, in the words of the author, is to show "how in the origin of Christianity, as its main factor, out of the history of Jesus, the evangelic *Heilandsbild* has been evolved." The materials for building are very scanty. The known, or probable at least, is that Jesus was a teacher of prophetic spirit, remarkable for His sympathetic love, who by His whole bearing gave umbrage to the religious people of Judea, and so met the cruel fate of crucifixion. The thought that He *might* be the Messiah crossed His mind, but He never arrived at a confident conclusion on the point. Of course He never rose from the dead. But the belief in the resurrection somehow got hold of the minds of His disciples. How? That is the question. Our author feels the difficulty of the problem, but he has the courage, in spite of past failures, to try his hand at a new "Hypothese." This "Hypothese" fills nine pages, but it is summarised in a paragraph thus: "Through the unhappy fate of Jesus the Messianic hopes set on Him were shattered, and His disciples were constrained to admit that the Jerusalem adventure had not been according to God's will. But they continued to believe that their Master, in spite of this mistake and unconscious resistance to God's will, had been a pious, good teacher. One might say: they had to give up the Stormer of Jerusalem, but for the noble friendly Galilean Teacher they still kept a place in their hearts. Those of them who had devoted themselves to the teaching profession [perhaps Peter and John] were, by their occupation with the study of the Hebrew Scriptures, and by the old surroundings [in Galilee], constantly reminded of Him. The two Psalm-texts in which the delivery of the pious man

from death, and the elevation of the Messiah to the right hand of God, seemed to be the theme [Ps. lxxxvi. 12, 13 ; Ps. cx. 1], awoke in them the thought that Jesus might have risen from the grave, and been taken up into Heaven. This thought revived old hopes ; dead wishes and expectations lived again, and kindled the enthusiasm in which Simon Peter came to see his Lord in heavenly glory." Of course when one had seen it was easy for others to see. Thus is the faith in the resurrection explained almost as easily as it had been by Renan. Our author has a great admiration for Renan. Well he may : the two are kindred spirits, though of unequal genius. Dr Brandt puts the difference between himself and Renan thus : "Renan, the genial psychological historian, thought he could explain all by the principle of love, and said outright 'Love has raised Jesus from the dead.' We might say : Love watched over the dead, till hope came and raised Him again."

Dr Brandt favours us with his views on the origin of our canonical Gospels. He recognises two original sources : one containing a very scanty supply of facts or incidents, probably having Peter for voucher, the other containing an equally scanty supply of sayings. On these two as a basis "Mark" constructed a Gospel, in which many things must be held to be the product of free invention. The author regards the use of the *Logia* by Mark as only probable ; he may have had another collection. A generation after he wrote, Matthew and Luke were written, in which we can distinguish three elements : Mark's Gospel, the collection of sayings (= the *Logia*) and newly-invented matter. Invention thus played a prominent part in all three. The motives to invention were various. First the wish to furnish proofs for the Gospel. Hence the resurrection legend. Next the desire to break with the Jews and ingratiate Christians with the rulers of Rome. Hence the turn given to the story of the passion at many points, *e.g.*, in the scene, "Jesus before Pilate." Internal Church politics also supplied an impulse to invention : the wish to run up episcopal authority to the twelve apostles accounts for a good deal ; also the desire to find in the teaching and action of Christ a sanction for sacraments and Church discipline. In the case of Luke the desire to read Paul into the story of Jesus was a predominant motive. Of course "John" was a chartered libertine who took "sovereign" liberties with the tradition, with the aim of making the history of Jesus correspond to ideal eternal truth.

The concluding survey (*Schlussbetrachtung*), covering two final pages, is characteristic. The evangelic history, we are told, has not been unjust to the historic Jesus. "The synoptical Christ-picture is the highest blossom of religious poesy. The belief in the Gods

has fulfilled its mission in helping to mature this fruit. It were no great loss if now that belief were to die out." And with it might go the Church and even the Christian name. The mind that was in Jesus is the one thing needful. It boots not to call Jesus "Lord, Lord"; the great matter is to have the blessing of His Spirit in our hearts.

This is Christianity independent of history with a vengeance. Let the subjective school in our land take note. I dislike this book. I do not estimate its importance, even as a scientific contribution, very high. But I am in a way thankful for its appearance. It may at least serve the purpose of a scarecrow.

A. B. BRUCE.

Theologische Encyclopädie.

Von Dr C. F. Georg Heinrici, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Leipzig. (Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften.) Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1893. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. Large 8vo, pp. xvi. 372. Price, M. 6.

THIS handbook of *Theological Encyclopædia* appears fourth in the order of publication, though naturally intended to occupy the first place in the systematic arrangement of the series to which it belongs. Its predecessors have been Cornill's *Old Testament Introduction*, Harnack's (outline) *History of Doctrines*, and the first volume of Müller's *Church History*. It may at once be said that Professor Heinrici's work excellently maintains the reputation which these able manuals have established for the series. It preserves the same general characteristics as these exhibited, and by which they were differentiated from the other series of *Theologische Lehrbücher* issued by the same publishers. The latter are on a more extensive scale, and though generally very readable, are still more books of reference, while the former, as befits a *Grundriss*, aim at presenting all that is essential within a brief compass, and in a form at once attractive to the reader and readily available for the student.

The subject of "Theological Encyclopædia" has not received that attention in this country which its importance deserves. In some respects, as we shall presently see, such consideration as it has obtained has resulted in a more comprehensive view being taken of it here than is found in the best treatment of it in Germany. But it may safely be said that the great mass of British workers in Theology have been too much occupied with the cultivation of their own corner of the field, and have not seen the advantage of a com-

prehensive and systematic survey of the whole. To this must be attributed many partial and erroneous views, and many faults of method, as men persist in looking at and judging other departments, as well as the whole subject, from the point of view peculiar to that department on which they happen to be engaged. Hence arises that want of a sense of symmetry and proportion in their work, of a recognition of its true conditions, which is not the less to be regretted that the workers are so often unconscious of it. In Germany such a systematic survey forms part of the regular theological education, so that, while the theologian selects his own special province and seeks to know all there is to be known concerning it, he knows also something of the whole field,—sufficient, at least, to enable him to estimate the relation in which his own work stands to the general course of theological thought and enquiry. The *Theologische Encyclopädie* is moreover not a mere formal outline, but a lucid and informing summary of facts and results connected with the several branches of the subject presented in such a way as to be helpful in the more detailed study of any of them. The works of Hagenbach and Rübiger are examples of this method of treatment, and are accessible to the English reader, the former through the adaptation of it by Messrs Crooks & Hurst (New York, 1884), and the latter in the excellent translation of Mr Macpherson (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1885).

In a "Theological Encyclopædia" the points of cardinal importance are the conception formed of Theology and the distribution of its subject matter. It is here that the chief British contributions to the subject, to which we have already referred, exhibit a decided superiority. Alike by Principal Drummond (*Introduction to the Study of Theology*), Principal Cave (*Introduction to Theology*), and Professor Flint (article "Theology" in the *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th edition, vol. xxiii.), Theology is recognised as far wider in its scope than specially Christian Theology. The identification of it with the latter, though adopted by all the leading theological encyclopædists of Germany, Professor Flint characterises as "an amazingly absurd procedure," and as altogether unscientific. German theologians seem to be led into this position by the close relation of dependence in which they almost uniformly consider that Theology stands to the practical work of the Church. They still think of it too exclusively as a "professional science," those of High Lutheran tendencies because of the place which the Church holds in their system of doctrine, and those of freer modes of thinking because apparently they find in the Church as an institution the only bond which holds them together. We hear much of freedom of theological investigation, but the cultivation of theological science for its own sake, and apart from all dependence upon ecclesiastical institutions and

requirements, does not yet appear to be so fully recognised as it might be. Dr Heinrici is still in this respect at the "pre-scientific" stage. The Philosophy of Religion, and a glance at the characteristics of the Ethnic Religions, occupy a subordinate paragraph under Systematic Theology, instead of forming the starting point of the whole scheme. In respect of arrangement, Heinrici virtually follows the fourfold division adopted also by Hagenbach and Rábiger. He reduces the four departments, however, to two by including Biblical Science or Exegetical Theology and Church History under the general title of *Historical Theology*; and by grouping Systematic and Practical Theology under the head of *Normative Theology*. Other peculiarities of arrangement will be noted, *e.g.*, the postponement of the historical sketch of Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology to the end of the book; the useful distinction under Exegetical Theology, as well as under Church History, of the Disciplines of Investigation (*untersuchende*) and those of Exposition (*darstellende*); the less justifiable postponement of the consideration of the methods and history of Biblical interpretation until after the Theologies of the Old and New Testaments have been dealt with; and the inclusion of Logic and Psychology, as philosophical ancillary sciences, under Systematic Theology. Among sections of special interest, and touching upon subjects not usually treated in works of the kind, may be mentioned that upon the Unity of Religious Thought in the Bible, in the introduction to the department of Exegetical Theology, and those upon the Methods of Historical Investigation and Criticism, which conclude the historical department. In every section throughout the book the information needed by the student is succinctly but lucidly given. In many instances, of course, especially in the historical sketches, it amounts to little more than the names and dates of representative men and books, but in general there is sufficient of luminous exposition to make the pages easily read and most suggestive, whether to the beginner or the advanced student. The scale of treatment, both in the expository and historical paragraphs, is less full than that of Rábiger, and the Bibliographical lists aim at judicious selection rather than exhaustiveness. An extremely useful feature of the book, however, is the *Methodologische Anmerkungen*, the "practical hints," attention to which will greatly smoothe the student's path, especially at its initial stages.

In the case of a work touching upon such a vast number of subjects, it is impossible to include in a review even the briefest indication of the attitude of the author to those subjects individually. A short account of his general standpoint and conception of his science may, however, be desirable.

The task of Theological Encyclopædia he regards as the scientific

exhibition of Theology so as to show its contents, its several divisions and their connection, its development and relation to the circle of the Sciences. In other words, it has to set forth the present day position of the problems and achievements in the department of Theological Science, and that both with regard to the nature and the origin of these problems and achievements. It is at once a preparatory and a recapitulatory study ; in the one case guiding the young traveller when he sets out on his journey, in the other gathering up in a systematic form the results of his travels. Yet it is not to be compared to a traveller's handbook, since this only points out the specially remarkable objects, and brings the different regions of travel into a merely external connection. Theological Encyclopædia is more like a geological map, which brings to view the facts which have contributed to the formation of the earth's crust, and the conditions which make intelligible its present condition and the processes going on within it. "Such a description is *genetic*. It has to explain how things have come to be, in order to make clear what they are." It is a bird's eye view of the whole subject, and has discharged its function "when it has given the theologian an impression of the exhaustless riches and truly exalted character of his science, and stimulated him to renewed independent investigation into the matter with regard to the nature and relations of which it has sought to instruct him." The advantage, and at the same time the moral worth, of the study lies in its preventing the enquirer from demanding more from the materials, and expecting more from the results of his investigations than they are able to supply, to defend him from the disappointments attendant upon excess of enthusiasm or defect of comprehension.

As an example of Dr Heinrici's "practical hints," the following may be quoted. It applies to the sections on Biblical Introduction, and will be found not unworthy of the attention of the student. "If the attempt is made to comprehend the Biblical writings apart from their historical conditions, the revelation of which they are the vehicle will be misunderstood, and their power of religious nourishment be diminished. . . . On the other hand, a purely philologico-historical knowledge of the Bible will be theologically barren. What the theological student looks for, therefore, from the science of Biblical Introduction is to be brought by it face to face with the *real meaning* of Scripture, so as to establish its authority in a manner which involves no self-contradiction. To this end he must make himself acquainted with the present state of critical enquiry, and that not merely by reading about it, but by joining in its labours. The latter is demanded quite as much in the case of the Bible as in any other line of investigation ; for without it, it is difficult to avoid the danger of becoming either a slave to the letter

or a slave to great names, and a mere echo of other men's opinions. The theologian who, in connection with any enquiry relating to Scripture, has 'taken the greatest pains with the smallest point' ('*im kleinsten Punkte die grösste Kraft*'), has secured the key to its inexhaustible treasures."

It is enough to say that Professor Heinrici has striven to be faithful to his own principle, and that every part of his work illustrates that faculty for taking pains which has been said to stand in an intimate relation to genius itself, and is, at any rate, one of the chief conditions of success.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

Essai sur Saint Matthieu.

*Par Théodore Naville. Lausanne : Georges Bridel et Cie.
Tome I^{er}. 8vo, pp. 642. Price, Fr. 8.*

THIS volume is a good homiletic commentary on Matt. i. 1-xi. 1. The author says in his preface: "C'est une simple étude que nous entreprenons, afin de faire passer sous les yeux et dans le cœur des chrétiens cultivés les richesses du premier évangile." An introduction, brief and clear, of sixty pages, deals with the Synoptic question, and with the origin, unity, and integrity of the First Gospel. The author thinks (with B. Weiss) that "Proto-Matthew" contained history as well as discourses, and that it was used by the writers of the First and Second Canonical Gospels. On oral tradition he remarks: "Nous sommes loin de vouloir le nier ou l'amoindrir. Mais cet élément ne saurait constituer à lui seul une explication suffisante des relations qui existent entre nos synoptiques" (p. 25). M. Naville finds in the First Gospel one plan, one language, and one mode of narration, and does not doubt its unity and integrity.

The commentary itself, if it contains little that is original, is yet helpful and readable. Some latitude of range must, of course, be allowed in a homiletic work. There is a discussion (pp. 192-3) on Confession in the Catholic and Protestant Churches. The author can see blots in the latter as well as in the former. Speaking of the "testimonies" of the converted, in which revivalists delight, he exclaims: "Nous ne nous opposons point à ce que ceux qui viennent à Christ déclarent, même publiquement, qu'ils répudient leur passé; mais qu'ils le fassent une fois, en quelques mots, et qu'ils ne racontent pas!" In illustration of the opening of the Lord's Prayer, he quotes (p. 400) from A. Monod's hymn:—

"Je fais monter vers Toi mon Hommage ou mon vœu,
Avec la liberté d'un fils devant son père,
Et le saint tremblement d'un pécheur devant Dieu."

Later on, in commenting on chap. x. 2-4, M. Naville gives (p. 577, *ff.*) short lives of all the Apostles. The sketch of Peter is vivid, but it contains some doubtful matter. Thus on the Second Epistle we find the remark: "Sans doute le style se rapproche plus de l'épître aux Hébreux que de celle de 1 Pierre. Mais cela s'explique si Pierre se trouvait en contact avec Paul à Rome, et si ce dernier venait de rédiger son épître aux Hébreux dont notre épître semble supposer la publication récente (iii. 15)."

It will be clear to the reader by this time why M. Naville prefers to call his book an "essay" rather than a "commentary." The contents of the book are varied and interesting, and it cannot be said that the author neglects his text. It is a modest work, answering well to the aim which the writer sets before him, viz., to meet the wants of the educated "general reader."

W. E. BARNES.

Le Témoignage du Christ et l'Unité du Monde Chrétien. Études philosophiques et religieuses.

*Par Ernest Naville. Genève : Cherbuliez. 8vo, pp. lx. 311.
Price, F. 5.*

IN his preface M. Naville tells his readers that his first intention in this work was to fix the sense of the two ideas—authority and the supernatural. The study of these questions led him to touch that of the divisions of Christendom and the unity that subsists beneath these divisions. The two parts are held together by an organic bond, because the admission of the witness of Christ ought to unite Christians in a common faith in spite of what otherwise separates them.

The second part of the work is an earnest appeal to "Christians of all churches, philosophers who hold spiritualistic doctrines, all men who are placed directly or indirectly under Gospel influence," to concentrate their forces in presence of the flood of irreligion which, like a rising tide, is threatening to overwhelm all classes of society.

The thesis to be proved being that the witness of Christ is founded on the supernatural, Chapter I. is devoted to the definition of the terms *supernatural* and *authority*.

The author begins by defining the natural, in contrast to the supernatural, as "the order of things grounded on ordinary experience, whether in the material or the moral world" (p. 4). The supernatural is a fact which really, and not simply apparently, deviates from those well established laws which constitute for us the laws of nature.

The possibility of such deviation may be denied, on the ground that the laws of nature are not only *general* but *necessary*. "This is idealistic philosophy, which in religious language takes the name of pantheism" (p. 6). If determinists are consistent, every free action would be supernatural. The supernatural is founded on "the idea of the liberty of God, and the use He makes of this liberty in His relations to man."¹ What is authority? Authority is the character of that which imposes itself by experience, reason, and testimony. In what, then, consists liberty of thought? In shaking oneself free from undue authorities in order to submit to legitimate ones. "A Protestant," says Vinet, "is a man who examines before submitting." It is only in regard to undue authorities that there is an opposition between liberty and authority.

Chapter II. treats of the testimony of Jesus Christ and its value. The testimony of Christ is founded upon His direct relationship to a world superior to ordinary experience. John the Baptist says of Him, "He that cometh from heaven is above all, and what He hath seen and heard that He testifieth" (John iii. 31, 32). And Jesus points out the origin of His teaching in the words, "We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen" (John iii. 11); and Paul lays great stress on the witness of Jesus. As He was about to leave the world He said to His disciples, "In My Father's house are many mansions" (John xiv. 2). Here we have the affirmation of a reality which Christ says He knows. He asserts that there is something above and beyond this earthly life, a holy society into which enters nothing that is defiled or unholy. This society is founded on love, for "God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him." Creation, redemption, sanctification are the three great ideas which sum up the Gospel.² Compare the position of those who receive the witness of Christ with that of the most enlightened sage of the ancient world—Socrates—consoling himself with the probability of a future life.

Proofs of the truth of the testimony of Christ. The most important are the internal proofs. The man who knows where he has found light, strength, consolation, peace, will attach himself to Him by whom he has received these benefits, and appealing to

¹ M. Pillon in *La critique philosophique* of 17th January 1883, p. 389.

² Professor Naville's teaching reminds us of Dr John Duncan's:—"The law ordained, 'Thou shalt love;' and love ordained that law. Man would not keep it, and love ordained a gospel; that gospel is, 'God so loved.' Thus, 'Thou shalt love' is the whole of the law; 'God so loved' is the whole of the gospel. That is so clear that it is at once law and gospel for children and for savages; but it is so deep in its limpid clearness that no philosopher can fathom it."—"Colloquia Peripatetica," p. 130.

his experiences will say, "I know whom I have believed." We pass on to the proof drawn from the resurrection of Christ. "It is an uncontested and incontestable fact that the Christian Church is founded on its faith in the resurrection of its head, but it is natural to ask for the proof of the proof" (p. 51). What proof can be given of the reality of the resurrection of Christ? The strongest proof of its reality resides in the history of the Church itself. It resides "not only in acts accomplished nineteen centuries ago, but in acts accomplished during nineteen centuries, and which are still being accomplished in our own days" (p. 52). But it is not so much in the spread of Christianity that the proof resides as in its moral influence. Not that morals were unknown to the ancient world. "The Gospel," says Vinet, "did not invent morals; some of the finest maxims had been for a long time in circulation in the world. . . . The prerogative of the Gospel is much less to proclaim a new system of morals than to impart strength to practise the old" (p. 55). In reply to the objection that so-called Christian peoples are far from practising the morality of the New Testament, and that religion has been the cause of odious persecution and bloody wars, M. Naville answers, "The Gospel is a leaven; Christianity is the dough which the leaven has to penetrate little by little; and the dough is not only heavy, it offers an active resistance. In spite of this resistance the divine work is being accomplished" (p. 57). The next question discussed is: can a man profess the Christian faith while declaring that he accepts no authority? No doubt doctrines are not to be received without examination. As we cannot judge from our own experience, the examination bears upon the value of the witnesses. Faith does not spring from authority, but authority from faith. Where there is no authority there is no faith. But, "if we have given our confidence to Jesus Christ, we are willing to accept from Him truths which go beyond us. They are proved and generated by an act of faith, not by their own evidence, since they go beyond us" (p. 93).¹ In concluding his arguments, M. Naville adds, "The reasonings which have just been presented may strengthen the faith of those who profess it in some degree; but they are not sufficient to produce it . . . because the heart, the conscience, and the will have a great part in the formation of our religious beliefs. . . . When Christ indicates the method which He proposes in order to recognise the truth of His mission, He says, if any man willeth to do the will of God, he shall know of the teaching whether it be of God or whether I speak from myself."

M. Naville goes on to show the connection between Christian philosophy and faith. In the second part of his work he engages

¹ Quoted from M. Stapfer's "L'Autorité de la Bible et la critique," p. 22.

Christians of all Churches to unite in their efforts to combat the common enemy, as far as possible, on the ground of their common faith in the witness of Christ. He appeals to Eastern and Western Catholics, Anglicans, Lutherans, Reformed, and all other communities to fix their eyes above the barriers that separate them, upon Christ, upon the basis of the beliefs which they hold in common and their oneness in morals and in sentiment.

It will appear to most Protestants that M. Naville underrates the difficulties of a common action between a Church which claims infallibility and those based on freedom of enquiry. He speaks of two classes of Catholics and Protestants, those who are first Catholics or Protestants, and more or less or not at all Christians, and those who are first Christians and then Catholics or Protestants. That is, good Christians and bad Catholics, or bad Christians and yet good Protestants.

M. Wuarin, professor of political economy in the university of Geneva, in criticising this part of M. Naville's book, agrees with him in the excellence of the principle which he advocates and believes, that the evolution which tends to bring Protestants and Catholics nearer each other is in the order of things, and is certain to come; but he adds, "The watchword on the side of the rigid Catholics is, the most absolute *non possumus*. Other Christians than those of Rome? An understanding? Closer communication? But we are the sole and only Christian Church. There are no authentic disciples of Christ in the orthodox Greek Church nor among the Protestants! The 'Unity of the Christian world' is already consummated, for we make no alliance with error, and agreement reigns among ourselves."¹ K. DE FAYE.

✓ Die Begründung unserer sittlich-religiösen Überzeugung.

Von Dr Julius Köstlin. Berlin: Reuter und Reichard. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 124. Price, M. 2.

DR KÖSTLIN always writes in an interesting and instructive way. His style is clear, his learning is wide, and his power of thought and exposition unusually great. He is also a historian, and likes to look at doctrines and arguments in their historic setting. His present inquiry is as to the ways in which religion and moral conviction may be founded. How can I be persuaded of the truth of the moral and religious convictions which I have, or how shall I attain to a persuasion of their truth? After a brief introduction, which sets forth the present state of the question, Dr Köstlin devotes a

¹ *Journal de Genève*, 28th April 1893.

chapter to the exposition of the view of Luther, and the views of the theologians of the Reformation, on the question. He next traces the history of the question, and indicates the kinds of argument used by dogmatic theologians and apologists from Grotius down to Edward König. Then we have a critical section, the aim of which is to show the insufficiency of the arguments used to produce religious conviction. He examines first the proofs for the Being of God, and those usually adduced for the truth of the Christian religion. Dr Köstlin does not think that by the theistic argument for the Being of God, or by arguments for the truth of the Christian religion, as these were wont to be conducted, he can attain to certainty. This second part is valuable, both for its historical information and also for its clear and incisive criticism.

Then he comes to the constructive part of his work. His general principle is, Inner experience is the ground of religious and moral conviction. He has the following sections:—The origin of Religion in general, Immediate perception (*Innewerden*) in the universal moral consciousness, The origin of Christian Faith according to the statements of the New Testament, Inner Christian experience according to more recent theologians, Exposition of the inner experience which is the foundation of the Christian assurance of faith, and its range. Under these headings Dr Köstlin unfolds an argument of great weight and value. It is not our purpose to criticise it here, or even to set it forth. But we may commend it as of present apologetic and dogmatic worth. We have been much interested in the recognition of the value of the work done in this relation by English-speaking theologians and moralists. We were glad to find a generous and just recognition of Jonathan Edwards, a theologian who has not yet come to his own. "Jonathan Edwards," says Dr Köstlin, "occupies one of the first positions as an important, deep, and powerful thinker. Not only among his countrymen and co-religionists up to the present time, but also in England and Scotland he has attained to high esteem. . . . The moral sense, according to Edwards, is an 'internal sense' for the harmony and order of things, a power to apprehend this harmony, and with it a power to apprehend the beautiful; a similar internal sense, the æsthetic sense, deals in a similar way with the beauty or harmony in the visible world. The moral sense apprehends, recognises, and approves of the beauty and harmony displayed in the moral province, in the province of the affections, character, actions; its object belongs to the will and to the disposition of the will, or, to use an expression which will be readily understood, to the heart. As Kant said, that a good will is 'without limit,' to be held good, so Edwards declares further: true duty or beauty is that beauty of the heart, which is beautiful in virtue of a universal (not particular or relative)

beauty or harmony; beautiful in itself, and in relation to the thing with which it stands in union. It consists so essentially in universal benevolence or in love, that it has not only been set forth richly in holy Scripture, but it has also been abundantly recognised by the deists." I need not translate more; but perhaps what has been translated may send readers to the study of Edwards' two works on "The chief end of God in Creation," and in "The Nature of true Virtue," two of the most wonderful works ever written.

JAMES IVERACH.

Appearance and Reality: A Metaphysical Essay.

By F. H. Bradley, LL.D. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. xv. 552. Price 10s. 6d.

It is scarcely possible for any one to say much about this book. What are we to say of or to an author who frankly says in the preface, "I offer the reader a set of opinions and ideas in part certainly wrong, but when and how much I am unable to tell him. That is for him to find out, if he cares to, and if he can"? Dr Bradley has certainly set us a very difficult task, and we are not sure that we have caught his meaning, or what the set of opinions and ideas he offers us really are. We are not sure whether we are to take him, and his book, and his set of opinions as appearance or reality. The main criterion of reality is consistency, so says Dr Bradley. What is contradictory is only appearance. If we apply this criterion we are afraid that we must set this book down simply as an appearance. For we do not find consistency in it.

The first book deals with "appearance," and in it we have twelve chapters. The titles of these are, "Primary and Secondary Qualities," "Substantive and Adjective," "Relation and Quality," "Space and Time," "Thought and Reality," "Error," "Evil," "Temporal and Spectral Appearance," "The Reality of Self," "Phenomenalism," and "Things in Themselves." Venerable and time-worn metaphysical friends appear in a new guise, and display unwonted agility in these chapters. The one and the many familiar in the schools of Greece, the possibility of motion or of change, are again presented to our view and, with similar difficulties, are urged until we are driven to the conclusion that all "appearance" is as such self-contradicting. A specimen of the argumentation may be given—"The problem of change underlies that of motion, but the former itself is not fundamental. It points back to the dilemma of the one and the many, the differences and the identity, the adjectives and the thing, the qualities and the relations. How anything can possibly

be anything else was a question which defied our efforts. Change is little beyond an instance of this dilemma in principle. It either adds an irrelevant complication, or confuses itself in a blind attempt at compromise. Let us, at the cost of repetition, try to get clear on this head. Change, it is evident, must be change of something, and it is obvious, further, that it contains diversity. Hence it asserts two of one, and so falls at once under the condemnation of the previous chapters. But it tries to defend itself by this distinction: 'Yes, both are asserted, but not both in one; there is a relation, and so the unity and plurality are combined.' But our criticism of relations has destroyed this subterfuge beforehand. We have seen that when a whole has been broken up into relations and terms, it has become utterly self-discrepant. You can truly predicate neither one part of the other part, nor any, nor all, of the whole. And in its attempt to contain these elements, the whole commits suicide, and destroys them in its death" (pp. 45-6). Suppose we accept Dr Bradley's arguments as conclusive with regard to appearance. Suppose we also accept the result of his chapter on "the meanings of self," and generally accept his results, what are we to conclude? Are we to give up metaphysics, and say, *solvitur ambulando*? That is not Dr Bradley's conclusion.

He goes on to speak of reality and how reality may be known but in dealing with "Reality" he seems to us to forget what he has said about "appearance." If he finds it impossible to speak intelligibly of the unity of a lump of sugar, and if he cannot get the qualities and relations of a lump of sugar to unite, how is he able to speak of the absolute, and its unity in variety? He assumes that reality is self-consistent. But it is only an assumption after all. Others have found difficulty about the absolute. Hamilton and Mansel have given us specimens of verbal dialectic on this head as fine as anything contained in Dr Bradley's work, and Dr Bradley calmly passes them by on the other side, and assumes that the absolute is real. And he sometimes also seems to forget all that he has written, *e.g.*, "For I cannot see how, when I observe a thing at work, I am to stand there, and to insist that I know nothing of its nature. I fail to perceive how a function is nothing at all, or how it does not positively qualify that to which I attribute it." Taking this statement as it stands we can understand it. Taking it in the light of the first part of the book it is unintelligible. What is the "I" in it? What is the "thing"? And again, what is the "function"? And what is implied in seeing a thing at "work"? How many terms and relations have we here? When he says, "I observe a thing at work," how much does he predicate of the self, and how much of the thing? Have we not here the dilemma of the one and the many; and all that is contained in the foregoing

quotation. "A thing at work," is a thing either undergoing change or producing change in something else; and on any view Dr Bradley has no right to forget his polemic against change. This is only one instance out of many. He seems to forget in the second part what he has written in the first. The greatest of all puzzles is how a self which is no more than Dr Bradley allows in the first part, can be, or do, or think anything at all? How a self of Dr Bradley's kind can come to have an idea of consistency or inconsistency is to us a mystery. Dr Bradley says it can, but he has not shown how it can. But at all events he cannot take a step towards "Reality" until he has overcome his own puzzles about "Appearance." Why do we attribute unity to an orange? How do we unite in one thing and attribute to it the impressions which have come to us through different avenues of sense, and say that the orange is yellow, has taste, odour, shape, weight? Well, perhaps, we cannot explain? But we do in fact regard the orange as a unity! Why? Metaphysics ought to be able to explain? But Dr Bradley does not explain. He simply says that the process is suicidal, and then goes on to show that the process which is suicidal with regard to an orange, leads to legitimate results with regard to the Absolute Reality. It is prodigious.

JAMES IVERACH.

Der Materialismus: eine Verirrung des menschlichen Geistes, widerlegt durch eine zeitgemässe Weltanschauung.

By Dr Eugen Dreher, weiland Dozent an der Universität Halle. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vii. 83. Price 2s.

THIS treatise is an attempt to refute Materialism and to establish a dualistic theory of existence. It is written in the interests of man's spiritual ideas, practical and speculative.

The book opens with what the author dignifies with the name of a "historical" sketch of modern physical Materialism, but which is really a collection of the materialistic opinions of such writers as Lamettrie, Emil du Bois-Reymond, Gustav Jäger—"the discoverer of the Soul," Büchner, Haeckel, Moleschott. These writers represent thought as "the movement of matter," a "function of the brain-substance," and the soul as "a chemical compound," or "the highest expression of organic forces"; man is said to be what he eats, and all actual existence to be sensible existence.

Dr Dreher finds that these materialists have accepted probabilities

for demonstrated truths, and have rashly attempted to construct an ontology without turning the light of criticism on their own hypotheses. Their theory rests upon the dualism of Matter and Energy, neither of which can be converted into the other. And their account of these ultimate constitutive elements is self-contradictory. They assert that these factors are inseparable, that energy does not float free of all matter, and that matter cannot reveal itself, or have any qualities, except in virtue of change which implies energy. And yet they hold to the doctrine of the Transmutation of Energy, and of its transition from object to object as if it were separable from each of them. Further, neither matter as such, nor energy as such, either is or can be observed ; but, as Emil du Bois-Reymond and others are forced to admit, matter and energy are in their last resource nothing but abstractions, complementary to one another, in neither of which thought can find rest. They are asserted without proof, and used without being explained ; and they bring with them ideas of space, time, and movement which the materialists have not investigated even to the extent of deciding whether they are real or unreal, subjective or objective, or both. The materialistic attempt at becoming a philosophy is premature and rash.

Nevertheless, these obvious difficulties have not broken the force of Materialism. Matter and spirit seem, after all, to move hand in hand, and the materialist, in insisting upon their unity, seems to many to hold a great truth in his hand, although he is not able to do it justice by scientific exposition and proof. And the doctrine of Evolution which mediates gradually the transition from the lowest to the highest forms of being, has deepened the hold of Materialism upon modern thought. But it is not able to explain where or how consciousness first appears. Evolution does not escape the difficulty by running back to the beginnings of things ; even to endow each ultimate atom with a consciousness of its own does not account for the *general* consciousness, or for the relations which make out of these atoms a universal order. And, further, consciousness, even when admitted, is rendered of no avail by the materialist : it is always for him either an overlooked or an idle factor. He does not seem to be aware that what we experience is not molecular movements in the brain, or wave-moments in the physical world, but tones, and colours, and tastes, and warmth, and pain, &c. And these are neither molecular movements, nor explicable therefrom. They are the products of spiritual construction acting upon data. Nay, movement itself is a mental construction—a syllogism based upon premises, namely, upon the identity of a material content at different times and places.

Thus, Materialism, by the neglect of the constructive activity of intelligence in some one or other of its forms, endeavours to under-

stand the world from the point of view of an abstraction. Besides this, it uses an untrustworthy principle in its investigations, namely, the law of causality. Causality is not only not applied by the materialists to the sphere of volition, but it is inconsistent with the facts of that sphere, and has to be set aside as invalid. Voluntary decisions are not resultants of conflicting or co-operating motives—one motive can extinguish another, and there is no correspondence between the strength of a decision and the intensity of its antecedents. All calculable equivalence between antecedent and consequence disappears, and unless there exists such equivalence, we are not justified in asserting causality.

Dr Dreher seeks no higher law when the mechanical one of causality thus proves inadequate, but he falls back upon the usual dualism of thought and matter. And the results of his dualism are the usual ones, namely, the assertion of realities that cannot be known, the separation of the ideal and the real worlds, and the concealment of the latter under the impenetrable Veil of *Maiá*. Matter, as we know it, thus becomes a phenomenon, and Materialism, which, in its innocence, has taken the material to be real, is thus refuted. Dr Dreher does not seem to see that every other conceivable theory is refuted by the same hypothesis.

In the latter part of this little book, the author attempts reconstruction in a fresh way. Having reduced the world of the materialist into a phenomenon, he still finds a place and need for it as the opposite of thought. But he does not explain how any valid opposition to thought can be offered by a mere phenomenon, which is itself in part the product of thought. Nor does he catch the hint of the deeper unity of thought which is implied in the very admission of its object as phenomenal. Instead of this, he breaks the continuity of existence in a fresh place. He interposes between the outer world of real objects—of which, like other phenomenologists, he continues to speak—and the world of conscious experience, a third world, which is the product of unconscious sense activity. In obedience to instincts and impulses which are innate, to powers that are subsidiary to the Ego, we construct unconsciously the world of sense. The senses, that is, furnish us with a kind of first copy of the outer world, and conscious thought employs itself upon this copy, elaborating thereby a secondary representation of reality. The real, the sense, and the thought-worlds correspond to one another; but they are related to one another externally by a kind of double pre-established harmony.

There is little need of criticism. The refutation of Materialism is clear and incisive. The attempt to mediate between the material and the spiritual by means of unconscious psychical activities is one of those compromises which multiply difficulties. It represents in

one way more the tendency, so prominent in Lotze and other recent German writers, to throw the emphasis on the material of thought, and to reduce thought itself into a formal activity. The same tendency within the sphere of religion and morality sets store in the first place on feeling and immediate convictions, as if anything immediate had a right to be convincing to beings who have, amongst other needs, the need to think.

HENRY JONES.

Lehrbuch der Praktischen Theologie (Text-Book of Practical Theology).

Von Dr Alfred Krauss, weil. ord. Professor der Theologie zu Strassburg: 2^{ter} Band, Katechetik. Pastoraltheorie. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: Mohr, 1893. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 456. Price, M. 9.

WE observe with sorrow that this second volume of Dr Krauss' "Practical Theology" appears as a posthumous work, the learned and able author having died on 31st May 1892, at the age of fifty-six. His colleague and friend, Professor Holzmann, has edited the latter half of the volume from the author's lectures, and prefixed a brief notice of his life and work. From this and from his previous publications it is plain that German theology has sustained a real loss by his removal, more especially because he had great knowledge of and sympathy with the Reformed type of doctrine. The first volume of the present work was noticed in these pages on its appearance (Vol. I., pp. 58-63); hence a briefer account may now suffice for this volume, which completes the plan proposed in the former, by adding to its expositions of Liturgic and Homiletic the remaining divisions of Catechetical and Pastoral theory. The qualities of systematic and logical treatment, sound practical sense, and earnest Christian feeling, appear in every part of the work, and it is written with a clearness of style that makes it easy and pleasant reading.

The treatment of Catechetical is very thorough and scientific, based upon a consideration of the essential nature and object of this part of ministerial duty, which is conceived as the imparting of the instruction needful for training up the children of the Christian Church to the point when they are of full age to undertake their own responsibilities; and from this point of view, the period, the distinctive character, the substance, and the method, of teaching Catechumens, are simply and clearly deduced, and illustrated with reference to the varying practices of the Church at different times. In this connection the question of infant baptism comes to be in-

cidentally treated, though it belongs properly to Dogmatic. It is defended on the ground of the principles of Christ's teaching, as applied to circumstances different from those of the Apostolic Church; and this is satisfactory so far as it goes, though the recognition of the organic unity of the Church in the Old and New Covenants warrants, I think, a stronger statement of the really scriptural authority of the practice. However, on the more important question of the nature of the ordinance, Dr Krauss has very well shown that it can be explained only in the way of entirely discarding the Augustinian idea of baptismal regeneration, and regarding it as a sign and seal which only becomes truly efficacious through the faith of the receiver. Confirmation is recognised, but only as the personal acceptance of baptismal promises and obligations, equivalent to admission to the Lord's table, and not as a sacramental or episcopal act. The substance of catechetical instruction is held, in true Protestant spirit, to include the knowledge of the Bible, as well as of the sum of Christian doctrine; and in reference to this latter, a historical and critical account is given of the more important catechisms of the churches. Dr Krauss approves of the construction of these out of the Decalogue, Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Sacraments, and of this order among these parts which is the Lutheran; and while he recognises that some revision of the old forms is desirable, in order to make them more suitable in the present day, so as to be what they should be, popular summaries of the Church's faith, he does not consider that any of the attempts at this has as yet been successful.

The fourth division of "Practical Theology," according to Dr Krauss' arrangement, is Pastoral theory, and this occupies the second half of this volume. It consists of what is often called, in the narrower sense, "the care of souls," and it is conceived here in a truly Protestant way, since it is laid down that the evangelical minister has in this sphere no rights which do not in idea belong to every more lively Christian in relation to those who are less so, but that it is his duty to be and to do, for all those attached to his flock, whatever those in spiritual need may properly expect from more advanced Christians. These duties are to be discharged in the several spheres of ecclesiastical, civil, and social life, in all which the pastor has to watch over the flock entrusted to him, and lead them to Christ. Under these three divisions pastoral duties are discussed with great thoroughness, much practical wisdom, and warm Christian feeling, and much that is good and useful is contained in the sections devoted to them. It is impossible here to give a detailed account of their contents, or to offer criticisms on particular points, of which, indeed, there are not many where I would differ from the author. But, on a general view of the work

as a whole, a Presbyterian reader can hardly fail to be struck by the absence of any place for Church discipline in the system of "Practical Theology." There is no idea of the Church having the power, through its office-bearers, of regulating its own membership, and dealing by means of rebuke, suspension, and exclusion, with those of them whose conduct is plainly inconsistent with real Christianity. The power of discipline, which the Church formerly had, is regarded as almost entirely gone in the present day; and while earnest counsel is given to preserve and use wisely what remains of it, such a value is attached to the union of Church and State, as making the Church a leaven in the whole community, that the existing condition of things in Germany is acquiesced in as inevitable. In this country, happily, we owe it to the struggles of our Covenanting ancestors that a better state of things prevails, which it is surely the duty of the Church and her ministers to maintain at all hazards.

In conclusion, it must be said that every part of this volume is distinguished by extensive knowledge of the history of the subject and copious reference to its literature, though, as was natural, chiefly to that of Germany. While in some things, unavoidably, it is adapted to circumstances and customs that are different from those of this country, the book, as a whole, is one which no minister of the Gospel can study without much profit.

JAMES S. CANDLISH.

Die stellvertretende Bedeutung der Person Jesu Christi (The vicarious significance of the Person of Jesus Christ).

Von Ernst Cremer, lic. theol. Pfarrer zu Lich im Grossherzogtum Baden. Gütersloh: Bertelsman. Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 8vo, pp. 127. Price, M. 1.80.

THIS little treatise is a most excellent and valuable contribution to the investigation of the vital Christian doctrine of the work of our Saviour. Alike in the appreciation of its history, the exegesis of Scripture testimony, and the construction of theological conclusions, it displays a command of the relevant materials, and a grasp of the essential principles, that give confidence in the soundness of the results reached. As indicated in the title, the main idea of the essay is, that the quality of substitution is to be ascribed not merely to the death of Christ as a fact, or to His work as a thing, but to His Person. In the author's opinion the Protestant post-Reformation theology failed to construct a satisfactory doctrine of the Atonement,

largely because it neglected this, and treated it merely as a thing. He is, however, not at all an unjust or unsympathetic critic of earlier forms of expressing the Christian faith. He points out the essentially religious nature of the question as to the salvation wrought by Christ, and its inseparable connection with the question as to His person. For our religious life, the assurance that Christ is God has value, because it is equivalent to the assurance that we have salvation in Him; and while in the ancient Church the relation of the two convictions was, that since Christ is our Saviour He must be God; the Reformation advanced from this to the converse conclusion, that because the man Christ Jesus is God incarnate we have full salvation in Him. This is, I think, a true and enlightening view of the progress of Christian thought during these great ages. But while the assurance of salvation through faith in Christ was preached by Luther, and formed a momentous step in advance of previous conceptions, it was not systematised as a theological doctrine, as, indeed, the German Reformer was a preacher rather than a theologian; and the task of giving a systematic form to what the Reformers all preached was left to their successors. This task they performed, however, in some respects imperfectly; and in regard to the doctrine of the Atonement, Herr Cremer signalises especially two defects in the later Protestant dogmatics. One is their making distributive justice the ruling attribute of God in this connection, and the other, that by looking at the death of Christ simply as a fact, apart from its historical relations, they introduce as the medium between God and man, not a person, but a thing. These defects laid this theology open to the attack of the Socinians; but in spite of them it was so far an expression of genuine Christian experience that it was able to overcome that attack, and has not been overcome even by the later assault of rationalism. In the practical preaching, and above all in the hymns, of the post-Reformation age, the essential truth of Christ's Atonement was proclaimed, though the theologians' way of explaining it suffered from the general fault of that time, the want of the historical sense. This criticism seems to me just and fair, though it might be qualified, as well as confirmed by the observation that the above-mentioned defects are less visible in the federal school, who gave their theology a somewhat more historical character than their brethren. Anyhow, it is widely felt in the present day, that while the belief that sin is so enormous an evil as to need for its forgiveness the sacrifice of Christ in the sinner's stead is a true and Christian one, the precise form in which it was explained in the seventeenth century can no longer be maintained. Herr Cremer then proceeds to examine the theories of Hofmann and Ritschl, as two outstanding modern attempts to solve the problem, acknowledg-

ing their value, especially that of the former, as doing justice to the historical element, but pointing out how they fail to satisfy Scripture teaching and Christian feeling.

This leads to an investigation of the purpose and work of Jesus from the historical basis of the gospels. The claim of Jesus was to be the Messiah, the bringer-in of the reign of God ; and that implies that His work was not only a proclamation but a deed, the giving of salvation, and that on a world-wide scale, as the prophets had foretold. This required, as was also taught by the prophets, a judgment ; but the judgment was in order to the salvation of the world. Thus Jesus, in the first place, awakened men's sense of guilt ; but the characteristic of His work, as distinguished from that of previous prophets and the Baptist, was that He gave forgiveness to sinners ; and this is the essential blessing of the Kingdom of God. In opposition to Ritschl, our author says, "The love which we practise will never make the earth the kingdom of God, but only the love which we believe, and even it cannot do this without judging" (p. 45). Then he points out, that if, as in Ritschl's view, the work of Jesus was merely the revelation of the love of God in word and deed, His miracles have no necessary connection with it, since that love could be shown by works of love within ordinary human power ; whereas, as signs and proofs of a great deed of salvation that He was about to do, they have a necessity and essential connection with His ministry that shows them to be in the highest sense reasonable. They were needed to show that He had indeed the world in His hand, and that He would use His power for the world's salvation. Jesus by claiming to be Messiah, the Judge and Saviour of the world, took the position of God, and this not merely in Ritschl's sense of a judgment of value (*Wert-urtheil*) ; for, it is asked, How can we ascribe the value of God to one who is essentially not God, but only a man ? But if He is truly God, and as such has the power to decide our destiny, and the will to decide for our salvation, the next inquiry is, What is the deed by which He has done so ? This, by His own testimony and the general belief of the Church, is His death ; only that is not to be viewed, with the post-Reformation theologians, as a mere fact, but as a historical course of conduct on the part of Jesus, which was the appropriate sequel of the course of events up to that point. When the Lord of the world appeared in the world to establish His kingdom, revealing God's hatred of sin as well as His love to men, there came a point when He must either judge the world, or save it by Himself undergoing its judgment. This was the crisis in Gethsemane and in His sufferings, especially when on the cross He cried, "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me ?" He was bearing the divine judgment against sin,—as

Paul says, "made sin," "made a curse," in our place. Such a substitution was prefigured by the Old Testament sacrifices, to which Jesus referred when He spoke of giving His life a ransom for many, and of His blood shed for the forgiveness of sins. The exegetical grounds of these statements are ably and clearly set forth, and Herr Cremer does not hesitate to affirm that Jesus suffered the wrath of God. On a subject, however, at once so sacred and so mysterious as the suffering of the Holy One of God for our sins, it is surely safest and most reverent to confine our statements to what has express Scripture warrant ; and therefore, while I agree with the author in understanding the forsaking as real, I prefer to avoid the expression "the wrath of God," without denying that in a sense, and if taken as inseparable from "the cursed death of the Cross," as the Westminster Shorter Catechism takes it, it may express a truth.

It will be seen from the foregoing outline of the contents of this treatise, that its deviation from the 17th century theology is not great, far less than its difference from the views of Hofmann and Ritschl. Yet the divergence is not unimportant, and is entirely for the better. It gets away from the idea of anything like a commercial exchange, in which the value of one thing or deed is balanced by another, by showing that the deity of Christ is not merely to be considered as giving infinite value to His sacrifice, but is essential to show that the world's Lord and Judge is He who suffers the judgment that He must else inflict ; it puts in place of the attribute of distributive justice, of which it is hard to see how it can be satisfied with vicarious punishment, that of holy hatred of evil, which is much more frequently brought out in Scripture ; and it enables us to see more directly and clearly than the older forms of expressing the doctrine, how Christ, in the very act of redemption, reveals God's character as holy love. This treatise is not indeed, and in its limits could not be, a complete discussion of the Atonement. Some points needing exposition are left untouched ; and in particular, I do not think we can do full justice to this great doctrine without bringing in an idea that Herr Cremer does not refer to, the mystical and spiritual union between Christ and His people. But so far as it goes his work is a valuable contribution towards the solution of the problem of making the theological expression of the doctrine more Biblical and satisfactory. The essential truth as a matter of religious faith has, as he well points out, always been held by the Church even when its theological expression has been more imperfect than that of the great Protestant dogmatics can be said to be ; and the creeds and confessions express that essential faith without the more or less doubtful explanations that are necessary in Systematic Theology. Herr Cremer is in thorough sympathy with the

spiritual and evangelical faith of the Church, and writes with calmness and respect for those whom he criticises.

JAMES S. CANDLISH.

Die Philosophie des Nicolaus Malebranche.

Von Dr Mario Novaro. Berlin : Mayer und Müller, 1893.
8vo, pp. 107. Price, M. 3.

NEAR the beginning this monograph says that "before Kant, modern philosophy counts but three systems : that of Hobbes, that of Bruno and Spinoza, and that of Malebranche"; it ends with saying that in Malebranche "France appears to have had its only philosopher who is at once thorough and acute." The main purpose of the author is to show him as "offering the first and best example of idealism" in modern times, and to find the marks of his influence on after writers, more particularly on Hume in his treatment of causality.

Dr Novaro thinks that Malebranche needs to be saved from many of his exponents, but it is really a question of the point of view from which one looks at him. He is usually treated by reference to his predecessors, but Dr Novaro thinks with Fontenelle that Malebranche rather meets Descartes than follows him. Or he is treated with reference to Spinoza, his real, though not chronological, successor; and certainly the best historical method is to regard him as marking the transition from Descartes to Spinoza, much as Berkeley leads Locke to Hume. But Dr Novaro prefers to take him as the first metaphysician who clearly undertakes an idealistic explanation of the dualism which sets the problems of philosophy, and as a separate and distinct influence on the course of philosophy.

His account puts together, in short space, the theory of knowledge, and the nature of individual minds and of physical reality, as these are presented by Malebranche. The last section treats of his ethics; and nothing could be clearer and terser than the five pages of outline which bring into prominence his close relation with the ethics of Spinoza and Schopenhauer. In a short criticism, Dr Novaro summarises and approves of the well-known objections to the identification of knowing and being, *e.g.*, "We can have thinking only in an Ego. How can we have an ego where there is no non-ego? . . . Where have we experience of thinking without a brain?" But to give real value to these obvious objections, he would require to have discussed two questions : first, whether the

monistic or idealistic idea is implied in the search for the ground of truth anywhere, and second, what is to measure the value of the idea when it is said to have been found. As an exposition, however, this essay will be found to be both interesting and useful.

W. MITCHELL.

The Aesthetic Element in Morality, and its Place in a Utilitarian Theory of Morals.

By Frank Chapman Sharp, Ph.D. Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1893. 8vo, pp. 131. Price, M. 3.

HERE Dr Sharp desires to supplement the doctrine of Utilitarianism, and to prove it more than a match for other ethical theories. There are two matters in which, he thinks, the theory requires a better treatment. One is with respect to moral beauty: the theory must get "beyond the helpless attitude of Sidgwick and Stephen" and "the superficiality of Bain and Laas." The other thing requiring better treatment is the idea of obligation, which is "as yet one of the weakest points in the system."

The greater part of the essay is concerned with the question of moral beauty. The treatment is partly expository, partly polemical. It is sought to prove that beauty of character is not always virtuous, —often the reverse,—and consequently that it is not the ethical end. And the conclusion is that beauty of character ought to be valued in terms of intensity and duration of pleasure, and that this can be done. The author has no difficulty in showing that qualities of character which we admire,—strong resolution or great skill, for example,—may be put to bad uses. But he forgets to say that no one confounds what he admires with its repulsive associates. The polemic is against an enemy whom Dr Sharp has set up for himself to despise heartily at length. He cannot think that one who takes the end and means of virtue to be in character attaches no meaning to the words "beauty of character," but leaves it to the good pleasure of any spectator. Whom does he expect to touch by the argument that, if beauty of character were the ethical end, every one should devote himself to culture, and keep free from the hard work of the world? He has to learn that every ethical end, ever seriously propounded, claims to account for all the facts, and that the value of such a theory has therefore to be determined on quite other grounds. His own conclusion is that beauty of character can be measured by the intensity and duration of the pleasure it affords. Who is to do the measuring is a question that does not trouble him, and, if each for himself, whether it is to be done at night or in the

morning. But the instrument to do it with is this: "A unit of intensity may accordingly be found in the smallest difference in actual attractiveness that can be detected by consciousness between two states of feeling. The *relative intensity* of any two states of pleasure will then be in proportion to their distance (counted in the units just mentioned) from the point of indifference = 0, and their *relative value* will be as the product of these terms into their respective periods of duration." No wonder Dr Sharp talks of the helplessness and superficiality of previous utilitarians; but psycho-physics is to give confidence and depth. One can only express a certain longing to see a table of the beauties of character drawn to scale. But what a prospect for autobiographers!

We are led to expect much from the chapter on obligation, but the argument comes only to this, that if people had no common aims, they could not say "you ought," but "you must," to one another; the pure egoist says neither "I ought" nor "you ought." In the first chapter it had already been said: "Egoism and altruism are simply names for the two directions in which a certain psychic force is found to work." This may mean anything, and, as Dr Sharp expressly refuses to say anything about this psychic force, it means nothing.

Dr Sharp is probably a young writer, and will no doubt come to believe that a certain respect is due to the intelligence of those whom time has approved. He may even come to see that "Scotch thinkers, and all of them, despite any protestations they may make to the contrary, and despite all the ingenuity they may at times employ to conceal the facts from themselves and others," may, after all, be honest. At any rate, he will not talk of Aristotle's ethics as having "a dash of the metaphysical," or Green's as having "a touch of the deontological." He will also believe more in the English language than to speak, in a first page at least, of "the to be sure oftentimes fulsome praise of the obituary notice."

W. MITCHELL.

Einleitung in den Hexateuch.

Von Lic. Dr H. Holzinger, Repetent am Evang.-Theolog. Seminar in Tübingen. I. Text; II. Tabellen. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: Mohr's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1893. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Large 8vo, I. pp. 511, II. pp. 14. Price, M. 15.

DR HOLZINGER'S *Einleitung* is one of the latest additions to Mohr's well-known *Sammlung theologischer Lehrbücher*. The author's original commission was to prepare an Old Testament Introduction

which should form a companion to Holtzmann's "Introduction to the New Testament." But, as not unfrequently happens in such cases, Dr Holzinger found that his material for the opening section on the Hexateuch had assumed such proportions as to make it advisable to issue it as a separate work. And a goodly volume it is: over five hundred large pages, many of them in small print, attest at once the author's diligence and his determination to give what is practically a complete account of the present position of critical investigation in this important field. He makes no claim to have contributed materially to the solution of the innumerable problems of the Hexateuch; his method is "almost entirely reproductive," and seeks to present an adequate and impartial summary of the conclusions reached by the leading specialists in this department of Old Testament study.

As regards our author's arrangement of the materials at his disposal, it is so good that it would be difficult to suggest any improvement. The work is divided into five sections. The first of these (pp. 1-70) is of an introductory nature, and is mainly devoted to an examination of "the self-witness of the Hexateuch as to its authors," and to a history—more extended than that of Cornill—of Pentateuch criticism. The second, third, and fourth sections are respectively entitled "The JE-stratum," "The deuteronomistic stratum," "The priestly stratum of the Hexateuch," while the fifth is devoted to the "redaction" of the Hexateuch. In thus devoting a separate, even if comparatively small, section (pp. 476-504) to what we may call the synthesis of the various sources which he has discovered in the preceding analysis, Dr Holzinger has given a completeness to his work which is lacking in Professor Driver's epoch-making treatment of the same problems.

So much for the disposition of the author's material as a whole. I would now give an illustration of the thoroughness with which he has handled the points that come up for discussion in each of the sections dealing with the three great sources of the Hexateuch. Thus section two, as we have just seen, is devoted to the so-called prophetic narrative (JE), to which, following Wellhausen, Dr Holzinger applies the term Jehovistic. It falls naturally into two parts dealing with (A) the Jahvistic, (B) the Elohist source respectively. To the former source pp. 72-173—one-fifth of the entire work—are devoted, as follows:—I. The more striking characteristic data of the Jahvistic narrative (*Geschichtsüberlieferung*) as compared with the Elohist (§§ 11, 12); II. the linguistic and literary peculiarities of J (§§ 13, 14); III. the interests and ideas conspicuous in the Jahvistic narrative (§§ 15-17); IV. literary strata in J (§§ 18, 19); and V. place and date of composition and historicity of J (§§ 20, 21). The treatment

of the Elohist source is practically on the same lines (pp. 170-228), and the same applies to the sections on the deuteronomistic and priestly documents, only with such variations in the case of the two last as the nature of the case demands. Of the above sub-sections devoted to the study of the Jahvistic source, I have no hesitation in naming those devoted to the linguistic peculiarities (§ 13) and general literary method (§ 14) of J as the most valuable, because the most useful to the critical student of the Hexateuch; as the least profitable, on the other hand, those devoted to the various strata that may be traced in this source. The reasons for this judgment are briefly these:—In the former case we have an exhaustive, painfully gathered, and exceedingly instructive collection of linguistic and literary *facts*; in the latter, we have an equally exhaustive collection of *theories* that can hardly be said to make for edification. Too much space is devoted to the attempts of Budde and others to solve the insoluble. There would seem to be a certain mental intoxication in the critical operation of “*Quellenscheidung*,” and it needs the level head and the sober sense of an August Dillmann to say “mit einem J¹J²J³ . . . vermag ich nichts anzufangen.” Yet I would not have it supposed that Dr Holzinger is given to prefer hypotheses, however brilliant, unless they can prove themselves competent to afford a reasonable explanation of the facts. Neither is he an extremist in his attitude to the historicity of the hexateuchal narratives, as may be seen by his approving of the predicate “hypercriticism” as applied to Stade’s and Meyer’s refusal to regard Joshua as an historical personage (p. 83).

As regards the place and date of composition of J and E, Dr Holzinger approves of the arguments that have led the majority of critics to assign the former to the southern, the latter to the northern kingdom. For J²—that is, the main body of J—he considers the *terminus ad quem* to be “the turn of the 8th and the 7th centuries” (p. 171), the epoch of Sennacherib’s assault on Jerusalem, a conclusion to which he is brought mainly by the statements of Schrader (KAT², pp. 96-102), regarding the well-known passage, Gen. x. 11 ff. The date of E is apparently more difficult to decide. B.C. 732, from which year we may date the breaking up of the northern kingdom, is regarded as the *terminus a quo*, chiefly because of a certain undercurrent of sadness which may be detected in E. In fixing the *terminus ad quem* as possibly a whole century later, our author, in my opinion, is inclined to defer too much to Lagarde’s view as to the Egyptian names which occur in this source (pp. 225-6).

Of special interest to those who, as teachers or students or as both combined, have tried to formulate for themselves a working

theory of the successive *corpora legum* in the Hexateuch will be found the chapter in which the legislation of JE, as a united document, is subjected to a special investigation (pp. 242-254). Our interest centres naturally in the Book of the Covenant. The importance of this *corpus*, its linguistic peculiarities (for these see pp. 177-8), and its original position have been already discussed. Holzinger follows Kuenen and Dillmann in arguing for its *quondam* existence as an independent code, afterwards incorporated by E—therefore of North Israelitish origin—as against Wellhausen, Driver, and more recently Baentsch, who assign it to J. He likewise decides finally (*cf.* p. 492) for the view suggested by Kuenen, and warmly espoused by Cornill, that in E the Book of the Covenant originally stood in the place now occupied by Deuteronomy in the completed Hexateuch. As an alternative, which is not maintained throughout the work, our author throws out the suggestion that the Book of the Covenant may originally have stood in the neighbourhood of Joshua xxiv., and may be referred to in vv. 25, 26 of that chapter. He is not unaware, however, of the objections which may fairly be said to be fatal to such a theory (p. 179).

With regard to our author's treatment of the problem of Deuteronomy, which forms, as we saw, the third section of his work, I have space to call attention to but two points. The one is his reverent and sensible answer to the question: "Does a decisive turning-point in the spiritual history of mankind rest upon a forgery?" (p. 330). The other is his acute but impossible explanation of the *motif* of the Deuteronomic code. It is closely connected with his theory—or rather Stade's, which he finds "very attractive"—of the Book of the Covenant, to which I must for a moment return. The latter he considers to "represent a reaction [*circa* 675-50] of the old Jahvism against the neo-Jahvistic movement in Judah which had been inaugurated by the prophets. To stem this movement the Ephraimite priests brought forward the law of the good old time" (*das alte gute Recht*, p. 249). The Book of the Covenant, we find elsewhere, was a protest of "Old Israel still at home in the Northern Kingdom," against "the prophetic trend of thought in the South, which advocated with ever increasing urgency the reformation of the cultus, and *Deuteronomy a counter-manifesto to this reactionary policy of Northern Israel*" (p. 304).

As to P, it is impossible to do more than refer the student to the lists of the linguistic peculiarities of this most marked of all the sources, especially to the very significant list on p. 348 of "words and expressions that *do not occur* in P," among them some of the commonest words in the Hebrew language. One is glad to find Dr Holzinger doing more justice to the religious teaching of P

than some recent critics, as Reuss, for example, who says (though not in so many words) that in P's opinion cleanliness was above godliness, that a clean skin was more important than a pure heart (*cf.* "Gesch. d. heilig. Schriften d. A. T.," § 379). Not thus minded was he whose thoughts of God were those of Genesis i. 1-ii. 3. The important question of the relation of the Law of Holiness (here P^h) to D, to Ezekiel, and to the main body of P respectively, is discussed at some length. It is younger than D, but older than P. It dates probably from the period immediately following the return (p. 447), and is to be assigned to a school of the law developing itself "parallel to and independent of" the school of Ezekiel. Consequently the question of absolute priority is one that in the circumstances must remain unanswered (*cf.* p. 446).

The mention of a school in connection with H (or P^h) suggests a fact which Dr Holzinger is never weary of impressing upon his readers, viz., that the documentary sources of the Hexateuch (J E D P H), and even the redactional additions (R^d, R^e, &c.), are the production, not of individuals, but of "schools." Thus D is not the conception of an individual, priest or prophet, but of a "deuteronomistic school," in which both were represented (p. 282). In precisely the same way we should think of J and E as products of a Jahvistic and Elohist school respectively.

In conclusion, I would say that every student of the Hexateuch is under a very great obligation to Dr Holzinger for the marvellous industry displayed in thus rendering accessible, in a single volume, the results of the labours of all our foremost Old Testament critics, and presenting these results so lucidly, so concisely, and so impartially. His tables, which form a small volume by themselves, giving the results of the "Quellenscheidung" of the leading scholars for every chapter of the Hexateuch, alone represent a piece of work not less laborious to the compiler than it is welcome to the student. The book, I would add, is well printed on good paper—exceedingly good for a German book.

ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY.

Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge.

Par Samuel Berger. *Mémoire couronné par l'Institut.* Paris :
Hachette, 1893. Fr. 10.

WE have been permitted already to review M. Samuel Berger's valuable book in the *Academy* (Oct. 7, 1893); but the kind invitation of the editor of the *Critical Review* enables us to bring it before the notice of a different circle of readers.

Most of us have been accustomed to study the history of the Greek text of the New Testament, and to call to our aid the various versions, in determining its character at various periods; but till lately we have not sufficiently realised that these versions have themselves a history, and in some cases an extremely chequered one. We recognise the gulf that lies between the "Greek Testament exactly as it was in the best examples at the time of the Council of Nice" and the *textus receptus*; but a similar gulf, though perhaps not so deep or so wide, lies between the Latin Vulgate as revised by Jerome, and the printed text published in 1592 by Pope Clement VIII., and thenceforth made the absolute standard in the Roman Church ("cuius exemplaris forma, ne minima quidem particula de textu mutata, addita vel ab eo detracta . . . inviolabiliter observetur"); and thus when we quote the *Vulgate* for this or that reading, the further question awaits us, which Vulgate is it? Jerome's, or Clement's, or some intermediate type of text? M. Berger has set himself to answer part of this question, and to trace the history of the Vulgate during the earlier period of the Middle Ages, particularly as regards Central Europe.

For a complete history of the version, we need, on the one hand, that it should be carried down to the final Clementine revision—and this indeed we may hope that M. Berger will find the leisure to do; and, on the other hand, that the earlier history, that of the development of the text between the fifth and the eighth centuries, should be traced and described. This latter task is the hardest, though the most important, of the three; all seems at present dark; MSS. earlier than the eighth century are few, and it is difficult to estimate their value or the type of their texts; and so, perhaps, M. Berger has done wisely in starting from the central period, where MSS. are plentiful, and two revisions of the text, those of Alcuin and Theodulf, are matters of history; from this point of departure he or other students may gradually extend their researches forward and backward; and in due time we may have the first and the third volumes of the history of the Vulgate added to the second.

History cannot be intelligently studied without geography, and the plan of M. Berger's book is rather geographical than historical. The mediæval Vulgate in France was a composite text, influenced by the Spanish MSS. which entered the country from the south, and the Irish which entered it from the north; these Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS. themselves largely incorporating a text which had come from Rome. For in the seventh and eighth centuries the links between Rome and the Anglo-Saxon Church were strong; it was from Italy and Rome that Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid

brought their stores of Biblical and other MSS. to enrich the libraries of Wearmouth and Jarrow; and it was to Rome that Ceolfrid, "*extremis de finibus abbas*," was carrying, as a return offering, the magnificent Amiatine Bible, when he died on his journey at Langres.

M. Berger accordingly begins his book with a description of the most important Spanish MSS. at Leon, Madrid, &c., and then examines the Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS., such as the Books of Kells and Armagh, the "*Gospels of St Augustine*" both at Oxford and at Cambridge, the Codex Amiatinus, the Lindisfarne Gospels, &c. The Irish and Scotch monks were full of missionary zeal. From their conventual homes, such as (the Irish) Bangor, and Iona, they passed over to the Continent, to France, Germany, Switzerland and North Italy; and everywhere they left traces of their presence in Bibles and service books, written maybe on the Continent, but written in their characteristic hand and containing their national type of text; M. Berger devotes another chapter to these MSS., and to their descendants, written in France and by French scribes but still containing an Irish text.

Meanwhile, along the valley of the Rhone the Spanish MSS. were working their way northwards to meet the Irish; in the South of France we find again MSS. written by French scribes, but bearing strong marks of Spanish influence, sometimes in the order of books of the Bible, sometimes in orthography, sometimes in text.

But while the northern type of text was pure, the southern was corrupt, and full of the interpolations which, for some reason or other, were dear to the Spanish mind; and the composite text which resulted from the meeting of these two different streams was necessarily of very unequal value.

The two great recensions at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century, those of Theodulf and Alcuin, were really a continuation, or rather a climax, in this contest between the corrupt Spanish and the purer British texts. Theodulf, though Bishop of Orleans, was a Visigoth, and his corrected Bible is a deliberate return to the old Spanish tradition and scholarship. Alcuin was an Englishman, born and educated at York; and in the correction of the Bible, which he undertook at the desire of Charles the Great, he undoubtedly made large use of the Anglo-Saxon texts to which he had been accustomed from his boyhood. But Theodulf's was a private enterprise, Alcuin's a public work, supported by the Imperial authority; and Theodulf's work was a failure, Alcuin's a success: while Theodulf's influence hardly extended beyond the two or three Bibles which contain his corrected text, Alcuin produced a text which almost immediately became a standard for Western Europe. Indeed its popularity was its ruin, its very reputation tended to debase it.

The demand for the "Alcuinian" Bibles became so large that they were produced as rapidly as possible in the great writing schools at Tours, and were soon copied carelessly from the first exemplar that was at hand; and thus the numerous "Alcuinian" Bibles, all so magnificent in their size and calligraphy, and so strongly resembling each other in outward form, present types of text varying indefinitely, and we have to search among them for a really "Alcuinian" text. Of course if we could identify the exact Bible presented by Alcuin to Charles on Christmas day, 801, our doubts would be at rest; but we cannot do this for certain, though, as M. Berger says (p. 193), there is every reason to suppose that the Vallicellian Bible at Rome is at any rate in part copied from that exemplar, and that the numerous Bibles copied at Tours show a gradual degeneration in text from that standard.

Such is the main outline of M. Berger's book; it is worked out with careful detail and with real love for, and mastery of, his subject; his enthusiasm is catching, and the reader soon finds himself interested in the descriptions of the various MSS., as small points of detail or history are discovered which turn them into important witnesses for the history of the text. Most of the great centres of literary life and work in the early Middle Ages are noticed—Lindisfarne, St Gall, Einsiedeln, Reichenau, Bobbio, Milan, Tours, Corbie—and their MSS. made to tell the story of their origin and relations. Sometimes the story is a striking one; for instance, the Book of Lindisfarne, that "masterpiece of hiberno-saxon calligraphy," discloses a close connection with Naples in an unexpected way. The Benedictine scholar, Dom G. Morin, drew attention a few years ago to the short list of Saints' days and Church Festivals preserved in this MS.; in this list occur the saints Januarius and Vitus, and mention is made of the *dedicatio basilicæ Stephani*. Now St Januarius is the special saint of Naples; St Vitus was honoured, and his remains preserved there, before they were removed to St Denis, and then to Prague; and the cathedral of Naples is called the *basilica Stephani*; and thus the exemplar from which this English book of the Gospels was copied must have come to the North of England all the way from Naples.

M. Berger concludes his book with full discussions on the order of books in the Vulgate Bible, on the capitula, and on the stichometry. It should be noticed that these *capitula* seem sometimes to belong to a pre-Vulgate type of text. For instance, in St Luke x. 1 (the mission of the seventy) all the Vulgate MSS. read *septuaginta duos*; while *septuaginta* (without *duos*) is the reading of most of the old Latin MSS.; yet in the *capitula* to St Luke, this section is cited in several Vulgate MSS. as "*septuaginta elegit*," or "*ubi misit septuaginta*," suggesting that these *capitula* were originally

compiled from an old Latin text; again, in the *capitula* to St John, one Vulgate MS. (Forojuliensis) makes no reference to the *pericope de adultera*; nor do any *capitula* mention the angel as troubling the water at the pool of Bethesda. Similarly, the *prefaces* to the Gospels, which are found in Vulgate, and not in old Latin MSS., were yet obviously written for the old Latin Gospels, as they presuppose throughout the old Latin order of Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, and, indeed, suggest a mystical reason for it. Small points like these show how the old Latin traditions lingered on far in Vulgate times.

In an appendix M. Berger gives us a catalogue and exact description of above 250 Vulgate MSS. in various public and private libraries; this is decidedly the best and most complete catalogue of the kind in existence, though even here we are surprised to find that some important MSS. are omitted. There is no mention of the Codex Fuldensis, written for Bishop Victor of Capua, nor of the Gospels at Friuli (Forojuliensis above), Perugia, and Prague. It is impossible to imagine that such a scholar as M. Berger could have forgotten their existence; the omission must be intentional; but we cannot understand why he has excluded them. We shrewdly suspect, too, that the treasures of the Vatican and other libraries at Rome must include more than *two* Vulgate MSS. worth cataloguing, which is all that he gives us.

Only those, however, who have to compile such a catalogue can realise how hard the work is, and how impossible it is to include every item that other people would wish inserted. M. Berger's book is the product of an immense amount of labour, and of labour skilfully managed; and the student of textual criticism, if he wishes to be thorough in his work, will not venture or desire to neglect it.

H. J. WHITE.

Étude de la doctrine chrétienne.

By A. Matter. Paris: Libraire Fischbacher.
2 vols. pp. viii. 383 and 458. Fr. 8.

THESE volumes come to us from the publishers who have already given us Gretillat's "*Exposé de théologie systématique*" reviewed in the *Critical Review* (vol. i. 183, vol. ii. 163). The author, M. Albert Matter, was formerly a Lutheran pastor, first in Alsace, and afterwards in Paris, and has been for several years Professor of Lutheran Theology in the Paris Faculty of Theology. These two volumes are, we believe, his first important work.

In reading through these volumes, we have noticed three general features: (1) a fervent religious spirit vivifying chapters which

might otherwise have been scholastically dull ; (2) sympathy with the liberal evangelicalism of the Protestant churches ; (3) a deficiency in the treatment of the fundamental principles of Dogmatic, and in the logical arrangement of topics.

The most unsatisfactory part of the work is the introductory chapter. The reader seeks in vain for clear and consistent conceptions of what Christian doctrine is, or of the sources whence the student of Christian doctrine is to draw his material. We are told that doctrine is the reflection or systematised expression of Christian thought, but we are not told whether it is the Christian thought of an individual that is referred to, or the Christian thought of the Church, and if it is the Christian thought of the Church, we are not told whether it is the Christian thought of the Church as it is to-day, or the Christian thought of the Church as it existed in the age when the official creed of the Church was drawn up. Our author cannot well be blamed for following the unhappy example set him by systematic theologians for the last two hundred years, in excluding the ethical side of Christianity from consideration in a study of Christian doctrine, but in a work that contains so much "popular" treatment of Christian doctrine, one would have welcomed a more distinct indication of the close connection—inseparable connection it ought to be—between Christian Dogmatic and Christian Ethic.

The author's statements about the sources of Christian doctrine are somewhat difficult to understand, and somewhat difficult to reconcile. He starts with Christian experience. He gives a sketch of the spiritual experience involved in conversion, and leaves the reader with the impression that Christian doctrine is to be a reasoned exposition of such experience. Further on, the norm of Christian doctrine is said to be the Gospel, but whether by the Gospel is meant the teaching of Christ, or the four Gospels, or the New Testament, or the whole Bible, is nowhere clearly stated. Elsewhere reference is made to the data supplied by ecclesiastical history. It is true that Dogmatic is dependent upon Christian experience, upon the Bible, and upon ecclesiastical history ; but our author has not indicated to his reader how these three factors are correlated to each other, and how he means to draw upon them.

The introductory chapter is so unsatisfactory, that the reader is agreeably disappointed to find that in this instance the porch is not too magnificent for the building.

In these days, when there is a much closer connection between philosophy and theology than there has been for centuries, it is natural to inquire into the philosophical school to which a writer on Christian doctrine belongs. M. Matter seems to have been little affected by the modern idealism which has powerfully influenced theology in Germany and Britain. He is an old-fashioned intuition-

alist who is more at home with Thomas Reid and Victor Cousin than with Kant and Hegel.

The leading divisions in M. Matter's volumes follow, for the most part, the usual division in the older Protestant Dogmatics. It might have been better if he had adhered *more* closely to the recognised divisions. Christian experience (so our author proceeds to lay out his subject) furnishes the idea of a reparation accomplished by Jesus Christ. That idea involves three phases of humanity, the primitive condition, the disturbance, the re-establishment of the normal condition. The primitive condition cannot be understood apart from God its author. God is therefore the subject of the first section. The re-establishment of the normal condition involves three subdivisions—the work of Christ, the elevation of Humanity, and the definitive condition of Humanity.

The following table will show the author's scheme at a glance :—

Reparation by Jesus Christ.	{	A. Primitive Condition	{	I. God.
		B. Disturbance		II. Creation.
		C. Re-establishment		III. Sin.
			{	IV. Redemption.
				V. Return of Humanity.
				VI. Consummation.

It will suffice to indicate one or two of the more significant features in the discussions grouped under these six heads.

I. God. There is a lucid statement of the ontological, cosmological, teleological, and moral proofs for the existence of God. Only it is questionable whether a writer who emphasises the necessity of spiritual experience for the apprehension of spiritual truth should speak of a rigorous or logical demonstration of the existence of God. On the perfections of God, M. Matter writes eloquently. In his section on the divine justice there is a variation worth noting. Justice he defines to be the activity of God as far as it gives sanction to law. The justice of God is as much concerned to secure obedience to law as to punish disobedience. Therefore the justice of God must work for the restoration of the sinner—*i.e.*, must do the work of redeeming love. Our author, in his fear of the opposition that is sometimes set up between the divine justice and divine mercy, as if they were two separate entities, gets rid of the necessity of using the word mercy, by giving a definition of justice so wide as to include mercy under it. Our author's conception of justice finds an application in the discussion of the atonement and in his eschatology.

4 II. Creation. In this section there is much that is admirably said, about the relation of science to religion, the interpretation of the early chapters of Genesis, man's place in creation, divine love

as the explanation of creation, man's primitive state as one of innocence rather than perfection, and other kindred topics.

III. Sin. The spirit in which this subject is handled may be gathered from a quotation in the second paragraph. "There is only one heresy—the denial of sin." The following are the subdivisions: "Sin in the Individual," "The Universality of Sin," "The explanation of this universality," "Religion under the influence of Sin." (This chapter is a specimen of the lack of orderliness in the arrangement of the material. In itself the chapter is unsatisfactory. It consists mainly of a description of religious tendencies the author dislikes—indifference, fanaticism, hypocrisy, superstition, intellectualism, scepticism, mysticism, pietism) and "Providence in a world where sin has penetrated."

One of the best features in this section is the treatment of the question of solidarity.

IV. Redemption. The following are the subdivisions: "Israel," "Jesus of Nazareth," "The work of Christ," "The God man," "The Trinity" (it is an awkward arrangement of material that leads the author to discuss the Trinity here), "Redemption as a divine work." On the person of Christ, our author leans to the Kenotic theory, and on the work of Christ he has affinity with M'Leod Campbell. He has a valuable criticism on the juridical theory of the Atonement, but he gets into a region where all discussion is wasted when, in treating of the Trinity, he propounds a question like this: Is the God of the Old Testament more particularly one of the three persons of the Trinity?

V. Return of humanity to its normal condition. The subdivisions are: "The Church," "The Holy Scriptures," "Baptism," "The Holy Supper," "The action of grace in the individual life," "The phases of spiritual upraising." M. Matter is by no means inclined to high doctrine regarding the Church, but the arrangement of his material here is suggestive of a Roman Catholic treatment of the subject. His views of Scripture are liberal and reverent. He explicitly discards both verbal and plenary inspiration. The pages which are devoted to Baptism are singularly good. In his discussion on grace, he tones down the Augustinian doctrines of irresistible grace and perseverance of the saints. Election he holds to be essentially election for service. In spite of his aversion to scholasticism, there is a good deal that is merely abstract—with no spiritual experience to correspond to it—in his discussion of justification by faith. Perhaps the weakness of a Lutheran theologian lies in this direction.

VI. The Consummation. The subdivisions are: "Continuation of our existence after death," "The Second Coming of Christ, The Resurrection, The Judgment," "Final restoration." Our author

espouses the doctrine of Universalism, and defends it with arguments drawn from the language of the New Testament, and from the Christian conception of God. He contends that divine justice demands universal restoration on the ground that it can only be satisfied by universal obedience.

D. M. Ross.

Pseudo-Petrine Literature.

Die Composition des Pseudopetrinischen Evangelienfragments (mit einer synoptischen Tabelle als Ergänzungsheft).

Von Dr Hans von Schubert, Prof. in Kiel. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1893. 8vo, pp. xii. 196 + 32. Price, M. 4.50.

Das Kerygma Petri, kritisch untersucht.

Von Ernst von Dobschütz (Texte u. Untersch. xi. 1). Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1893. 8vo, pp. vi. 162. Price, M. 5.

Studien über die dem Johannes von Damaskus zugeschriebenen Parallelen.

Von Dr Friedrich Loofs, Prof. in Halle. Halle: Niemeyer. 8vo, pp. x. 146. Price, M. 5.

For something like a year, a steady stream of literature has been flowing from the press at home and abroad, dealing with the Petrine fragments found in the old monk's tomb at Akhmîm. Interest has naturally centred on the *Gospel* rather than the *Apocalypse* in question. And to its elucidation nothing has yet appeared so full and thorough as the work named at the head of our review. The last word will not be said for many a day; but for the present this contribution, together with Dr Swete's larger edition (just noted in the last *Critical Review*), will serve to put the student in the best position to judge how things stand. Specially useful is Schubert's Appendix (to be had separately in German (6d.), or in English of T. & T. Clark, price 1s. 6d.) exhibiting, in parallel columns, *Peter* alongside of our Canonical Gospels and kindred LXX. passages. But why, we ask, has the work as a whole been left untranslated?

Schubert, in his Preface, reviews the literature up to last Easter, and indicates the tendencies therein visible. In particular, he distinguishes Harnack's first and second impressions; and with apparent justice prefers the former, which minimized the value of any "independent" features. The central problem raised by the

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blending in *Peter* of dependence with a sort of independence as regards the contents of our Gospels, comes to resolve itself into the question whether the Fragment represents a type prior or posterior to Justin. Here scholars, both English and Continental, are divided; but it does seem, in keeping with the views of Zahn, Swete, and Schubert—to name no more—that the balance of probability now inclines to the latter alternative.¹ Harnack himself, in his recent *Geschichte der Altchristlichen Litteratur*, admits that our Mark is adequate to explain the reference to Petrine Memoirs in Justin (*Dial.* 106; cf. Mark iii. 17). While as to the common use of an unusual word (λαχμὸν) for “lot,” it cannot surely be urged as of itself decisive. Our knowledge of the Greek then current is far too slight to admit of this: the more so that in one MS. of the *Acta Andreæ et Matthæi* we get this very word, used, too, in a secondary sense, suggestive of a primary use of long standing (see Sch. 194, *n.*). And after all, Justin, in an exactly parallel passage (*Ap.* 35), repeats the usual word (κλήρον) already quoted from the Psalmist. But if this be granted, the evidence, as Schubert urges, seems to make for an origin in some semi-Docetic circle in Syria, “soon after the middle of the second century.” This position our author fortifies by a careful study of the Fragment’s relations to the *Acta Pilati* in its various forms; and makes out a good case for dependence upon an early form of the Pilate Legend, in the case of certain of *Peter’s* “independent” touches. Other minor features seem to be nothing but “enhancements” starting from Canonical data. But yet another “source,” not so much literary as atmospheric, has been recently suggested and applied with marked success in certain cases by Mr Rendel Harris in the *Cont. Rev.* for August. This is none other than the demonstrable tendency, found in ever growing measure among the early Christians, to turn prophecy into history, by assuming that every turn of phrase in the Old Testament that seemed to depict the Messiah, had, as matter of course, fulfilment in the actual Gospel history. Or, as Peter remarks in the *Preaching*, “We say (as witnesses) nothing without Scripture” (*Clem., Strom.* vi. 15, 128). If all these conditions are allowed for, there remains but a very small residuum of the unexplained in the “independent” features of *Peter*: while his dependence on all our Gospels may be considered highly probable, if not already proved. Its relation to the *Diatessaron* is still an open question.

A number of interesting points of detail are suggested by our

¹ Dr Sanday, indeed, in his *Bampton Lectures* (1893), takes the other side. But since he wrote, Dr C. Taylor’s thorough examination of the question in the *Guardian* (Nov. 29) does more than redress the balance. He points to Justin’s *διασώποντες* (“mocking”), in place of Peter’s *σύρωμεν* (“hauling”), as the more original; and is also suggestive as to the use of *λαχμὸν ἔβαλον*.

Fragment, which may finally throw fresh light on old problems. To mention one only. Dr C. Taylor (*Guardian* for Nov. 15th), besides citing an apt parallel from Eusebius (*Dem. Ev.* iii. 5) for the reference of Justin to Mark, in his use of Petrine Memoirs, argues that not only Justin, but also our *Peter*, used Mark xvi. 9, ff.—a view which accords well with Mr Conybeare's recent attribution of these verses to Aristion (*Expositor* for Oct.).

Dr Taylor concludes with these words: "The obvious points of contact between the *Preaching* and the *Gospel* of Peter suggest that the latter, too, may have contained . . . a commission to the disciples, which presupposes the twelve verses" (Mark xvi. 9-20). This illustrates the fact that the tie which binds together the two works named above is no mere artificial one. Indeed, if Harnack be right in dating the *Kerygma* between Hermas (c. 140) and Heracleon (c. 170), this sister work may be taken to suggest the coincident production of a cycle of Petrine Pseudographs (yet see Harnack, *T. u. U.* ix. 2, p. 87, ff.) shortly before or after the middle of the second century. These, then, might represent another sort of "apology," levelled in part against the Jews, as the kindred *Apocalypse* is against heathen vice. Dobschütz, indeed, discounts the idea that the *Preaching* depends at all upon Mark xvi. 9-20; while yet suggesting that the shorter ending of Mark (see Westcott and Hort) may depend on the *Preaching*, which was current in Alexandria at least at the end of the second century. And he concludes in general that our existing evidence does not allow us to decide for a connexion between the Petrine *Gospel* and *Preaching*. For the latter he claims an earlier origin than Harnack allows, reversing its relations with Hermas, so as to make this its lower *terminus* and the first quarter of the second century its mean date. He judges from the citation in Clem., *Strom.* vi. 15, 128, that no recognised formula of belief, even of the sort present in Aristides existed within the writer's horizon; and holds tentatively that "in the first decade of the second century a Christian at Alexandria felt the need for a supplement (*Ergänzung*) to Mark's Gospel," and, perhaps already in pursuance of the tradition about Mark as Peter's interpreter, wrote a "Preaching of Peter" as a *δευτερος λόγος* to Mark, standing much as the *Acts* to Luke's Gospel. Dobschütz also agrees with Harnack in identifying the *Preaching* with the *Teaching* (*Doctrina*) of Peter referred to in Origen. But he refers a *Διδασκαλία Πέτρου*, from which citations of an ethical order appear in Gregory Nazianzen and the "Sacra Parallela," to the Alexandrine bishop Peter (d. 311).

And so we are led to notice the last of the three works on our list, which has much in common with the various *Florilegia* familiar to classical scholars, but contains citations which cast light

on Christian literature. The value, however, of such references depends largely on the date of the compilation. Hitherto the *Parallela* have been put down to John of Damascus (died c. 755). But Loofs has done excellent service by showing that it belongs to c. 532 (or at latest 614-27), being probably the threefold work of Leontius of Byzantium (died c. 543), a monk of S. Saba, to whom he has already devoted a valuable monograph. 梁啟超著.

VERNON BARTLET.

Les Sciences Modernes en regard de la Genèse de Moïse.

Par J. G. Van Zeebroek, Prêtre du Diocèse de Malines. Bruxelles : Société Belge de Librairie. Pp. xxxvii. 344. Price, F. 7.50.

VAN ZEEBROEK's goodly volume deals with a subject of considerable interest and importance. The author's purpose is to determine how far a loyal churchman may accept the conclusions of scientists on the grave questions raised by the first eleven chapters of Genesis. (See the opening words of the short preface.) In order to answer the question raised, a correct exposition of the Hebrew text is required, and the exegesis of these eleven chapters forms the ground-work of the book. The exposition gives evidence of careful work, but contains little that deserves special notice. Occasionally it is difficult to determine the exact meaning assigned to the text. For example, the figure of sin, lying at the door of the sinner, as a ravenous beast lies in wait for its prey (chap. iv. 7), is paraphrased as follows :—*Ne vivrais-tu pas dans l'occasion prochaine du péché ?* The suggestiveness of the illustration in the text is missed in such an explanation.

The most valuable part of the book will be found in the discussions (occasionally of considerable length) of the geological and other questions raised by the chapters under consideration. In these discussions the author does not profess to be original. He quotes freely from ancient and modern authors, especially on geological questions ; and the general drift of the book goes to show that the teaching of the Bible does not conflict with the most approved results of scientific investigation.

The value of the book is enhanced by a series of genealogical tables, and prefixed to the volume is a chart which contains a useful summary of geological information, and shows at a glance the relation of the "days" of creation to the successive geological periods.

Regarding the Biblical record of the Creation, the author very properly insists that the practical aim of the writer shall not be lost sight of. It is a common-place to remark that the Bible was written

for the purpose of giving instruction in the truths of religion and not in the truths of science, as generally understood and spoken of. This is a common-place, but it is of vital importance in the discussion, and it is apt to be overlooked by the gods of the scientific sphere. In accordance with the important practical object in view, the leading features of the work of creation are alone dealt with, and wrought up into the picture presented by the author. Details, such as would be required in an exact scientific treatment of the subject, are altogether wanting.

In regard to the origin of the world, the crucial question is, "Whether the direct intervention of a Divine Creator is or is not required?" On this point our author avails himself of language used by M. Faye, whose work on the origin of the world is frequently quoted in our volume. M. Faye, in dealing with the view that the history of the universe presents an indefinite series of transformations,—that what we see at present is the *logical result* of a prior state of things,—refers to the difficulty of conceiving a condition of things out of which must logically issue that *chaos* which has certainly given origin to the state of things now actually existing. The difficulty is removed through the intervention of a personal Creator. "It is necessary to start here with a hypothesis, and to apply to God for the matter so widely diffused, and for the forces that regulate it."¹

These regulating forces our author finds in the Biblical expression, "the Spirit of God moved on the face of the abyss." Or, to put the matter otherwise, God introduces the laws of nature into the heart of that chaos which they are to transform (p. 44). The direct intervention of God is thus postulated for the creation of the original matter, which is found in a state of chaos at the opening of the Biblical narrative. But our author claims the direct action of God still farther, and that not merely in the creation of man and the other animals, but also in the very first manifestation of *life* on the world. For, although the chemical elements of which vegetable life is composed are found in the soil of our world, the *combination* of those elements necessary to the actual production of the organised vegetable life which our world has exhibited, demands the intervention of a supernatural agent. The theory of those scientists who, rejecting the intervention of a personal God, and, being compelled to give up *spontaneous generation*, have betaken themselves to the absurd position that the germs of our plants have fallen to our earth enclosed in meteorites from heavenly bodies, is thus referred to and dismissed:—

"These savants forget, among other difficulties, that of conserving life for these germs, in so rapid a journey through the atmosphere,

¹ Faye, *Sur l'Origine du Monde*, 1885, p. 257.

and it does not occur to them to enquire from what source came the first germs for the first heavenly body." It is the old story. Sooner or later the enquirer finds himself face to face with the first germ ; whence did it come ? Apart from a divine Creator, what is the reply ?

On the question of the flood, our author holds that, so far as the human race was concerned, it was not universal. The discussion is too long to give in any detail in the space at our disposal. It is assumed that the world was populated in all its principal divisions before the date of the deluge. This is not a mere assumption at random. The question has been subjected to the test of figures ; and the conclusion has been reached that, within five centuries from the creation of Adam, the population of the world mounted up to at least 1,200,000 souls. On the basis of these figures, and of the chronology of the Septuagint, it is held that the human race may very well have spread over the principal divisions of the world within the time allowed. Against the opinion that the whole human race was brought under the sweep of the deluge, scientists press the objections that Noah's descendants found inhabitants in the various countries into which they spread,—that these inhabitants, as compared with the Noachides, exhibited such differences as required many centuries to develope ; that they spoke a language of an entirely different kind ; and in part, at least, practised the metallurgic art, as indigenous to the country—this art being non-indigenous in the case of the peoples sprung from Noah. Van Zeebroek, admitting that the world was largely populated at the time of the flood, holds that the deluge, in its actual operation, was alike geographically and ethnographically local. But what, then, is the explanation of the language of Scripture ? That language applies to the chosen branch of the human family, through which God's high purpose regarding the human race was to be fulfilled. Of that part of the human family Noah and his house alone were spared.

Such is the explanation. Is it sufficient or satisfactory ? The author seems to be doubtful on this point. He closes his preface by protesting his "full and entire submission to every eventual decision of the Holy Church, especially in the controverted question of the universality of the deluge."

A great deal of useful information is collected under chapters X. and XI., but this must be left to the reader.

The work is an honest attempt to deal with a number of perplexing questions, and the author deserves the thanks of the reader for the pains he has taken, and the information he has communicated, whether his views be accepted or not.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

Wyclif Literature: Communication on the History and the Work of the Wyclif Society.

By Dr Rudolf Buddensieg, of Dresden.—From 1888 to 1893.

THE first volume of the Society's issue for 1888 was the third part of the *Sermones*, edited again by Dr Loserth. It was finally revised by Wyclif in the year 1383, and its text is based on the rather faulty Cod. Cambr., Trint. Coll. B. 16. 2. It deals in the main with the same topics as the second volume: the mischief and hollowness of the Pope's pretensions; the evil life of the clergy, prelates, monks, and friars; the pressing need of general reform; and the duty of the royal power in bringing about this reformation. "The prosperity of the Church and the country may only be restored by a return to the state of the Apostolic age." In this volume, the sermons of which are to a considerable part directed against the decrees of the Earthquake Council (May 1383), all those questions which touch the government of the Church are more fully expounded than those of a dogmatic nature. Yet the latter are not wholly omitted, and a considerable space is given to dealing with priesthood, baptism, confirmation, confession, and the Eucharist.

Thus this third volume forms, in the full sense of the word, a supplement to the second; and this being so, I may omit further detail.

With the second volume of the Society's issue for 1888, Wyclif's *De Apostasia*, a new editor of foreign extraction, Mr M. H. Dziewicki, came on the scene. He prepared his volume of about 260 pages with the help of six manuscripts, Cod. Vindob. Palat. 1343, which furnished the text of the work, while corrections were taken from Cod. Vindob. Palat. 3935, Cod. Univ. Prag. C. 73; III. F. 11; III. G. 11, and Cod. Univ. Dubl., Trin. Coll. C. 1 24. Most of these codices are in a bad state. The editor has done his best to construct an intelligible text, with the help of the multifarious readings offered by the six manuscripts. Only when the reading of the first-named codex was evidently wrong, he has departed from it, in some cases even venturing on conjectural emendation.

This tract is of peculiar interest, on account of the great length at which the doctrine of Transubstantiation is discussed by the author. Not seldom it is difficult to see exactly what Wyclif means, as in a number of his assertions he appears to be inconsistent, in one case even using the very word "*transubstanciatio*" for his own view of the matter. Yet, as Mr Dziewicki points out, the

careful study of *De Apostasia* will clear away most of the seeming contradictions, and will make it evident that what seems contradictory to us was not so to Wyclif.

The tract, as it appears, has not been worked out by Wyclif on any systematic plan. It looks more like a collection of scholastic discussions on the doctrine of Transubstantiation, mixed up with attacks on the friars, as the men "responsible for that heresy," and with doctrinal subjects. After a definition of what "Apostacy" is in Wyclif's view ("a general denomination for every grievous sin, in so far that it loosens the bond of religion between God and man"), the author goes on to examine apostacy first in itself, and then in its chief results. According to his theory, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as understood by the friars, is the great effect of the apostasy, which, in his opinion, was then general in the Church; consequently, he deals first with the friars as the most notorious apostates. With the third chapter the discussion on the Eucharist comes in. Though the discussions on it are independent of each other, yet it is, as the editor says, not impossible to introduce a certain order among them by classifying them as they stand. The first part (chaps. iii. to vii.) is a general attack upon the Eucharistic theory, as then universally received; then (chaps. viii. to ix.) he deals with the question how far Christ's body may be multiplied in the Eucharist. The tenth chapter is an inquiry into the "quiddity" (essence) of the Sacrament. In the next four chapters (xi. to xiv.) a more detailed attack on the accident theory is given, the various modes of accidents being discussed, and the position taken that none of them can be absolute in the sense required. The author then (in chaps. xv. to xvi.), replying to some treatises written against him, carefully examines all the authorities brought forward by his opponents, tries to explain away their teaching, or to bring it into reasonable agreement with his own views, and adds several very important remarks concerning his doctrine. He winds up with a sort of historical review of the institution of the Mass.

Though Wyclif's views on this matter are of great interest to every student of Church history, the limits of space do not allow me to enter at any length into his arguments. They are given *in extenso* by the editor in his Introduction. I cannot do better, perhaps, than quote the few remarks made on the subject by Mr F. D. Matthew in a letter to the editor, which are much to the point, though I do not consider them to settle the matter definitely:—"The truth is that Wyclif would like to avoid saying *how* Christ's body is present. Christ's institution makes it clear that He is in the Sacrament otherwise than by that universal immanence by which He is in all things. If his opponents would let him, he would be content to say Christ was present sacramentally (as he does say sometimes). 'In

signo,' but not 'Ut in signo,' means that, although His presence is figurative, it is not simply a figure, but has a special efficacy. What that is precisely he cannot tell, and loses himself in trying to express it. He is sure that the current explanations are carnal and wrong, but does not know how to replace them." In Mr Matthew's opinion the "simple reason for this deficiency is that Wyclif did not know what it was, though he thought he knew what it was not."

For reasons which it is needless to mention here the Society could not offer the members for the year 1889 more than one volume. It was again Dr J. Loserth, this man of untiring energy, who came forward with a new (IV.) volume of the *Sermones*. This contains the *Sermones Miscellanei*, *Quadragesima Sermones de Tempore*, *Sermones mixti XXIV*. Its text is based on four Vienna MSS., two Prague MSS., one Dublin MS., and one Lambeth, of which a description is given in the Introduction by the editor. The date of the XXIV. Sermons is the same as that of those previously described. They belong to the last years of Wyclif's life, while the *Quadragesima* must be claimed for the period, "dum stetit in scholis," before he broke into open war with the Church. These forty sermons are written essentially in the spirit of the ruling hierarchy. This is so much the case that a scribe of the fifteenth century, in one of his marginal notes, remarks that "the Wyclif of these forty sermons was a man quite different from himself (as he gave himself in his remaining works), quia, demptis paucissimis, pene in omnibus his scriptis sequitur ecclesiam in fide et ritibus et modo loquendi catholico."

In the XXIV. Sermons the antagonism against the abuses of the Church has a prominent place. Wyclif demands there that the Church should return to its "apostolic" state; that the clergy should live in poverty, like Christ and His apostles; that tithes ought to be withdrawn from wicked priests; that the king of England has the right to confiscate all property in mortmain. He inveighs, too, against the Cæsarism in the Church that has sprung from Constantine's rich endowments, against the abuse of indulgences, auricular confession, but specially against the sinful Papacy and its supporters, the Mendicant Friars. In the *Quadragesima Sermones*, on the other hand, a number of passages occur which are in direct contradiction to occasional assertions in other parts of Wyclif's writing. I can draw the attention of the reader only to a few instances. In one sermon Wyclif upholds the doctrine of auricular confession, explains its usefulness, and tries to support it by reason and the authority of Scripture; he speaks also of the merit of fasting, maintains the Romish doctrine of purgatory, and expresses himself on man's merit before God in a way which

stands in open contradiction to his later teaching about the *Praesciti*.

All these contradictions naturally cause surprise when first read. We must, however, have regard to the fact that the volume consists of two groups of sermons which belong to two quite different periods of the Reformer's life, and which differ very much in subject and extent. The fact that the one group was composed when Wyclif was still an "obedient servant" and a "faithful priest" of the Church explains the apparent incongruity. At any rate, the progress in the theological development of the Doctor Evangelicus, as shown in the two groups of sermons, gives this fourth volume, which completes the great collection of Wyclif's Latin Sermons, its peculiar charm.

In 1890 the Society sent to its members Dr R. A. Poole's edition of Wyclif's *De Dominio Divino*, with an appendix of the first four books of *De Pauperie Salvatoris* by Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, to whose doctrine of dominion Wyclif owes much. Dr Poole's volume, executed with special skill and trustworthiness, as might be expected of so learned a scholar, fills nearly 500 pages. In his Introduction the editor treats with great acumen the usual critical questions, the series of manuscripts used, their condition, value, and mutual relation, the division of the work, its authenticity, date, and fragmentary state. Similar questions with regard to Fitz-Ralph's treatise are next considered. Then follows the text of both works, together with "Additions and Corrections," a "Glossary," and "Two Indices."

I cannot enter here into the details of Wyclif's theory of lordship as expounded in the treatise in question. Dr Poole, in an excellent analysis of the rather complicated subject, describes the various phases of argumentation. I cannot do better than follow him.

At the outset Wyclif declares his intention of entering upon a discussion of the doctrine of *dominium* or lordship, based upon the proof of Holy Scripture. He takes lordship in its narrower sense as superiority, as a habit pertaining only to the rational nature, by virtue of which that nature is said to be set over that which serves it. Lordship and service are thus the two terms of a relation between rational beings. There are things with which it may plausibly be identified. Lordship is not, he says, identical with *right*, since a man may have a right to a thing without obtaining lordship over it; it is simply the basis upon which the relation rests. Again, lordship is not *power*. "No catholic will deny that the power of the keys is committed to the priest, albeit he have none subjected to his power." Power, therefore, may exist without lordship; it may be granted to a man, and take effect when

lordship is superadded ; but it is always implied in lordship. As regards the origin of lordship, it originated with creation, and is, therefore, supported by the Book of Genesis, in which the work of creation is attributed to God, and it is not until the heavens and the earth are finished that the name *Lord* is used. It was not until there were creatures to serve God that He became Lord. God's lordship, therefore, is the immediate result of creation. This lordship calls for consideration before other lordships—of angels, of man, &c.—because it is the measure of all others, surpassing them in its subject, its foundation, its object ; for all creatures are compelled by the very fact of their creation to serve Him. *Whatever we do, we are unprofitable servants, for our best works bring God no profit,* being the gifts of His mere grace. Whatever merit we have comes through His aid, and abounds only to our own indebtedness to Him. His lordship is so mighty and so strong that none can escape His service ; even the sinner serves Him by suffering his due punishment.

As to the question of *necessity* and *free will*, Wyclif, pursuing his inquiry further, enters on a discussion of the views held on these matters by two teachers who preceded him, Archbishops Fitz-Ralph and Bradwardine. The former of these laid greater stress upon free will, the latter upon necessity. Wyclif himself takes a middle course between the two, by the help of the Aristotelian distinction between that which is absolutely necessary and that which is necessary on a given supposition. God necessitates man, he says, to perform actions which are in themselves neither right nor wrong ; they become right or wrong by man's own free agency. He does not will sin for He wills only that which has being, whereas sin has no being. What He wills is the punishment of sin. Necessity is antecedent to man's will : he is necessitated to will, but free to will what he chooses. Wyclif then attempts to ascertain more closely the relation subsisting between God's will and human action. God's will, he says, is determinate, because He knows beforehand what will come to pass ; it is not conditional, for this would imply that He was uncertain as to the result.

After a lengthy discussion of the essence of creation, maintenance, and government, Wyclif next gives his views on "giving," "receiving," and "lending." The subject of "giving" leads him to a statement which is of importance in connection with his developed doctrine of *feudal lordship*. When a man gives, he remarks, he does not necessarily part with his lordship over the thing given, and this is in a special sense true of God's giving. Once that the notion of feudal lordship is attributed to God, the other element of feudalism, which consists in the separation of ownership from possession, naturally follows. God, as has been seen, is the immediate lord of every creature ; human lordship, therefore, must be held

subject to due service to the lord in chief, and man is but God's steward. Not merely is lordship not necessarily, it is only improperly, proprietary : poverty was introduced by reason of sin ; our Lord and His apostles held no property. *Lending*, in like manner, is only another mode of expressing the way in which God gives, since it has been said that man is only the steward of that of which God is the lord.

In the closing chapters Wyclif discusses the question of *merit* and *grace*. If all a man has is lent to him, his merit is not his own. How can he deserve any reward ? A man can deserve from another man *de condigno*, the reward due to him for his labour ; but from God he can only deserve *de congruo*, that is, *ex condecence lege magnifica ac gracioso iuvamine dominantis*. Grace is the antecedent condition of such deserving, but the fact that God's help is necessary does not take away from the merit of him who runs his course aright. The merit is of grace and the reward is of grace. The operation of God's grace is the principal cause, and that, while no one can have merit *ex operibus* he can have merit *per opera* by God's grace.

From this short analysis it may be seen how near the Wyclif of the fourteenth century approaches the doctrine of grace maintained by the great Reformers of the sixteenth, in opposition to the Romish teaching on the *opus operatum*. It is this consideration that gives Poole's volume its special value.

The next volume, edited by Dr Rudolf Beer, of Vienna, deals with a philosophical subject.¹ In this volume, of about 320 pages, belonging to the beginning of his literary career (about 1360), Wyclif handles in a scholastic way intricate philosophical questions, which are, I believe, of no special value in the history of philosophical thought. For this reason I abstain from giving an analysis of its contents.

In the following year the indefatigable Dr Loserth again produced his *editio princeps* of Wyclif's *De Eucharistia, Tractatus maior. Accedit Tractatus de Eucharistia et Poenitentia sive de Confessione*. This important work has been transmitted to us in six manuscripts : Codd. Palat. Vindob. 3927, 1337, 3930, 4527 ; Cod. Prag. Univ. III, G. 11 ; and MS. of the Gersdorf Library, Bautzen (Saxony), MS. 80, 7, the last named having been discovered only recently by myself. The edition does not follow the text of any single codex, but is made up from the whole of the manuscript material at hand.

Preceding the text of the tract there is a learned Introduction of upwards of 70 pages. This Introduction, coming from so competent

¹ J. Wyclif, *De Ente Praedicamentali (et) Quaestiones XIII. Logicae et Philosophiae*, edited from the unique Prague MS., for the first time by Dr R. Beer.

and thorough a scholar as Dr Loserth, gives this volume an additional value. On it the Czernowitz professor discusses at length "Wyclif's doctrine concerning the Eucharist," summarises the "contents of the tract," speaks of the "effects produced in Bohemia by the work 'De Eucharistia,'" and finishes with a description of his manuscripts, their mutual relations, and his method of using them.

Of these chapters the first three will, of course, attract the attention of all those who take an interest in Wyclif as a teacher of the Church. Here I can give only the briefest notice of them. In his first chapter Dr Loserth shows, by numerous quotations from older works of Wyclif, that the Reformer, during the last years of his life, wrote no work in which mention of the Eucharist is not made, and that usually he dealt with it at considerable length. While in all these latter writings he opposes with the utmost vehemence the prevailing doctrine of the Church,—which taught that the bread and wine are changed by consecration into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, so that nothing remains but the mere sensible qualities: *accidens sine subiecto*, "accidents without a subject,"—we know (and Loserth makes it good by Wyclif's own words) that for a long time he was far from opposed to this doctrine. In a work, dated 1381, he frankly admits that he "has been for a long time in error, as regards this heresy of accidents without a subject," and says: "Though I once took the utmost pains to explain Transubstantiation in agreement with the sense of the early Church, yet I now see that the modern Church contradicts the Church of former times, and errs in this doctrine." It was very probably after 1380 that he gave up that error. In contradiction of his former belief, he urges with great force mainly two points, to which he returns in his discussion again and again—first, that the bread exists after as before the consecration, neither Transubstantiation, nor Impanation, nor Identification (as the technical terms are) taking place; further, that on the other hand the body of Christ is really present in the Host after consecration. Remaining bread in the natural sense even then, it is in a figurative and sacramental sense Christ's Body. Christ's body and His blood are therefore really and truly present—present in a threefold aspect, virtual, sacramental, and spiritual—and no change in the Host is allowable, but so far as the elements are not mere empty signs but active realities. In receiving Christ's body and blood, we have it not only corporally and substantially (in the elements, figuratively), but also in a truly spiritual manner, by faith. Thereby we partake of the sacramental presence of Christ, which is by itself a miracle produced by the words of consecration. It is the faith of the Church, says Wyclif, that, as Jesus Christ is

at the same time God and man, so the sacrament is at once the body of Christ and bread; bread in the natural, Christ's body in the sacramental sense. Or, to state it more briefly, the sacrament of the altar is Christ's blood and body under the form of bread and wine.¹ For the present, I must content myself with this short outline of Wyclif's Eucharistic views, which, as Loserth shows, are fully borne out by the Reformer's teachings as presented to us in *De Eucharistia*.

Dr Loserth then goes on to show how Wyclif came to change his theological views on this subject. He finds that it is Wyclif's enthusiasm for the Word of God that made him a "heretic" of the then Church. He saw that the doctrine of Transubstantiation did not tally with the teachings and the spirit of Holy Writ. On the other hand, he would also raise his voice against this theologumenon, because it was spoiled by certain "heathen ideas," which had crept into the theology of Church teachers, and were gaining ground every day. According to the declaration of these "interested promoters," every priest had the power to "make the body of God." Now, the idea that a priest, sinful man though he was, could make God, appeared blasphemous to Wyclif: first, because it ascribes to the priest an unnatural power, by which a creature gives being to his Creator, a sinner to the Holy of Holies; second, because it is degrading to God to say that He, the Eternal One, can be created many times every day; and last, because by this false doctrine the Holy Sacrament is profaned, and the abomination of desolation reigns in high places. "The Host, he complains in several places, is worshipped, the creature instead of the Creator." He denounces in violent language the idolatry that takes place in the modern Church, where the Host is not merely honoured, but openly adored, whereas adoration is only due to the eternal God. This adoration of the Host is yet further aggravated by the fact that divine honours are paid to an object which is said to be only an "accident without substantiality." It is worse than the fetish worship of the heathen, because these modern "sign-worshippers," who spread the idolatry, well know who is really their God. He repeatedly calls them priests of Baal and the like.

As to the time when Wyclif avowed this "heresy," Dr Loserth gives some interesting extracts from an Essay by F. D. Matthew, who, from several arguments stated by Loserth at length, is in-

¹ I am glad to notice that this analysis of Wyclif's doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, given by Loserth on the basis of this important publication, is in close agreement and almost verbal conformity with that which I gave in my book: "Wiclif und seine Zeit," Gotha, Perthes, published at a time (1884) when none of Wyclif's tracts bearing on the question of Transubstantiation had been published by the Society.—Comp. "Wiclif und s. Zeit," pp. 180-183.

clined to think that so early as in the summer of 1380 (not 1381, as hitherto has been assumed) Wyclif had changed his mind with regard to the theory of the mediæval Church.

In a learned essay on the "Taborites' doctrine of the Lord's Supper," Dr Loserth then goes on to remark that, of all the Wyclifian theories that appeared in Prague in the last decade of the fourteenth century, none roused the people of Bohemia to such a pitch of excitement as his Eucharistic views. Loserth proves this at some length, and shows, by numerous quotations from the works of the Bohemian Reformer, that the latter simply accepted the teaching of the Englishman by inserting Wyclif's argumentation into his own books. This far-going influence of Wyclif upon Hus is confirmed by the statement of his contemporaries, both friendly and hostile. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted that Hus did not hold these views very long. It is, Loserth says, quite clear, from all his declarations at the Council of Constance, that he had then abandoned them. He even denied that he ever held them, a statement which, as can be proved, is not exact. It was not the Calixtines, the moderate Husites, but the extreme party, the Taborites, that took up the doctrine of Wyclif, which had been given up by the former. The Taborites, therefore, appear to be the only true Wyclifists; they alone adhered faithfully to his belief concerning the Lord's Supper.

We now all know that Wyclif's doctrine, which is presented in its full form in *De Eucharistia*, kindled a great conflagration in Bohemia, and gave rise to a rich literature, the sources of which must henceforward be traced, not to Hus and his friends, but to Wyclif, the Englishman.

Here I must come to a close. The tract, *De Eucharistia*, is the last publication of the Society. For 1893, Mr Dziewicki's edition of *De Blasphemia* is expected. The text of *De Simonia*, under the editorship of Herr Herzberg-Fränkell, is also all set while I write this. Dr Furnivall, who never fails to encourage and urge on the editors in their difficult task, has in the meantime been careful to distribute all the remaining works of Wyclif among competent scholars. Wyclif's *Logica*, *Logicae Continuacio*, and *De Ente* will be undertaken by Mr Dziewicki; *De Civili Dominio*, lib. II. by Dr R. L. Poole; *De Potestate Papae* by Dr A. Patera; the *Opus Evangelicum* by Dr Loserth; the *Miscellanies I.* by Rev. H. Schnabel, of Dresden; the *Miscellanies II.* by Mr C. Sayle; *De Actibus Animae*, again by Mr M. H. Dziewicki; while Wyclif's great work, *De Veritate Scripturæ Sacræ*, filling upwards of 500 pages, is in my own hands. I have copied the text from a Vienna codex, finished all the collations, and have completed about a third of the

editorial work. On account of the duties connected with the official appointment on which I entered a few years ago, I have had to lay aside my work for a considerable period. But I hope to take it up again now.

Thus, by the strenuous and never tiring labours of Dr Furnivall and Mr Matthew, the great work is moving on. Of Wyclif's *Systematic Theology*, including the relation of Church and State, more especially of his *Summa Theologia*, in twelve volumes, about the first half has been published; the rest of the *Summa* will at least take seven octavo volumes. The splendid collection of the Reformer's *Sermones* has been edited in four volumes by Dr Loserth. The *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount* (Matt. xxiii. to xxv.), containing invective akin to Luther's, is now at press and will be ready early this year. The *Logic and Philosophy*, the chief section of which is *De Ente*, and which, together with *De Eucharistia*, had most influence upon the Bohemian movement, will take probably five volumes, of which the first, *Logica and Logicae Continuacio*, is nearly through the press. Besides these main subjects there are still in manuscript some minor ones, viz., *Protests, Disputations, and Epistles*, and works on *Church Government and Endowments*, which will probably take two volumes each.

Much has been done, and done with great success, but much remains to be done. Not a few of Wyclif's works, and among them some of great importance, still lie buried in manuscript. The managers of the Society, therefore, appeal to all those who "care for the religion, the freedom, the language, and the history of England, for aid in the work they have undertaken. *No party-feeling whatever enters into the Society's plan. The only desire is to do England's long-neglected duty to the memory of a great English worthy.*" Unfortunately the assistance outside certain literary circles in England and Germany has not been altogether satisfactory. Possibly the information given on the foregoing pages, together with the fact that the great undertaking rests now on a firm basis, and moves on at a steady pace, may gain for the Society some new friends.

RUDOLF BUDDENSIEG.

Amos : an Essay in Exegesis.

By H. G. Mitchell, Professor in Boston University. Boston : Bartlett & Co. 8vo, pp. 209. Price 5s.

THE modest title of this work tends to conceal its true character and merits. In reality, it is an excellent commentary on the writings of the prophet, arranged under the following divisions:—Introductory Studies; Translation and Comments; and Supple-

mentary Studies,—the last forming an appendix of very full and thorough discussions entitled Amos and the Pentateuch, the Theology of Amos, and Amos among the Prophets. The work is the outcome of careful preparation and repeated study by the author for his classes during several sessions ; and the fruit of this continued labour is here presented in an orderly and attractive form. The serviceable comments contain a large amount of matter drawn from many sources—including even very recent authorities—and lucidly arranged, while the Introductory Studies are written in a style so smooth and polished that the cursory reader may fail to perceive the art and pains expended in reducing this particular portion of the work to its present form. The philological remarks, which are concise, and, generally speaking, highly judicious and valuable, have been relegated to the margin as foot-notes ; in these, however, the scholarly reader might sometimes at least have been referred to other grammars besides that of Gesenius ; indeed, the narrow limits here visible are in marked contrast to the abundant references to authorities in other departments. Sometimes (as at the mention of Moab, p. 76, *f.*) the annotation seems overdone, and the abundance of information given may rather tend to distract the reader. Nevertheless, such a valuable “Essay in Exegesis” may well be heartily welcomed.

JAMES KENNEDY.

**Inspiration. Eight Lectures on the Early History and
Origin of the Doctrine of Biblical Inspiration.
Being the Bampton Lectures for 1893.**

*By W. Sanday, M.A., D.D., LL.D. London : Longmans. 8vo,
pp. xxiv. 464. Price 16s.*

THE Bampton Lectures for 1893 have been looked for with high expectations. Nor will these expectations be disappointed, whatever may be thought of the adequacy of their main conclusions as an answer to the problems under discussion. They are written with all their author's wonted ease and simplicity of style, with the assured voice of an ample and matured scholarship, with an easy command of the mass of facts which enter into the questions at issue, in a spirit of perfect sincerity and modesty, and with the happy gift of entering into the mind of an opponent and appreciating his position. This last gift, by no means a very common one, makes Professor Sanday's criticisms, however keen and pronounced, always sympathetic, and for that reason more convincing. The interest of the book, too, goes far beyond its general results. In following out the argument which leads to these results,

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Professor Sanday has a great deal that is of importance to say, and many criticisms to deliver, on a variety of questions in New Testament study, on which he is entitled to speak with authority, and on which one is glad to have his opinion expressed. These things, as might be expected from one who has won so high a position in that department of scholarship, are among the most attractive portions of the book.

The object which these Lectures set before them is to "answer the question, What it is which gives our Bible its hold and authority over us, and how the conception of that authority grew and took shape in the Christian consciousness." Nothing could be worthier or more opportune than to give satisfaction on questions so vital to minds which feel the pressure of discussion all around them, and eagerly look for such satisfaction. And to a large extent the book is calculated to do this. If it does not furnish a final or complete solution, it will do much to help reverent and thoughtful men to adjust themselves to a time of changing opinion, and to see how the worth which they have been accustomed to attach to the Bible remains unlesened, though traditional ideas regarding it have to give place to others. It will do this, not merely by its positive conclusions, but by the insight which it gives into the whole conditions of the problem, and the way in which it deals with these. Taking the authority of the Bible to be derived from that quality in it which is commonly called *Inspiration*, it teaches the inquirer to do these two things—to go to the writings themselves, and see what idea of their peculiar character can be gathered from them, and to examine the record of history in order to ascertain what conception of the unique value of the books was formed in ancient times, and how far our own conceptions on the same subject correspond with that, and can claim to be valid.

To give additional force and security to his investigation, Professor Sanday combines the analytic method with the synthetic. He looks first at the history of the doctrine of Inspiration during its formative period, which he naturally takes to close about 400 A.D., and from this date he travels backwards towards the origins. He then reverses the process, and beginning with the origins he moves forwards to a constructive theory. In pursuing the first of these two methods he fixes attention on certain great landmarks in the history of the doctrine. It is not difficult to recognise these landmarks in the history of the New Testament Canon, and the years 400 A.D. and 200 A.D. will be generally allowed to form epoch-making stages—the former the stage at which the Canon of the New Testament may be said to be fixed, the latter that at which a "solid nucleus" appears of books accepted as sacred, with others occupying a tentative position. But Professor Sanday is careful to

explain that in speaking of the Canon as fixed, he does not use the word in its strictest sense, and does not mean to suggest that any Ecumenical Council or imperial ecclesiastical authority had defined it even by 400 A.D. His statement on this is most precise, and it is of essential consequence to the whole inquiry. He sees that in point of fact no Council or sufficient ecclesiastical authority ever did effectively define the Canon,—not even the Trullan Council of 692; that the formation of the Canon was due much less to synodical determinations than to the “drift of circumstances set in motion by individual leaders of the Church;” that in the East it arose by “the agreement of a few leading authorities;” that in the West it was influenced much more by the predominance of the Vulgate than by any decisions of Carthage; and that the peculiar position of the Syrian Church in relation to the extent of the Canon was determined more by the Peschitto and its contents than by anything else. These facts are put very clearly and decidedly by Professor Sanday, and it is well that they should be understood. For what is meant by them is this, that it was with the fixing of the Canon of Scripture much as it was with the formation of the Church’s doctrine. The doctrinal statements embodied in the Creeds were not so many *formulae* devised first by the ecclesiastical authority, and then imposed upon the members of the Church. They were things which were first in the consciousness of the Christian people, and then in the Creeds; the synods and symbols of the Church accepting them, giving fixed form to what the Christian people first felt to be the truth, and taking over in various cases the terms which had proved themselves in the usage of the people to be the fittest out of several to express what they recognised to be contained in their faith and realised in their experience. And in like manner the Canon was not the creation of the Church as a corporate body, but a thing that formed itself by the instinct and experience of the Christian people, by the discernment and action of individual thinkers occupying leading positions in the Church at important turning-points, and by the influence of early Versions and collections of books made for public reading. It was the result of a process of a very human and intelligible order. The steps of that process we can trace, though the reasons or motives at work in it can be only partially grasped. And behind it, as Professor Sanday very distinctly recognises, we see the operation of a Higher, directing Mind.

A similar analytic account is given of the Old Testament Canon. He takes it as we know it to have been in the first century of our era. He admits that no such distinctly marked epochs present themselves in the history of the Old Testament Canon as are indicated by the years 400 A.D. and 200 A.D. in the case of the New

Testament. But he points to the decision of Jamnia at the end of the first Christian century; to the witness of the three great groups of writings of the same century, those of the New Testament, Philo, and Josephus, as presupposing the idea of a Canon; and to the titles given to the books and the peculiar exegesis of the books as implying a sacred text. As to the contents of the Canon, so far as one existed at that date, he indicates with what qualification the statement is to be taken that there existed then two Canons, a shorter in Palestine and a longer in the Diaspora. He then carries the inquiry back to the various facts which speak of the currency of a three-fold division of the Old Testament books, and finds in this, as others now do, evidence of the fact that there were "three successive layers or stages in the history of the collection." He expresses his agreement farther with the majority of scholars who hold that first the Law books were set apart as a collection by themselves, this earliest Canon being "practically complete at the time of the promulgation of the Pentateuch by Ezra and Nehemiah in the year 444 B.C."; that next was formed a collection of the Prophets, the second Canon being completed sometime in the third century B.C., and not so late as Wildeboer puts it, viz., at 200; and that the collection of the Kethubim and the formation of the third Canon, though much more difficult to determine, may have its *terminus ad quem* not later than 100 B.C. The facts on which this version of the historical process of the collection and separation of those three groups of sacred writings are based, are very clearly and accurately summarised. But when he proceeds to ask on "what positive principle the Old Testament had its lines of demarcation drawn so clearly," he has to confess the absence of contemporary evidence; and reverting to the position from which he started, namely, the first Christian century, with the ideas then current, he discovers one ruling idea, that of Prophecy, and takes this provisionally as the key to the problem.

This being so, he follows the course which most naturally suggests itself when proceeding to the constructive side of his investigation. He begins with the Old Testament, and selects the prophetic writings as the section to start with. He speaks largely and well of the Prophets, the conspicuous figures among them, their ministry, the influence under which they spoke and acted, the distinction between a higher order and a lower, the vast importance of the transition from spoken to written Prophecy. He notices, in particular, the significance of the fact that the Prophets claimed to speak not of themselves but by a divine constraint, and with an authority which they founded on the fact that they had a message and an intuition which came to them from God. And he puts with great force the reasons which we have for saying that in this

the Prophets were right—reasons drawn from what we see of the prophetic consciousness, from the character of their teaching, the universal credit given to their claims by their contemporaries, the unanimity of their testimony, and the difficulty of accounting for the case on any other supposition. He bids us look at such men as Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, at their place in history, at what their writings have been to Israel and to mankind, and say whether we can be wrong “if we endorse the claim which they make, in no spirit of boastfulness, or self-seeking, to be chosen vessels for receiving and transmitting the revealed will of God?”

The growth of the Written Word is next traced, with the history of the Law and that of the collection of the Hagiographa. All through this section of the book Professor Sanday has to come across critical questions. Towards these he maintains a tentative attitude. He refuses to commit himself to all the positions of the critics. He feels that in many things men like Kuenen and Wellhausen push matters beyond the mark, and he keeps an open mind to what further inquiry in archæology and in Biblical studies generally may have to offer. But he is of opinion that in the broader issues the critical construction of the Old Testament must prevail. He admits the inconclusiveness of Jewish tradition where it is not supported by internal evidence. He recognises the composite character of many of the books and the witness which they bear, not only to the operations of editors upon them, but to the presence in them of matter of different dates and authorships. He acknowledges that the Pentateuch contains “a considerable element which, as we now have it, is not earlier than the Captivity,” and that the book of Deuteronomy was composed “not very long before its promulgation by Josiah in 621 B.C.” With respect to Daniel, again, he confesses it to be “difficult not to feel that the critical view has won the day;” that the name of Daniel, therefore, is only assumed; that the book was written under Antiochus Epiphanes, and is not to be taken as history.

The question of the *genesis* of the New Testament books occupies two lectures, which are of marked interest. Here Professor Sanday is on very familiar ground, and he moves over it with a firm tread. He finds the point of issue for this part of his inquiry in the opening verses of Luke's Gospel, which he refers to the years between 75 A.D. and 80 A.D. Noticing how much they presuppose in the way of earlier evangelical material, he reviews in a very clear and masterly fashion the Synoptic problem, and the conditions under which the first forms of evangelic narrative were composed and copied. He then proceeds to state the case as regards the Gospels in the two periods 80-140 A.D., and 140-200 A.D., bringing out the facts that the four begin to come dis-

tinctly into view from about 125 A.D., and that within the second period the use of these four narratives becomes more exclusive. He passes on to trace in a similar way the *genesis* of Acts, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse. In these chapters there are many things which we should gladly speak of at length, did space permit. Nothing could be better put than the statement of the difference between the condition of things before and that after the fateful year 70 A.D., and the almost inevitable inference that the bulk of the matter contained in our Synoptic Gospels must be of earlier date than that year. The defence of *Acts*, too, is frank and convincing. It is not denied that the book presents some considerable difficulties—its account of the gift of tongues, as compared with that in 1 Cor. xiv.; the case of Theudas; the omission of the journey, Acts xi. 30, in Gal. i.; and the report of Paul's reception by the Jews at Rome in the last chapter. But Professor Sanday speaks with great decision of the mistaken standards by which German criticism tries the book; and exposes the weakness of the destructive arguments drawn from the writer's imagined inability to grasp the antagonisms of the period, the discrepancies between his statements and Paul's, and his supposed desire to balance Peter against Paul, and to reduce the differences between the Apostle of the Gentiles and the Twelve. Among many other points of interest we may refer to Professor Sanday's rejection of Harnack and Vischer's theory of the Apocalypse; his contention that the Epistles ascribed to Paul hang together in such a way that, if it is once conceded that Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians are genuine, it becomes highly probable that the others also are Pauline; and his exposition of Paul's claim to an inspiration which was most real, though it did not preclude all weaknesses, and was not in every case of the same degree. The one thing to which we should take exception in this part of the book is the statement on the Epistle of James, which seems to us to set aside too easily the reasons for preferring the early date to the later.

But we must ask now, what is the result of these investigations as a whole? It is the barest justice to say that the historical inquiry in all its parts, but especially in the New Testament section, is carried through with a care, a sagacity, a freedom from exaggeration, special pleading, or theorising, which are seldom found in such measure in the treatment of these questions. And it will be felt, we think, that where Professor Sanday and Professor Harnack come into conflict, it is the former that has the advantage. The German scholar's theory of the formation of the New Testament Canon as a sudden event, due to exigencies arising from the pressure of Gnosticism or Montanism, will not endure the sober and searching criticism of his English brother. Harnack's theory,

indeed, as Professor Sanday finds, is by no means free of ambiguity, the terms in which it is given being far from uniform. But if it is what it is stated to be in his *Das neue Testament um das Jahr 200*, it has against it not only the consideration that *sudden* events such as Harnack imagines are not much given to happen in actual history, and are much less accommodating than active theorising minds could wish them to be; but also the fact that the appearance of *suddenness* in the emergence of a Canon of New Testament books is due simply to the comparative lack of relevant literature between 150 and 170 A.D. If we go back to the period between 95 and 140 A.D., we are in a different condition in that respect, and find much that "points forward," as Professor Sanday puts it, to the state of things which is seen in the last quarter of the second century. Not less convincing is his disposal of the exaggerated use made of the *Alogi* in the controversy over the Fourth Gospel.

It is not, however, only the history of the rise of the books of Scripture, their formation into collections, and their elevation to a position of authority, that is given with admirable point in these Lectures. The merit of the book lies largely in this, that it grapples with the more difficult questions of principle which underlie the history, and attempts to get at the reasons which led to the canonisation of these books, and of these only. With this Professor Sanday has also to give his view of Inspiration. Has he been wholly successful in this? He does not profess to construct any complete theory of Inspiration. But he gives an account of it, the essence of which is that it was not a uniform influence. He falls back, in short, on the old idea of degrees of Inspiration, which has passed out of favour. That theory, it must be allowed, has something to say for itself as an explanation of the phenomena presented by Scripture. But, as it is put by Professor Sanday, it seems to be chargeable with all the difficulties formerly alleged against it, and with these perhaps even in larger measure. For the idea of these Lectures is, that while there are parts of Scripture in which the Divine element is so strong as to make them different in *kind* from all other books, there are others in which this "difference fines down gradually, till it is hardly a difference in kind at all." Inspiration has to be found in all the books in order to justify their place in the Canon. But in some books the Inspiration is like a blaze of light, while in others it is admitted that it melts almost into darkness.

But if this is so, it is extremely difficult to see how certain books got a place in the Canon at all; how some books were preferred to others; and how the canonicity of not a few of them can be shown to be well founded to us of the present day. Professor Sanday is justified in starting from the *Prophetic* gift for the Old Testament

Canon and the *Apostolic* gift for the New Testament Canon. And if all the writings could be shown to be the works of Prophets and Apostles, the matter might be simple enough. But how is it that books which are not of Prophetic or Apostolic authorship should have a place in the Canon? Professor Sanday sees how unsatisfactory it is to say that these were at least *indirectly* Prophetic and Apostolic compositions; and the alternative explanation that their privileged position was due more to their reception by certain Churches than to Apostolic authorship, is really no explanation. And what is to be made of the canonicity of such books as *Chronicles*, *Esther*, *Song of Songs*, *Daniel*? Professor Sanday can only say that these are books in which the Divine element exists, though it is at the *minimum*. But he has the utmost difficulty in defining what that element is. In the case of *Chronicles* he finds it in a certain interpretation of historical events and a certain "warmth of religious feeling" which exists alongside "imperfect historical method and defective sense of historical accuracy." Of *Esther* he says that it "probably never professed to be in the strict sense history," and that it "does not even point a very exalted moral." He takes the *Song of Songs*, as now understood, to be "an idyll of faithful human love, and nothing more"—a book, in short, which "contributes nothing to the sum of revelation." How, then, does he justify its place in the Canon? Only by discovering in it "a proof of the catholicity of Scripture," and by pointing to a moral lesson which it teaches. So he accounts for the inclusion of *Ecclesiastes*, with its pessimistic strain, only by referring to the absolute sincerity of its author, and to the fact that he "comes back at last to the ancient faith." And he explains the place given to the pseudonymous *Daniel*, who furnishes us with homily instead of history, by the Messianic hope which fired him. These are precarious reasons for the canonisation of such books. Even if they were more convincing, they would still leave the question unanswered why these are preferred and books like *Ecclesiasticus* and *Wisdom* excluded; while the same mode of explanation also leaves untouched certain obvious problems of the New Testament Canon—the canonisation of Hebrews and Acts, the inclusion of a book like 2 Peter, of whose genuineness Professor Sanday is himself so doubtful, and the like. Must we not say that something is overlooked? May that not be 'the principle of *organic function* which was recognised by Luther? Professor Sanday himself speaks of the canonical books as *classical* books. That means much. For they are classical in the sense that they are monuments of revelation and memorials of the Church of God. But they are memorials not only of the faith of the Church of Israel and the Church of Christ, but also of their history. May

it not be that the reason for the canonical place of certain of the books in question lies here?

The last of these weighty Lectures contains some wise and opportune remarks on the peril of the position to which those commit themselves who, in matters like those of Inspiration and the Canon, will have either all or nothing. It also touches with a reverent and restrained hand the question of the relation of our Lord's authority to the problems of criticism. Professor Sanday asks why a certain "neutral zone" should not be recognised in Christ's teaching. He refers also to the affirmation of a measure of limitation in His knowledge as the explanation of certain well-known difficulties as between the findings of criticism and the apparent meaning of His words. Professor Sanday himself seems now to incline to the former of these two positions. But both have their place. Christ's own words seem themselves to point to a "neutral zone" in His teaching; within which, however, nothing can be said to come which takes the form of *inculcation*. And neither a just reading of the Gospel narratives in which the Christ of history moves before us, nor an adequate doctrine of His person, seems possible without the acknowledgment of a limitation in His knowledge. And why this should cause all the difficulty which it does cause to some, is hard to understand. It is, after all, but a part of a much larger mystery and a much heavier difficulty—the mystery of the Incarnation itself, the difficulty of apprehending how the Infinite could in any way come within the rank and measure of the finite.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

THE curious and perplexing phenomena of the text of *Codex Bezae* have been forcing themselves anew upon the attention of scholars. Among others, Professor Ramsay devotes some space to the question in his *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pointing to certain facts which he thinks indicate that this text is founded on a revision made within Catholic circles in Asia Minor. Mr Rendell Harris, of Cambridge, has also published an elaborate *Study of Codex Bezae*, in which he stands for the Latinization of the Bezan text, rejects Professor Hort's opinion that the Latin of the Codex has been "forced into agreement with the Greek," and endeavours to prove that the Greek text exhibits a "series of re-translations from the Latin." Stimulated by Mr Rendell Harris's work, and being doubtful of the soundness of its methods and conclusions, Mr Chase,¹ of

¹ The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xvi. 160. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Christ's College, Cambridge, now takes up the investigation of the textual puzzles of this Codex, and urges the presence of a Syriac influence as the real explanation of many of them. The first chapter of the book is devoted to a searching examination of the Bezan text of the Book of *Acts*, following the order in which its characteristic readings occur. This is done with great patience, skill, and ingenuity. It leaves the impression that Mr Chase's view of the problem has much to say for itself. Then test passages are noticed and commented on as passages which make out a *prima facie* case, and it must be admitted that they go far to do so. The conclusions which Mr Chase thinks the facts point to are these—that the Bezan text is the result of “an assimilation of a Greek text to a Syriac text”; that this Syriac text is specially characterised by a tendency to “harmonise the text of the Acts with other parts of Scripture”; and that it is not the Syriac Vulgate, but an *Old Syriac* text that thus lies behind that of Codex D. He admits that there may be passages (*e.g.*, Acts xiii. 10) in which the influence of the Latin appears. But he contends that his investigations establish the truth of Dr Hort's position, that “for the criticism of the Greek text the Latin reading has here no independent authority.” The argument is of necessity of a technical nature and difficult for those to estimate who are not professed Syriac scholars as well as textual critics. But the evidence, both internal and external, is dealt with by Mr Chase in a very careful and persuasive way. The book, as a whole, makes a fresh and important contribution to this difficult question, and will give a new turn to the discussion. The second chapter is of great interest, taking up as it does the questions of the date, birthplace, and affinities of the Bezan text. The main conclusions are, that this text existed at least as early as 180 A.D.; that it originated in the Church of Antioch; and that the “Western” text is thus an Antiochene text. There is an interesting appendix on Mark xvi. 9-20, showing that this paragraph was used by Tatian like any other undisputed section of the Gospel; that it was treated as by Mark as early as the middle of the second century in an Old Syriac version and a Greek text assimilated to that; that it was used by Justin before the middle of that century; and that “probably still earlier it is alluded to by Aristides.”

Under the title of *The Fifth Gospel*,¹ Dr Otts of Greenboro, Alabama, gives a series of studies on Bethlehem, Nazareth, Bethabara, Cana, Jerusalem, Capernaum, and other memorable places in the Holy

¹ *The Fifth Gospel: the Land where Jesus lived.* By J. M. P. Otts, D.D. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 367. Price 5s.

Land. They embody the results of travel, but their great object is to show how the Gospels appear when they are read in the "light and shades of the land where Jesus lived and taught." The result which the author brings out is that "the land of Jesus so harmonises with the four written Gospels, and so unfolds and enlarges their meaning, that it forms around them a Fifth Gospel." The book makes pleasant reading. The sketches of locality and incident are attractive, and help the untravelled reader to a more vivid and adequate apprehension of many passages in the Gospel histories. The volume is not without some things which are curious or disputable or strained, as when it touches on the Fall, and interprets the first sin as a family sin involving the divorce of our first parents. But we are not surprised to learn from the preface that the book reached its third edition in six months.

We have already had an opportunity of speaking of the value of Mr M'Clymont's *The New Testament and its Writers*¹ in its original form of a *Guild and Bible Class Text-book*. It is made still more valuable and attractive as issued now in larger and more handsome form, with a variety of useful notes and a series of carefully executed representations of important manuscripts, including Mrs Lewis's recently discovered Syriac Codex. The book, which is a marvel of cheapness, gives a very careful and readable account of the outstanding questions, and deserves to find its way into public favour.

Professor Robertson, of the University of Glasgow, makes a very able addition to the series of *Guild and Bible Class Text-books*.² He begins with a clear and satisfactory statement on the formation and transmission of the Canon of the Old Testament, and then gives the main points in the history of the Hebrew Scriptures as a whole, and of each book by itself. The author writes with his accustomed moderation and with his well-known command of these subjects. He has given his best to the preparation of this volume. The result is a handbook presenting a remarkably distinct and complete outline of the contents of the Old Testament books and the questions connected with them.

We receive with great satisfaction a new issue of *The Cambridge Companion to the Bible*³ in long primer. The larger type will make the volume, with its invaluable collection of papers on the books of Scripture, their history, chronology, antiquities, &c., still more useful to a large class of readers.

¹ By Rev. J. A. M'Clymont, B.D. London: Adam & Charles Black. 8vo, pp. viii. 288. Price 3s. 6d.

² The Old Testament and its Contents. London: Adam & Charles Black. Pp. 162. Price 6d. net.

³ London: C. J. Clay & Sons. 8vo, pp. 746. Price 5s.

Mr Stead's *The Kingdom of God*¹ is a suggestive study of a great subject. The author begins with a brief reference to the place occupied by the idea of the "Kingdom of God" in the Christian religion, and to the fact that its roots are in the Old Testament revelation. He proceeds to show how this Divine Society or institution took shape, from the time when Israel became a nation through the deliverance from Egypt, and to recapitulate the great utterances of the Prophets on its nature and its future. Having described it in its Old Testament form, he goes on to give a careful exposition of the chief points in our Lord's own teaching and in that of His Apostles on the same theme. This is followed by two valuable appendices, containing summaries of the definitions of the Kingdom of God which have been offered by a long line of thinkers from Augustine onwards, and a sketch of the "Witness of Imperial History" to it. The whole is written in a clear and vigorous style. The skilled teacher will find it a stimulating text-book.

A small but elegant volume of sermonettes, simple, pointed, and thoroughly suited for young people, comes from the Rev. George Milligan, B.D., Edinburgh.² The Rev. J. Wood Brown of Gordon publishes a valuable and interesting volume on *The Covenanters of the Merse*.³ The particulars are taken from the records of the time, and from such traditions as still survive. The author can claim with justice to have added very considerably to our knowledge of the Border Covenanters, their campaigns, the oppression of the local Courts after Bothwell, the rise of field meetings, the last conventicle at Greencleuch, and the character and actions of the more prominent men. An appendix gives the *Fugitive Roll of May 5th, 1684*, and the *Porteous Roll for Berwickshire, 20th Sept. 1684*. The book, which is daintily printed on antique laid paper, is a careful, original, and valuable piece of work, which will be welcome to every Scottish patriot.

The anonymous *Life of Robert Rodolph Suffield*⁴ gives a simple and affecting account, well worth reading, of the religious experience of one who began as a devoted Dominican Missioner, passed through an acute period of unsettlement, and ended as a Unitarian preacher.

¹ A Plan of Study. In three parts. I. The Kingdom in Israel. II. The Kingdom in the Synoptic Sayings of Jesus. III. The Kingdom in Apostolic Times. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 78, 78, 94. Price 6d. each, or in one vol., 1s. 6d.

² *Golden Nails, &c.* Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. Post 8vo, pp. 188. Price 1s. 6d.

³ Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. Post 8vo, pp. 259. Price 2s. 6d.

⁴ London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. vi. 325. Price 4s. 6d.

Another *Life*, of a different order, but of distinct interest, especially to the theologian, is that of Jacob Vernet of Geneva.¹

The author of *Jesus, the Carpenter of Nazareth*, follows up that very successful effort by another with the title of *A Child's Religion*,² which gives, in the simplest and most befitting language, an outline of Christianity such as the young can at once understand.

Bunyan's *Holy War*³ appears in a very tasteful and handy form, with a prefatory note by Dr Alexander Whyte of Edinburgh, than whom none claim a better title to speak of the worth of the book.

The same publishers send another elegant volume, *The Life and Letters of James Renwick*,⁴ which will have a cordial welcome from all interested in the story of Covenanting times. The story of the Life is mainly given through the Letters, of which we have sixty-eight. The collecting of these has been a labour of love, and they are quick with interest. In giving us an edition far more accurate and adequate than we have hitherto possessed, Mr Carslaw has done a work which has long waited for some competent and sympathetic hand to take it up, and many will thank him for it.

A pleasing volume of *Prayer-Thoughts*, treating certain names and titles of Christ devotionally, is issued by the Rev. W. A. Garland, M.A., of Brixton.⁵ The *Biblical Illustrator* proceeds apace under the editorship of the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. We have received the second volume on the Epistle to the *Hebrews*,⁶ three volumes on the Book of *Acts*,⁷ and the volume on *James*.⁸ The illustrative and expository material is drawn from a great variety of sources, ancient and modern. Busy men, who need such aids and know how to use them, will find much to help them in these rich and well chosen gatherings from the best thought on those important sections of the New Testament.

Among other books which deserve a more adequate notice than can at present be given them, we mention these:—An exact and very readable translation of Professor Julius Kaftan's *The Truth of*

¹ Vie de Jacob Vernet, Théologien Genevois, 1698-1789. Par E. de Budé. Lausanne: Bridel & Cie. Pp. 304. Price, F. 3.50.

² London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 126. Price 2s.

³ Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. Post 8vo, pp. xii. 311. Price 2s.

⁴ By Rev. W. H. Carslaw, M.A., Helensburgh. Post 8vo, pp. viii. 267. Price 2s. 6d.

⁵ London: Elliot Stock. Pp. 100.

⁶ London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 685. Price 7s. 6d.

⁷ London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 722, 639, 505. Price 7s. 6d. each.

⁸ London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 514. Price 7s. 6d.

the Christian Religion,¹ one of the most important productions of the Ritschlian School of Theology, and of special interest for the way in which it treats the proof of the truth of Christianity as something "connected in the closest manner with the whole organisation of Christian faith and life at a given time;" an excellent English version of Dr C. von Orelli's *The Twelve Minor Prophets*,² a concise, cautious, and useful account of the contents of these prophetic writings and their authors; and a translation of Dr Adolph Harnack's *Outlines of the History of Dogma*.³ The *Grundriss*, of which this last is a rendering, is of great value as a digest of the distinguished author's larger *Dogmengeschichte*, and as a guide to the study of the important, and in many respects novel and disputable, history of the formation of the great doctrinal statements of the Churches, which is given in all the wealth of its vast details in that elaborate work. A good English rendering of the *Grundriss* would be greatly appreciated by many students. But this translation, though it will be of some use, comes far short of what is needed. It is the work of one who is not sufficiently at home either with the subject or with the language. The original is always intelligible; for the most part, indeed, it is admirably clear and direct in its statements. The translation is often a poor and stilted, sometimes an almost unintelligible, representation of the original.

The late Professor Moeller's *History of the Christian Church* has deservedly taken a first place among works of its kind. The second part,⁴ embracing the Mediæval period, now appears in an English version by the hand of the Rev. Andrew Rutherford, to whom we also owe the translation of the first part. The volume is one of great interest, covering as it does the whole march of events ecclesiastical from Gregory the Great to the Renaissance. It deals with a section of Church history in which the student greatly needs reliable guidance. It has all the qualities which made the former volume so suitable as a text-book—clear and concise statement, a sufficient

¹ Translated from the German under the author's supervision, by George Ferries, B.D. With a Prefatory Note by Robert Flint, D.D., LL.D. In two volumes. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. viii. 357; vi. 445. Price 16s. net.

² Translated by Rev. J. S. Banks, Headingley College, Leeds. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. vii. 405. Price 10s. 6d.

³ Translated by Edwin Knox Mitchell, M.A., Professor of Graeco-Roman and Eastern Church History in Hartford Theological Seminary. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 567. Price 7s. 6d.

⁴ History of the Christian Church in the Middle Ages. By the late Dr Wilhelm Moeller, Professor Ordinarius of Church History in the University of Kiel. Translated from the German, by Andrew Rutherford, B.D. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Large 8vo, pp. xii. 561. Price 15s.

reference to authorities, a careful and unprejudiced estimate of men and movements. The translation is, generally speaking, well executed, and will be welcome to many.

Professor Percy Gardner, of Oxford, publishes a pamphlet on *The Origin of the Lord's Supper*,¹ in which he propounds a theory of a very novel, not to say startling, nature. Comparing the accounts of the institution which are given in the four Gospels, he conceives that the paragraphs in the three Synoptists, which give the comparison of the bread and wine to the body and blood of Jesus, and the section in Luke which speaks of the Supper as a memorial feast, may be removed from these Gospels without injury to their text. He finds, however, in 1 Cor. xi., another account so similar that the question of relation at once arises. Looking to the earlier date of the Epistle and to the circumstances as a whole, he concludes that those paragraphs in the Synoptists have their origin in the Pauline narrative. Further, having in view the words used in 1 Cor. xi. 23, he thinks that what Paul records in that chapter on the subject of the institution of the Lord's Supper came to him by revelation in a vision, this vision being suggested by, or taking its colour from, the observances in the Eleusinian mysteries, with which he would be familiar. Thus the narrative of the institution of the Lord's Supper with these two distinctive points—the comparison of the bread and wine to the body and blood of Jesus, and the instruction to keep it as a memorial feast—would not rest on any real, historical basis, but would be due to Paul's experiences in trance, and to the suggestions of the Eleusinian practice. Up to Paul's time the Christian tradition dwelt only on the detection of Judas, and perhaps the strife as to who should be greatest; and the words of institution, got their place in the narratives simply because Paul, instead of recording his vision as a vision, "projected it back into history" and "localised" it. The pamphlet is attractively written; the conclusions stated are the results of a careful study; the argument is ably and modestly put. The theory, however, is too ingenious,—more so even than Dean Blakesley's,—and it takes too much for granted. Even allowing Dr Hort to have been right in pronouncing the larger part of Luke xxii. 19, 20 not to have belonged to the original text of the third Gospel (and this is done on the basis only of *Western* documents), to remove what is said about the bread and wine and the memorial intention of the feast from the historical narrative would require much stronger reason than the pamphlet presents. For not only are Matthew and Mark still to be reckoned with, but even in Luke the comparison of the bread to the body of Jesus remains, and the whole paragraph, as the documentary evidence bears, must be of very ancient date, if

¹ London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. 22. Price 1s. net.

not originally in Luke's text. Behind all, too, is the question of the evangelic tradition and the forms of the evangelic narrative which preceded our present Gospels. And there are other considerations which make the other alternative vastly more probable, the supposition, namely, that both the Synoptic narrative and the Pauline come from an earlier source; not to speak of the extreme unlikelihood that an institution so primitive as the Lord's Supper, and with such a place in the Church, could have originated as is here imagined.

The eighth volume of the fourth series of *The Expositor*¹ contains many articles of importance, notably those by Professor Bruce on *St Paul's Conception of Christianity*, those by Professor Driver on Professor Marshall's *Aramaic Gospel*, and those by Professors Mommsen and Ramsay on *Christianity in the Roman Empire*, the *Pastoral Epistles and Tacitus*, and *The First Epistle attributed to St Peter*. Besides these, we have Mr Chase's *Criticism of Professor Ramsay's Theory*, a remarkably suggestive paper by Professor Findlay on *Fellowship in the Light of God*, Mr Conybeare's argument in favour of *Aristion* as the author of the closing paragraph of Mark's Gospel, and other papers, both instructive and interesting, by some twenty different hands.

Mr Henry Shaen Solly contributes to Professor Estlin Carpenter's series of *Bible Manuals* a study of *The Gospel according to Mark*.² The plan adopted is to take the Gospel by sections, and to give first a general view of the meaning of the paragraph, and then explanatory comments on particular words and phrases. The book owes much, as the author gratefully acknowledges, to Holtzmann. It gives proof of exact scholarship. It is succinct in its statements, and, barring its treatment of miracle, makes a good Manual.

The pulpit of our day has sustained no heavier loss than that which has befallen it by the death of Bishop Phillips Brooks. Anything from his pen will be eagerly received by all who appreciate preaching of the very highest order, and the volume which comes to hand under the title of *The Mystery of Iniquity and other Sermons*³ contains discourses equal to any published in his lifetime. Among others we mention those on *The Valley of Baca*, *The Battle of Life*, *The Nearness of Christ*, *The Eternal Humanity*, as examples of the great preacher's best.

The collection of *Biblical Essays*⁴ issued by the Trustees of the

¹ Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

² London: The Sunday School Association. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 235. Price 3s. 6d.

³ London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 362. Price 6s.

⁴ By the late J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xiv. 459. Price 12s.

Lightfoot Fund contains some papers which have been before the public in another form—one on the *Internal Evidence for the Authenticity and Genuineness of St John's Gospel*, which appeared in the *Expositor* in 1890, one on the *Mission of Titus to the Corinthians* printed in the *Journal of Sacred and Classical Philology* in 1885, and two contributed to the *Journal of Philology* on the *Structure and Destination of the Epistle to the Romans* (1869) and on the *Epistle to the Romans* (1871). But in addition to these we have a number which are printed from Lecture-notes. These range over such subjects as *St Paul's Preparation for the Ministry*, the *Churches of Macedonia*, the *Church of Thessalonica*, the *Destination of the Epistle to the Ephesians*, the *Date of the Pastoral Epistles*, and *St Paul's History after the Close of the Acts*. These *Essays* come in place of completed editions of the Epistles the great Bishop was accustomed to lecture on, which the Trustees, alas! find it impossible now to furnish. In some points the subjects dealt with have passed into other phases since Dr Lightfoot handled them. But in all these papers there is much in matter, and still more in method, that is of permanent value. Those on the *Epistles to the Romans* (with the counter-statements of Dr Hort), the *Ephesians*, and *Timothy* and *Titus* are of very special interest, particularly in view of recent discussions on these debated letters. The volume cannot fail to attract and inform the New Testament Student.

The volume of *Hulsean Lectures*¹ by the late Dr Hort has the strongly marked qualities of the lamented author—anxious quest of truth and of that only, sober, critical reflection, intrinsic weight of thought, and severe moderation of statement. The exacting idea which he entertained of literary and scholarly merit, and his modest estimate of himself, restrained him from frequent publication. Those who knew his value, therefore, will receive all the more eagerly anything which he has left behind him in a condition fit for publication, and these *Lectures* on the central question of what Christ is to man, to life, and to God, so reverent in tone and so rich in idea, will amply reward the careful reader.

Professor Gwatkin, of Cambridge, has laid students of Church History and students of the New Testament under obligation, by publishing his *Selections from Early Writers illustrative of Church History to the Time of Constantine*.² Such a book has been greatly needed, and nothing could be better done or more serviceable than what is now provided. The extracts, beginning with the statement by Tacitus on the Neronian persecution, and ending with that from

¹ *The Way, the Truth, the Life*. Cambridge and London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 219. Price 6s.

² London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 167. Price 4s. net.
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Eusebius on Constantine's Cross, are admirably selected, and no less admirably translated.

In *The Church of England and Recent Religious Thought*¹ Mr Whittuck reviews the existing condition of things ecclesiastical and theological in an independent and liberal spirit and with no little insight. He discusses such subjects as the *Development of Class Attributes* in the clergy and in the Church laity, the relations of *Church and Dissent*, the Church's strength and weakness in face of the *Alienated Classes*, and the theological movements of the time. He writes boldly and vigorously, and has much to say which cannot be palatable to many of his readers, but which it is good for all to have brought under their notice. His criticisms and estimates of the English theology of the day deserve special attention. The criticisms are keen and searching, the estimates carefully formed. The general conclusions are that in Biblical studies English scholars have done nobly, that in other branches of theology they have not added to the reputation of former generations, but that the prospects of the theology of the English Church have never been brighter than now.

Dr W. T. Davison, of Handsworth College, contributes a volume on the Book of Psalms² to the series of *Books for Bible Students*. It touches with the sure hand of the scholar such topics as the *Compilation of the Psalter*, its *Age*, *Authorship*, *Poetry*, *Theology*, its *Witness to Christ*, and its *Use in the Christian Church*. It gives all that is most required and most apposite as an *Introduction* to the study of the Psalms, and it gives this in admirable form. Everywhere it furnishes the results of the best scholarship without the parade of learning. The sections which deal with the *Theology* of the Psalms, the Psalmist's doctrine of God, and the expression of the religious life in the Songs of Israel, are full of good matter given in attractive form. Those in the *Witness to Christ* handle a difficult and delicate subject wisely and ably.

¹ By Charles A. Whittuck, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 308. Price 7s. 6d.

² The Praises of Israel. An Introduction to the Study of the Psalms. London: C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 287. Price 2s. 6d.

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Author of "As regards Protoplasm." Edinburgh: T. & T.
Clark, 1894, 8vo. pp. 358. Price 10s. 6d.*

THIS book is undoubtedly the most trenchant criticism of Darwinianism that has yet appeared. It is written with the author's well-known philosophic grasp, wide and accurate learning, and telling diction, while through the whole there runs a quaint humour that lightens up the discussion and sets off the palpable hits that are made on almost every page. Dr Stirling's training—a life-long training—in philosophy and science, has given him a special fitness for writing this work. It has enabled him to look at the questions at issue from many sides. Intimately acquainted with biological science in its various aspects, with a mind broadened by a deep and varied learning, ancient and modern, he also possesses in an eminent degree an intellect that has been sharpened by the discussion of the most profound philosophical problems. Thus Dr Stirling has produced a book that will not only enhance his great reputation—that was not required—but one that is a valuable contribution to the thought of the present day, and one that must be reckoned with by the friends and foes alike of the Darwinian theory.

The book is a work of art. After mastering the subject by a perusal of all authorities, Dr Stirling does not at once discuss the theory, but he proceeds, in the first place, to trace its own evolution. Twelve chapters are devoted to delineating the lives and mental characteristics of the "Workmen," with the view of showing the progression of thought through at least three generations of the Darwin family,—the redoubtable grandfather Erasmus who, while practising as a country doctor, looked on nature with keen eyes, sang the "Loves of the Plants," and indulged in speculations as to the origin and the development of living beings; next his son Robert Waring Darwin, also a doctor, more gentle and kindly than Erasmus, but with the same love of nature and the same keen interest in the observation of living forms; and then the grandson, Charles Darwin himself, the country gentleman, kindly, courteous, fair-minded, industrious, loveable, whose writings, rightly or wrongly, have influenced all the thought,—philosophical, scientific, religious,—of the present day. There is also a short account given of Erasmus, the younger, the brother of Charles, and a friend of Thomas Carlyle, who thus delineates him in a few graphic strokes: "he had something of original and sarcastically ingenious in him,

one of the sincerest, naturally truest, and most modest of men." Still another representative, in the fourth generation, of this wonderful family is mentioned by Dr Stirling. The hereditary bias is seen in Mr Francis Darwin, the Botanist, of the University of Cambridge, who is not only distinguished as the biographer of his father but has made for himself, as a naturalist, a scientific reputation worthy of his name and of his ancestry.

In those chapters of biographical portraiture, Dr Stirling shows clearly how many of the ideas popularly associated with the writings of Charles Darwin originated in the brain of the grandfather. Erasmus not only was an acute and sometimes amusing observer of living beings, but he contemplated the transmutation of species, and he even went back to the "origin;" and to use his own words, "was bold to imagine that all warm-blooded animals have arisen from one living filament, which the great First Cause endued with animality, with the power of acquiring new parts, attended with new propensities, directed by irritations, sensations, volitions, and associations, and thus possessing the faculty of continuing to improve by its own inherent activity, and of delivering down these improvements by generation to its posterity, world without end." The grandfather, however, always entertained the idea of design as controlling and directing this stream of tendency from lower to higher beings, thus differing from the grandson whose theory rested on phenomena that he supposed occurred "accidentally," in a way not demanding the recognition of anything directive, or supernatural. There was thus a great gap between the views of Erasmus and Charles.

The career of Charles Darwin is treated with great, and we venture to think, with unnecessary fulness, and it is while reading this part of the book that one has a painful feeling that in his desire to give a true explanation of the popular success of the theory of the "origin of species" by Natural Selection, etc., Dr Stirling has gone a little too far into the dangerous ground of discussing motives. Everywhere he writes of Charles Darwin as a man whom he feels bound to honour and esteem, but still there is, peeping out here and there, a bias in the downward direction that is not pleasing. Dr Stirling's notion appears to be that the conception of "Natural Selection" etc., took such a hold on the nature of Charles Darwin as to become what one might call a bee in his bonnet, so that he collected his facts too hurriedly, was far too credulous in the acceptance of statements from untrustworthy authorities, was inclined, even in his apparent desire to be fair, to give a twist to statements so that they went in his own direction, and that he with a kind of worldly wisdom, flattered and cajoled such men as Charles Lyell, Asa Gray, Joseph Dalton Hooker, and Thomas Henry Huxley, with the view of winning them over to his side before the publication of the book,

and with the deliberate intention of ensuring its success. Further, that the "Origin of Species" was, as it were, exploited under the most auspicious patronage, that the very word "Origin" gave a false impression to the public as to what it was all about, that the public were led to believe that most of the facts were discovered by Mr Darwin himself, and that this was largely the cause of its rapid success. Here and there too, Dr Stirling indulges in stinging asides about small things that were not worth noticing. All this has sprung from Dr Stirling's method. He has read and re-read the "Origin" and the other books subsequently issued as further expositions of the theory, in the light of the "Journal" and of the "Life and Letters," in the latter of which, following the prurient practice of present day biographical literature, not a little is exposed to public view that might well have been kept sacred to intimate friends. Surely this is not up to the high water mark of generous criticism. Whose life could stand this kind of inspection? Why should we look below a man's work, searching for his motives, and if these are in any way likely to point to his own self-interest, or to the advancement of his own views, why should we thrust them forth into public gaze, and pillory him as a self seeker?

In view of the great questions at issue, it is not worth while taking all these pains to dissect the inner life of the worker. Surely it is better at once to criticise the work and to ascertain what it has contributed to knowledge. At the same time, while I feel bound, with all respect, thus to express myself on this aspect of the book, I recognise that, in reality, and to use his own words, Dr Stirling admires the naturalist and honours the man, and that it was only the exigencies of his plan that led him to go into these by-paths of private life.

One of the most charming chapters is that in which Dr Stirling gives illustrations of Mr Darwin's power, not often used, of dramatic writing. Some of it is almost poetical in its vividness. With all his prosiness, there was a strong dash of the poet in the author of "Zoonomia," and it reappears in a subdued form, in the grandson. Thus, quoting from the Journal: "A few fire-flies flitted by us, and the solitary snipe, as it rose, uttered its plaintive cry; the distant and sullen roar of the sea scarcely broke the stillness of the night." Again: "It (the noise of the stones rattling over each other in the mountain torrents on the Cordilleras) was like thinking on time, where the minute that now glides past is irrevocable; so was it with these stones, the ocean is their eternity, and each note of that wild music told of one more step towards their destiny." Well may Dr Stirling comment, "What speaks there is quite a metaphysical imagination."

The second part of Dr Stirling's book, entitled "The Work," and

numbering sixteen chapters, is a valuable criticism of the theory, and it will attract the attention of naturalists. So far as theologians and men of letters are concerned, Dr Stirling will earn their gratitude by the clear and succinct way in which he shows what the Darwinian theory really is, namely the origin of species by accidental variation, natural selection, and survival of the fittest. This of course is known to every one who has paid attention to the subject, but there is a hazy notion still in the public mind in which Evolution and Darwinism proper are so blended as to cause people to forget that after all Darwinianism is only an attempt to account for the formation of species by a particular mode of evolution. As already pointed out, Erasmus Darwin was an Evolutionist, although he detailed no specific mode of the process; and all know that Lamarck went further in his *Philosophie Zoologique* and formulated, under four statements (designated "laws") his hypothesis of the evolution of organs by appetite or longing,—or, in other words, altered habits causing new wants that resulted in the development of new organs and possibly in the modification or atrophy of organs already existing. The wish was, if not father to the organ, at least its forerunner, and the need led to the growth or to the wasting. Lamarck, however, recognised the influence of two factors in the process:—first, "a power of life," a something internal that caused a real progression; and, second, the effect of external circumstances. External circumstances took the largest share in the process, according to the Lamarckian hypothesis, and it is this aspect of the problem, along with his notions on embryonal development that we associate with the name of the great Frenchman. On the other hand, Charles Darwin, although at first inclined to attach considerable importance to the influence of circumstances, gradually abandoned this view, and more and more clung to his theory that *accidental* variations acted directly by giving the advantage in the struggle for existence. The essence of the Darwinian view may be expressed thus:—accidental natural variation, natural selection giving an advantage, and adaptation leading to the formation of a new species. This, again, was not fixed; but might, in turn, be transmuted, or disappear. Dr Stirling gives an excellent account of the appearance of the woodpecker, in the language of a Darwinian, that may be quoted as an example of the attractive style of the book, and as a clever exposition of Mr Darwin's views. Possibly a Darwinian devotee may consider it a caricature, but it is not far off the mark. "Of two birds that feed on insects, conceive the one of them to have varied favourably in the beak—to be possessed, that is, of the stronger beak: it will have the advantage over the other, and it will transmit this advantage to its descendants. In these this advantage can only grow;

for they will always possess, and, as is evident, always increasingly possess, the strongest beaks. That strength of beak will give the advantage is but a corollary on the habits of the birds themselves. They haunt fallen trees, namely, under the bark of which the insects burrow to fall a prey preferably to the strongest beak that can dig for them. Still even the strongest beak does not always succeed ; its tongue, conceivably, is too short, and the insects occasionally escape it. Let a strong-beaked bird be born with a longer tongue than the rest, why, it, too, will have the advantage over its fellows, and it will also transmit this advantage to the descendants of itself. Strong-beaked, long-tongued insect-feeders will now, evidently, constitute the rule ; but, unfortunately, in course of time, there occurs a dearth of fallen timber ; strength of beak and length of tongue scarcely suffice any longer for more than the scantiest and miserablest of existences. But see, one of them gets born with sharper fore-claws than any one of its brothers ; it is actually seen to ascend standing trees, and, triumphantly tapping the bark, luxuriously to feed on an all-abundant treasure and store of hitherto unreachable and unreachd insects. Once again there can be only one result, the birds that have blunt fore-claws will gradually die off, and the sharp fore-claws will alone remain. But even these come to be at a disadvantage in the struggle for life. An individual is born that adds on to the already existent fore-claw—actually!—a sharp hind-claw. *Consummatum est!* the sharp fore-claws must perish, for their time has come. But even the triumphant hind-clawers have to suffer defeat in their turn. There is born among them one who can stick his tail, as well as his claws, into the tree, up which he can run with an all-conquering swiftness. He and his children simply starve out all the rest, and are left alone at the last in the undisturbed possession of every rotten tree in the forest. On every one of them now there thrones an autocrat—a *Picus Superbus!* This, the wood-pecker, is a bird that, for the complicated adaptations it exhibits, is absolutely unparalleled. The bill is wedge-shaped and keen : the tongue is long, nimble, sharp, barbed or beset with bristles bent backwards, and coated viscid : the claws are strong and spiked to grasp even a perpendicular surface, and in this they are supported by the tail, the stiff-pointed-end feathers of which can keenly grasp also. The life of this bird being the running up and down old trees to pick holes into them in pursuit of insects, which it hunts and captures with its supple, long, gluey tongue, it is to be regarded in itself as glaringly and conspicuously a proof of the fact of natural selection ; for though possibly quite an ordinary bird at first, it has conspicuously grown into what it is—a new species—by propagated successive advantages simply in pursuit of its own business !”

Now Lamarck would have said that the woodpecker came to be what it is, in consequence of new habits (new desires arising from difficulty in getting food, etc., and possibly the influence of climate, food, etc., but Darwin lays the greatest stress on *accidental variation*. There can be no doubt that here he comes into conflict with any notion of *design*. Dr Stirling points this out with great force and shews that such men as Charles Kingsley, and many other Darwinians, apparently never thoroughly grasped the true Darwinian position, or at least recognised its tremendous consequences. Kingsley thought that the process described by Mr Darwin gave him a nobler conception of the working of the Deity than the older view of creation, but the "noble conception of the Deity" was not the conception of Charles Darwin. The great naturalist felt this himself, and, in some moments of his life, he seems to have regretted that he was obliged to give up all evidence of design and beneficence. It need hardly be pointed out that in relegating the first step towards "adaptation to new conditions," to accident or chance, Darwin was simply giving up the whole question. There can be no such thing as chance, no such thing as "*accidental variation*;" if variation did occur it must have been in obedience to some deeper law. This first step has always appeared to me to be *the* weak point in the Darwinian view, and I heartily agree with everything Dr Stirling has so ably written on this aspect of the question.

Dr Stirling, in Chapter V. scarcely admits that there is a struggle for existence going on in nature, and the facts he brings forward seem to be wide of the mark. It is true that on some parts of the earth's surface many species, carnivores and herbivores, seem to be living in peace and harmony, but this is a notion derived from only a superficial view. There is struggle everywhere, murder and sudden death, and those survive in nature who can hold their own or escape by speed of foot or swiftness of wing. Again, our author wonders why the little six-inch armadillos survive in South America while the nine-foot glyptodon has disappeared. Surely the strong one might have held its own. But we must remember that great bulk handicaps a large animal when a struggle arises from any condition implying dearth of food. Owen, who was not a Darwinian, says: "The actual presence therefore of small species of animals in countries where larger species of the same natural families formerly existed, is not the consequence of any natural diminution of the size of such species, but is the result of circumstances, which may be illustrated by the fable of the 'Oak and the Reed'; the smaller and feebler animals have bent and accommodated themselves to changes that have destroyed the larger species. They have fared better in the 'battle of life.'" This accounts for the disappearance of the glyptodon, still more of the colossal Atlantosaurus, an animal

"not much less than one hundred feet in length and thirty or more in height"! It would not be easy for such monsters to live unless the conditions were favourable for the production of vast quantities of food.

Dr Stirling's criticism of Mr Darwin's book on the "Emotions" is excellent, showing, by many apposite examples, that Mr Darwin's explanations of the natural emotional actions of many animals are far-fetched. There is no need for insisting that such and such a muscular movement is not spontaneous but is a relic of something that was consciously done by a remote ancestor. Movements of animals expressive of pride, emulation, vanity, are primary and direct, occurring in consonance with emotional states. We need not always look back to the remote ancestor. The chapter dealing with this part of the subject is very amusing.

In his closing chapters, and elsewhere in the book, Dr Stirling indulges in smart criticism of Mr Huxley, who has been from the first the most doughty champion of Darwinianism and whose great powers have no doubt commended the theory not only to scientific men but to the public. We hardly think that Dr Stirling is entitled to attribute Mr Huxley's acceptance of the theory to a mental bias against the commonly received view of a creation, a bias that "when in the dilemma of 'the Darwinian hypothesis' or 'the creation hypothesis' we see Mr Huxley rush to the former, we may know that it is only the latter has driven him." Few can weigh a theory more dispassionately, or look into the facts supporting it with a clearer intelligence than Mr Huxley, and it must also be borne in mind, as pointed out by Dr Stirling himself, that Mr Huxley recognised difficulties in the way of a full acceptance of the Darwinian view, more especially as regards the significance of the infertility of hybrids, and that he looked on it as a "working hypothesis," that might or might not be final explanative of the origin of the species. Still it is an illustration of what may be brought about by the whirligig of time to find narrowness and a kind of fanaticism attributed to Mr Huxley. "Mr Huxley, namely, was glad of anything that promised to be 'a working hypothesis' towards the extinction of a supernatural causation by a natural one."

Dr Stirling puts pithily the other attitude thus: "As society is, then, this of Darwinianism is very much a question of the mere *Vorstellung*, in the mere feeling and prejudice of the day. There are a great many more Darwinians on grounds of hostility to the supposed common belief than Mr Huxley. And, most assuredly, it is on no such grounds that we, for our part, would see the question discussed. Things being as they are, that can be rationally accomplished at present, not in any religious reference

pro, and still less, as I honestly believe, in any religious reference *contra*, but only in an absolutely abstract inquest, the determination of which, the bringing of which to an ultimate result and to truth, shall depend on the application of no principles but those of thought as thought, with an ear, if open to science on the one side, yet not practically deaf to philosophy on the other."

In closing, Dr Stirling writes as follows:—"For myself, in conclusion I must say this: I admire the naturalist and I honour the man; but I hope to be forgiven if, 'for the life of me,' I cannot but smile when assured by Mr Darwin that there is not necessarily such a thing as design in this universe,—*now that the law of natural selection has been discovered.*"

With this statement most of his readers will agree. Dr Stirling and all who have looked below the surfaces of things must accept the fact of an evolution, that has somehow brought about the present forms of animals and plants. Natural law and secondary cause have been in operation through long periods of time and there have been succession and progression of species to suit varied conditions on the earth's surface. This is proved, *inter alia*, by the evidence that in the development of the individual, and in the succession of species in time, there is an ascent from the lower to the higher, from the general to the particular. And it must be said in conclusion, that although this aspect of living nature was guessed at by not a few, the first to attempt systematically to show how it came about was Charles Darwin. The attempt of Lamarck was trivial in comparison. Evanescent his own particular theory may be, full of discrepancies that can be detected by the eagle eye of such a critic as Dr Stirling, possibly a mere "working hypothesis" without finality, still it must be admitted that Charles Darwin asked questions, suggested difficulties, dragged problems into the light of day, conducted laborious personal investigations, that have commanded the admiration of all naturalists, and forced philosophers to look at nature from a fresh point of view. Not only has thought been stimulated but the impetus given to scientific investigation in all quarters can scarcely be over estimated. Accidental variation, during the life of the adult, or in the first living matter of the embryo, as Weismann and others, in these later days, would have us believe, is out of the question; but there is a struggle for existence going on, the best fitted survive, and adaptations, whether they ever amount to the appearance of a new species or not, are being effected all the world over. Such wonderful adaptations exist everywhere,—on mountain top, on the plain, by the sea-shore, in abysmal depths of the ocean,—and the thoughts of men are again swinging round to the position that whilst the last word as to the process has not yet been

said, and whilst both the Lamarckian and the Darwinian views are found wanting as adequate final explanations, the old notion of *design* is not to be lightly cast aside. Not accident but purpose seems to be the golden thread that runs through nature, both inorganic and organic.

JOHN G. M'KENDRICK.

The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments.

By the Rev. A. H. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology in the University of Oxford. London: S.P.C.K. 8vo, pp. 575. Price, 7s. 6d.

THIS work, as Professor Sayce tells us in his Preface, is not calculated to please either "the apologists" or "the higher critics." Those who have loudly and repeatedly proclaimed that "the verdict of the monuments" always tends to demonstrate the veracity of the Bible will be mortified to find that in many cases Professor Sayce treats the historical statements of the Bible as unworthy of trust. Thus, for instance, we are told that the chronology of the compiler of Kings "must be rejected" since it is incompatible with the dates given in the Assyrian inscriptions (p. 406). The compiler of Chronicles fares even worse. "The consistent exaggeration of numbers on the part of the chronicler shows us that from a historical point of view his unsupported statements must be received with caution. . . . He cared as little for history in the modern European sense of the word as the Oriental of to-day, who considers himself at liberty to embellish or modify the narrative he is repeating in accordance with his fancy or the moral he wishes to draw from it" (p. 464). But what "the apologists" will resent most of all is Professor Sayce's treatment of the Book of Daniel. The narrative is pronounced to be unhistorical, and the book, according to Professor Sayce, must have been composed long after the Exile by a writer whose knowledge of ancient Babylon was of the vaguest kind. After all this, we cannot be surprised that the Tract Committee of the S.P.C.K., under whose direction the present work is published, should have thought it their duty to add some notes in which disappointment and annoyance clearly show themselves through the thin veil of politeness. They attempt to make the best of an embarrassing situation by casting doubt on the trustworthiness of Professor Sayce's results. In a note on page 497 they remark—"It is but right to note here that some of Professor Sayce's views on the Book of Daniel are not shared by other authorities. See the article *Daniel* in the new edition of the *Bible Dictionary*, and the late Professor Fuller's articles in the *Expositor*, 3rd Series, Vols. I. and II." That some

of Professor Sayce's views "are not shared by other authorities" is perfectly true, but by what figure of speech the late Professor Fuller can be described as an "authority" the Tract Committee do not explain. Their theory appears to be that Professor Sayce is a good authority as long as he quotes "the monuments" in support of the Bible, and that whenever he contradicts the Bible we must set him aside in favour of some more orthodox "authority."

On the other hand, "the higher critics" will regard this work with profound distrust. In the first place, Professor Sayce nowhere shows any adequate knowledge of the writings of Biblical critics, either in England or on the Continent, and while he indulges, page after page, in denunciations about the arrogance and perversity of "the higher criticism," he seldom condescends to mention *where* he has seen the statements against which he is protesting. In discussing Biblical criticism it is of the utmost importance to distinguish between the views of individual critics and the views held by critics generally, but on this subject Professor Sayce's readers are almost invariably kept in the dark. Whether a particular opinion has been expressed by Kuenen or Wellhausen, by Nöldeke or Stade, is to Professor Sayce a matter of indifference. It is enough that he has seen, or thinks that he has seen, the opinion expressed somewhere, and forthwith he proceeds to make "the higher criticism" responsible for it. Of this recklessness the Preface offers an example. Professor Sayce complains that "the critics" disagree with him about an inscribed weight found at Samaria, and accuses them, in the most offensive language, of attempting "to get rid of the archaeological evidence which had so inconveniently turned up." Yet, as Professor Driver has pointed out in the *Academy* (Oct. 28, 1893), the opinion which so much annoyed Professor Sayce emanated not from a Biblical critic but from Professor Euting of Strassburg, one of the best judges of Semitic inscriptions, and was adopted, on the authority of Euting, by a *single* "critic," namely, Professor König of Rostock. "*Ex hoc disce omnia*!" exclaims Professor Sayce in his Preface, and the appropriateness of the quotation will be acknowledged by everybody. This is, in fact, only a fair specimen of Professor Sayce's methods.

Hence any one who comes to this book in the hope of discovering precisely how far "the verdict of the monuments" has affected Biblical criticism will be bitterly disappointed. The greater part of the work is occupied by irrelevant matter, by lengthy disquisitions on the origin of the alphabet, the influence of Babylonian civilisation in Canaan, the racial characteristics of the Amorites and the Hittites, and a score of other questions which, however important they may be in themselves, are but very remotely connected with the subject in hand, namely the authorship and credibility

of the Biblical records. When Professor Sayce attempts to throw light on Biblical criticism properly so-called, he seldom offers more than vague speculations. Thus, for instance, he tells us that the cuneiform inscriptions lately found at Tel-el-Amarna testify to "a wide extension of knowledge and literary activity" in Palestine before the Israelite invasion, and that "the art of writing and reading must have been as widely spread as it was in Europe before the days of the penny post" (p. 51). "Why then," he goes on to ask, "should the writer of a later day have had any lack of materials for a truthful and detailed history of Palestine before the Israelite conquest?" (p. 52). In reality the Old Testament, as everybody knows, contains extremely few details about the history of Palestine before the conquest. Moreover, in all his reasoning on this subject, Professor Sayce ignores two very important considerations. Firstly, the art of writing may exist in a country for ages before there is any historical literature. The Arabs, for example, certainly possessed the art of writing before the time of Mohammed, yet it was not till long after the establishment of the Mohammedan Empire that they began to write histories. In ancient India, also, the art of writing appears to have been practised long before there were any books (see Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 179). Secondly, even if it were proved that the ancient Canaanites had a large historical literature in the cuneiform character, it would by no means necessarily follow that the Israelites living some centuries later were acquainted with that literature. How much did an ordinary educated Arab of the ninth or tenth century of our era know about the ancient literatures of the countries which his forefathers had conquered? Even the Sabæan inscriptions, though written by natives of Arabia and in an Arabic dialect, were unintelligible to the most learned Mohammedans of later times. Professor Sayce rightly condemns those who theorise about the ancient East before they have made themselves acquainted with the East of the present day (pp. 557 *et seq.*). Would it not have been well if, before he speculated about the literature which *may have existed* 1500 years B.C., he had carefully considered the history of those more modern Oriental literatures about which we may obtain full and accurate information?

Not only does this book display a very slight acquaintance with the works of modern Biblical critics and with the literary history of the East, but it bears witness likewise to an almost incredible carelessness about philology. In reading Professor Sayce's remarks on the meaning and derivation of Hebrew words, we seem to have before us some treatise written in the last century, when philologists derived Greek from Hebrew, and went upon the principle that "all the consonants are interchangeable and the vowels do not

count." A few samples will suffice. On page 54 the name of the city Kiryath-Sannah (Joshua xv. 49) is explained to mean "the city of instruction." Can it be that Professor Sayce confounds the root כִּנָּה, from which כִּנָּה is formed, with the totally different root שָׁנָה (Aram. תָּנָא)? On page 339 he gravely asserts that *Jasher* is an abbreviation of the longer *Israel*—as if יִשְׂרָאֵל (with radical י) could be connected with יִשְׂרָאֵל (where the י is, of course, merely the prefix of the Imperfect), and as if ש and שׁ were interchangeable. On page 472 he derives *kether* "crown" from the Persian *khshatram* (which, by the way, does not mean "crown" but "kingdom")—as if *kether* were not sufficiently explained by the Hebrew root כָּתַר "to encircle." And it is to be noted that these extravagances, and many others of the same kind, are put forward by Professor Sayce without any hint as to their uncertainty.

It may, however, be urged that though Professor Sayce is deplorably weak in Biblical criticism and Hebrew philology, he is trustworthy at least on the subject of "the monuments." Unhappily he has shown that here also his statements are to be regarded with grave suspicion. Too often he assumes that his own opinion is the only possible one, and he proceeds to build up a theory upon it, without informing his readers that other authorities, perhaps no less competent than himself, take an entirely different view. Thus on pp. 164 *et seq.* he has a great deal to say about the Babylonian prince *Eri-Aku*, whom he identifies with the Arioch of Gen. xiv. But he omits to mention that Dr H. Winckler, who has recently edited and translated the inscriptions in question (see the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Bd. iii., 1 Hälfte, pp. 92 *et seq.*) reads the name as *Rim-Sin*, which, if it be correct, makes the identification with Arioch impossible. Moreover, Friedr. Delitzsch is of opinion that the first sign in this name *cannot possibly* be read as *Iri-* or *Eri-* (see Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, Engl. Transl. Vol. ii. p. 301). Perhaps Professor Sayce's reading may ultimately prove to be right, but he ought at least to have stated that here decipherers are not yet agreed. A similar instance of the manner in which Professor Sayce ignores the opinion of other Assyriologists occurs on p. 532. He there says—"Belteshazzar, we are told, was the name given to Daniel after his adoption among the 'wise men' of Babylon. Now Bilat-sarra-utsur, 'O Beltis, defend the king,' is a good Babylonian name. But in the Book of Daniel the name is written, not with a *tau*, as would be required by the word Bilat, but with a *teth*, so that the first element in it is transformed into the Assyrian word *ballidh* 'he caused to live.' The result is a compound which has no sense, and would be impossible in the Babylonian language." Surely the reader ought to have been told that both Professor Schrader (*Cuneiform*

Inscriptions and the Old Testament, Vol. ii. p. 125) and Friedr. Delitzsch (in Baer's *Libri Danielis, Ezrae, et Nehemiae*, p. ix.) give a different explanation, taking the name to mean "protect thou his life" (*Balâšû-ušûr* or *Balâšašû-ušûr*). Again, on page 530, Professor Sayce tells us "*Par'su* or *bar'su* in Assyrian means 'a part of a shekel.'" Is this quite certain? According to the inscribed Assyrian weights which we possess the word must mean "half a mina," and the *mina* consisted of sixty shekels—see the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Part 2, Tom. I., No. 10. Professor Sayce, who attaches so much importance to "archæological evidence," will, perhaps, on some future occasion, enlighten us about this matter.

Professor Cheyne in his book, *The Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, p. 233, charges Professor Sayce with attempting to "popularise questionable theories," and it must be admitted that the instances above mentioned go far towards justifying the accusation.

In conclusion, it may be noticed that in treating of the Moabite Stone (p. 366) Professor Sayce says that "the latest and best edition of the text" is that which was published in 1886 by Smend and Socin, and he then gives a translation made by Dr Neubauer. It should have been mentioned that in 1890 a much better edition of the text, with a translation and copious notes, was published by Professor Driver, who has utilised the latest suggestions of Clermont-Ganneau, Renan, and Nöldeke (see Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, pp. lxxxiv.-xciv.).

A. A. BEVAN.

Hebräische Archäologie.

Von Dr J. Benzinger, mit 152 Abbildungen im Text. Plan von Jerusalem und Karte von Palästina. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xx. 515. Price, M. 10.

It would be difficult to find in all the series of manuals and primers that are sent forth in such embarrassing profusion from English and Continental publishing firms, any work of the same extent as the present volume that contains more sound information condensed without sacrifice to clearness into so small a space. The author, Dr Benzinger, has interpreted his task in the widest sense, and has incorporated into his book many of the leading facts in the ethnography and geography of Palestine which his personal acquaintance with Oriental scenes and life gives him special opportunities of knowing, but which are not infrequently absent from works of this

character. He has also illustrated his pages with more than 152 well executed woodcuts, borrowed from the best sources, the type is clear and readable and in Roman character, and the proportion of *Anmerkungschrift* to the entire letterpress is mercifully small. And so successfully have irrelevancy and diffuseness been banished from this volume that we find the entire matter, including copious and well-arranged subjects and Biblical references, compressed into a little over 500 pages.

Such a manual has been one of the greatest needs of our modern Old Testament student. Even from the time when Ewald wrote his famous volume of *Alterthümer* in 1844, we cannot be said to have had many systematic treatises dealing with this subject. The last quarter of a century in particular has not been fruitful in such handbooks. The *Archæology of the Old Testament* in Zöckler's "Handbook of Theological Disciplines" is much too brief and dismisses the whole in sixty large octavo pages. I cannot speak from personal knowledge of the posthumous work of the Catholic scholar Schegg. Nor need I mention others.

The reason for this sterility of literature is not far to seek. The last twenty-five years have been a period of memorable and vast archæological discovery and of epoch-making contributions to the criticism and scientific interpretation of the Old Testament. With respect to archæology, it is noteworthy that the discoveries made by the two Palestine Exploration Societies have yielded comparatively small results for the student of ancient Israel beyond the topographical. Of pre-exilian Hebrew inscriptions they have furnished next to nothing. Compare the Siloam inscription and the finds at Tell el Hesi with the *spolia opima* of Assyrian, Babylonian and Egyptian research ! It is safe to assert that the cuneiform material recovered from the Tell el Amarna ruins in the latter part of 1887 has thrown far more light on the earlier Pre-mosaic history of Canaan than many years of labour in Palestinian research. Let us hope that Tell el Hesi may yet reveal some of the broken threads of history beyond the severed strands recovered from the wrecks of Tell el Amarna preserved in Berlin and London, and yield us clues of yet greater value. Now, while the vast accumulations of epigraphic and other materials collected by Layard, George Smith and their followers have been awaiting careful scrutiny and authoritative interpretation, the science of archæology could hardly advance a single step in safety.

Another potent cause has been the revolution in Old Testament criticism and the complete reconstruction of its history and literature. But the truth could only be reached through conflict, and the conflict lasted fifteen years. The labours of Kuenen, Wellhausen and Stade have been far-reaching in their influence on the whole science of Hebrew religious institutions. To know any institution

adequately is to know at least something of its historic evolution, and it has been the failure to recognise this evolutionary principle in religion and history that has made the treatment of Hebrew religious institutions inadequate even in the pages of Ewald's great "History of the People Israel." But after Wellhausen produced his masterly Prolegomena to the "History of Israel" (the title of the second edition) in 1878, and exhibited the growth of Hebrew institutions through the three successive strata of legislation embodied in the Book of the Covenant (with the law of the Two Tables), Deuteronomy, and Priestercodez (with Ezekiel's program as a mediating link between the last two), the whole perspective of Israel's history became a vista luminous in their reflected light, and the whole subject of Hebrew archæology became invested with a new meaning and interest. To this we must add the important services rendered by such careful investigators of early Arabic literature as Professor Wellhausen (we refer especially to his "Reste Arabischen Heidenthums" in his series of "Sketches and Preliminary Studies"), and Professor Robertson Smith, whose "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia" and "Religion of the Semites" are frequently cited in the volume before us. Let us not forget also Baudissin's most important pioneer work—still a valuable store-house of information—his *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*. Another writer of the same school, Stade, has evidently exercised a considerable influence upon the contents of this volume. His ingenious reconstruction of the Solomonic palace and temple is turned to full account in p. 240, *fol.* But we question whether undue space has not been bestowed on a subject full of technical obscurities. A merely cursory glance at Dr Benzinger's book shows that Stade's invaluable chapters on the early pre-exilian institutions of Israel have been utilised to the utmost. One point upon which closer attention needs to be devoted is the precise effect of Babylonian life and culture upon Jewish institutions. That the memorable exile-period effected a change in tradition and usage not only in the calendar but on the whole area of civilization can scarcely admit of doubt. How far the humane civilization of Babylonia influenced, for example, the position of women and slaves in the post-exilian Jewish commonwealth, in respect of possession and inheritance of property, still needs careful investigation.

But a work like the present treatise can only deal with definitely ascertained results, or results that are highly probable, and we regard it as pre-eminent above all its predecessors in its adequate recognition of the established conclusions of the Higher Criticism, as well as the abundant and intelligent use that has been made of recent archæological discovery.

We shall now give a brief summary of the contents, interspersed
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with a few comments. After an introduction which deals with the limits of the ground to be traversed, the method to be pursued, and the classification to be adopted, the writer gives a useful history of the discipline from the time of the early Christian Church and the Middle Ages down to the present day. He then maps out his ground into four divisions. The first takes up the subject of the "land and people." The best results of the investigations of modern travel and of the researches of the English and German Palestine Societies are here embodied. The information on the climate of Palestine and the topography of Jerusalem will be found especially serviceable. In illustration of the latter a well-executed plan of ancient Jerusalem (facing p. 56) will be found a welcome addition to the book. We have also at the end of the volume an elaborate map of modern Palestine, crowded with the names of every hill and village, presented on a scale of one inch to about $9\frac{1}{2}$ English miles, a marvel of clear printing. It is accompanied by larger scale maps of the region of Nazareth and Tiberias and of the Highlands of Judæa, while we have a third and still larger scale-plan of modern Jerusalem and its environs. Next follows a very useful section on the pre-historic period of Israel's development, succeeded by another on the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan and Syria, accompanied by well executed portraits borrowed from Professor Sayce's recent suggestive work on the "Races of the Old Testament," published by the Religious Tract Society, in which the figures from the Hall of Columns at Karnak are carefully reproduced from photographs. In this part of the work Dr. Benzinger remarks that for the name "Canaanites," as embracing the population of Palestine west of the Jordan, individual Old Testament writers, as Amos and the Elohist, substitute the name "Amorites." We would add to this what a future edition ought certainly to mention—viz., that the Assyrian records, and especially the Tell el Amarna inscriptions, testify that *this was the most ancient name for these populations current in Western Asia*. There is good reason to hold that the signs hitherto read (*mât*) *Aḥarri*, or "western land," designating the whole Palestinian and Phœnician border, should actually be read (*mât*) *Amurri*. Many scholars now hold that the sign which has the alternative values *ḥar* and *mur* (see Delitzsch Assyriol. 3rd Ed. No. 227, compare also No. 162) should in this case be read as *mur*. It was, I believe, Delattre who first definitely proposed this reading in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, March 1891, pp. 233-4, in view of such forms as *A-mu-ur-ra* and *A-mu-ri* alongside of *A-^{mur}_{har}-ri* in the Tell el Amarna tablets. Sayce, in the *Academy* for May 20, 1893, and M. Jastrow, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriol.*, April 1892, have adopted

this suggestion, which throws an interesting light on ancient Semitic nomenclature.

Useful sections follow on the *Bnê Yisrá'el* and the development of Israelite civilisation in Palestine. We next enter the *second* part of the book dealing with the antiquities of private life (*Privat-alterthümer*) as opposed to those of political life (*Staats-alterthümer*) which constitute the *third* part. The former or second division includes the subjects food, dress, clothing, each of which is clearly and succinctly set forth and copiously illustrated. Especially to be commended are the illustrations, derived from the modern life of the *fellahîn*, representing the probable form of an ancient Hebrew oven (pp. 86 *fol.*) Equally good is the section dealing with dress.

We have no space to characterise the sections devoted to the Hebrew family (§§ 19-21). It is enough to say that the author has utilised some of the best results of Professor Robertson Smith's monograph "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia." The section devoted to "Slaves" is useful, but too brief. No fact of real importance has, so far as we can see, been omitted. We must pass rapidly over the following chapter on "Social Life and its Relations" as well as that which is devoted to weights, coinage and calendar, which is worked out with considerable detail. The following sections deal with pastoral life and agriculture, with admirable illustrations of agricultural implements, taken from modern Palestinian examples. We can only mention the subjects of "trade" and "art" which are next dealt with. This section is concluded by two excellent chapters on "Writing," with useful reproductions of the Siloam inscription and a table, familiar to students of Müller's Grammar, of the ancient Phœnician Hebrew alphabet in its historic development from the ninth century (Stone of Mesha) onwards. There is a useful note dealing with the question of the origin of this alphabet, but it leaves the subject too much in suspense, while the interesting light shed on the subject by Glaser's discoveries in South Arabia appears to be wholly ignored.

The third part of the book is devoted to the Hebrew State. We observe that the writer apparently makes the family rather than the clan the unit of ancient Semitic life and the tribe is spoken of as an "extension of the family" (*die erweiterte Familie*). The expression is somewhat ambiguous, though Dr Benzinger subsequently guards himself by showing that "the words family, kin, and tribe have among the Semites a much more extended significance than among ourselves." The subject is treated with characteristic clearness by Professor Robertson Smith, whose words might be quoted with advantage (though they probably present an extreme view of the facts): "The notion that the clan is only a larger household

is not consistent with the results of modern research. Kinship is an older thing than family life, and in the most primitive societies known to us the family or household group was not a sub-division of the clan, but contained members of more than one kindred" ("Rel. of the Semites," p. 260). Dr Benzinger, however, admits that the clan grew by additions from without (p. 293) as the history of the Bedouin tribes proves, and the assumption of a common direct descent of all the individual members of a tribe from a common tribal ancestor is pronounced a mere fiction (p. 292), whether the tradition be that of the Bedouin or the Hebrews. As lovers of the patriarchal histories in Genesis, we may however console ourselves with the concession made by the writer on a later page (p. 298), where he admits that Robertson Smith's theory of animal totems and Stade's doctrine of the hero-eponyms do not explain everything. With Nöldeke he would give due place to the old Biblical conception that derives the tribal name from an individual. "Both among the Hebrews and among the Arabs these gentile names might have been employed as individual names and we cannot get rid of the possibility that individual clans did actually descend from men whose names they bore, and that whole tribes assumed the name of a distinguished leader or of a leading clan and called themselves his 'sons.'"

The fourth division of this work, dealing with Religious Institutions, is necessarily dominated by the now ascertained results of the Higher Criticism, which place the Priestercodex last in the series of Hexateuchal documents, and regard it as expressing the latest and most fully developed stage of Hebrew legislation. In no other part of the book is the historic method applied so consistently and rigidly. But for this Wellhausen's Prolegomena had already supplied ample materials. The distinction sharply drawn in this volume between the institutions of P and D renders this portion of the work especially serviceable to the Old Testament student. The history of the priesthood and the questions respecting its derivation from an actual and primitive tribe of Levi are concisely and clearly discussed. In our opinion the balance between Wellhausen and Stade is very fairly struck (p. 416) and no important points (*e.g.*, the pre-exilian section, Judges xvii. xviii.) are neglected or slurred over.

On the subject of clean and unclean meats due weight is given to the ancestor-totem theory of their origin. The writer is, however, careful to state that such a theory does not by any means imply conscious knowledge of such an origin on the part of the Israelites in historic times (p. 484). In the section devoted to this obscure and interesting subject some reference should have been made, in our opinion, to Robertson Smith's ingenious theory that the laws of

Deut. xiv. (Levit. xi.) were designed to counteract the mystic rites which became prevalent in the troubled period of Babylonian invasions in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. (See "Kinship and Marriage," p. 221, and the long note, p. 317, *follows*). For my own part, I am unable to accept this attractive hypothesis as giving an adequate explanation of the presence of so elaborate a system two centuries later in the Priestercodex (in slightly revised form). Another explanation, which I have recently propounded, ascribes a more ancient origin to the Deuteronomic scheme. It probably arose in the time of Solomon when efforts were made by the Jerusalemite (*i.e.*, Zadokid) priesthood to harmonise and reduce to system the different tribal cults of Israel with respect to food. Such a movement would be a natural corollary on the religious side to the strong political tendency to unification which prevailed in the early part of the tenth century B.C.

Here our brief survey must close. This manual appears to be as nearly exhaustive of topics as a handbook on such a scale can possibly be. We miss some adequate treatment of prophets and prophecy, which would involve an additional chapter. Another subject which has been omitted is that of pleasure-gardens, upon which the bare reference in p. 211 is insufficient. Here, probably, Assyro-Babylonian influence wrought a considerable change in the standard of Hebrew civilization. See Sayce's "Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians," pp. 14, 23 *follows*, and consult the original text of the cuneiform account of Sennacherib's *paradeisos*, with transcription and translation, published by Mr Evetts in the *Zeitsch. für Assyriol.*, vol. iii. p. 311 *follows*. See also Meissner and Rost's "Bauinschriften Sanherib's," pp. 5 and 14 *follows*. The Garden of Eden of the Jehovist resembles rather a Babylonian *paradeisos* than a Hebrew garden. The step between Sennacherib's park and Ahab's "garden of herbs," or "garden of Uzzah," was probably considerable. The point is of some interest to criticism, as it throws a side-light upon the probable date of the Song of Songs. See among other passages iv. 12-15.

We confidently commend this volume to all theological students conversant with German, and we heartily congratulate Dr Benzinger on the admirable fruits of his industry. He has rendered a great service to all lovers of the Old Testament by this clear, succinct, and readable treatise covering a wide array of subjects. A fuller treatment of some topics may, we trust, be hoped for in a larger volume at no distant date. Meanwhile, it stands alone as the worthiest manual upon an important department of study upon which floods of light have been thrown by recent research. OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

Witnesses to the Unseen, and other Essays.

*By Wilfrid Ward. London : Macmillan & Co. 8vo,
pp. xxix. 309. Price, 10s. 6d.*

WITH the exception of the Introduction, the essays which make up this volume have all appeared in various periodicals during the last twelve years. Their subjects, besides the one to which the book owes its somewhat sensational title, are—The Clothes of Religion, New Wine in Old Bottles, Some Aspects of Newman's Influence, Philalethes—Some Words on a Misconception of Cardinal Newman, and The Wish to Believe,—this last taking up 154 pages out of 333.

Mr Ward tells us in the Introduction that the Essays are to be regarded as a contribution to the solution of the problem, "What is and what ought to be the influence of the public opinion of our time, as represented in its intellectual leaders—of what the Germans call the *Zeitgeist*—in determining our own convictions?" I do not for my part see the relevance of the work as a whole to this purpose; but the author's answer to the question is in general that it both is and ought to be large, though it is far larger than it ought to be. Illustrating the "subtle and impalpable means whereby the *Zeitgeist* influences us," he says, "to one age metaphysical argument appeals powerfully. Another age, weary of the unsolved questions metaphysic has left, and of the unpractical and unreal problems which have been mooted in its name, refuses to be affected by any metaphysical argument at all. One age is sensitive to complete and coherent logical polemic, and is severe in its criticism of any logical flaw in the form of an argument. Another is alive to the narrowness of the field which logic covers, and to the comparative force of massive though unsymmetrical proofs. It is affected rather by wide and suggestive views, and refuses perhaps in the end to regard the most urgent logical dilemmas as having a claim on its decision. To one age, the manifold phenomena of the universe suggest most obviously the direct action of supernatural agencies; while an age which has realised the extent of the underlying uniformities of natural law may be unaffected by the strongest evidence for a miraculous occurrence." The attitude of men to the great religious problems must obviously be greatly determined by such influences. "If, for example, miracles are regarded as impossible, the invocation of their testimony will discredit rather than support the claims of Christianity; whilst, on the other hand, the unspoken and unanalysed suggestions of their own moral nature and experience will acquire a value which was unknown to another age."

This is a true diagnosis so far as it goes. Those, especially, whose business it is to present the Christian faith in systematic form, are

almost constantly sensible of a subtle element of antagonism in the minds of those whom they address ; whilst they quite as frequently have occasion to note that presentations thereof which they would characterise as vague and illogical, though they may appeal powerfully to certain sentiments and emotions regarded as moral or spiritual, awaken a ready response. "The Christian Consciousness," for example, in what a variety of ways is it made to do duty as if it were an authority almost as capable of *ex cathedra* decisions in matters of doctrine and life as the Pope himself ! Yet, can it really claim to be anything better than a form of the *Zeitgeist*, which, like the *Zeitgeist* itself, undergoes changes not only from generation to generation, but from country to country, yea, sometimes even from class to class ?

Mr Ward calls attention to various signs of the age not being quite content with its Agnosticism and Scepticism ; of its feeling that "there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy ;" and sees in them the suggestion that an individual will do well not to throw himself unreservedly and without question into the currents of thought specially characteristic of his time, but to keep his head, remembering that "while a man living in an age of faith had good reason to apply a habit of criticism which he would then find little general, one who lives in an age of criticism will do well to give his attention very closely to many of the phenomena of an age of faith as a corrective." The advice conveyed in these words is very curious. "Correct," he says, "the habit of destructive criticism," by recalling the phenomena of an age when criticism was justified. Does he not seem to suggest that, as an age of faith justified criticism, so an age of criticism justifies faith ? Must not the modern critic reply ?—We are but doing boldly and thoroughly what the critics you approve of did in a trembling half-hearted way :—how futile then to recommend us to try to right ourselves by closely attending to the phenomena which excited their antagonism !

It is possible that Mr Ward meant to press upon his contemporaries the double duty of being critical on criticism, and duly weighing all phenomena—in this case, religious phenomena past and present—but his way of doing this is, to say the least, unfortunate. At this point, in fact, as at many others, he is hampered by his Romish presuppositions.

The sentence preceding the one just criticised contains a confusion which is surprising in so able a writer :—"The reasoning of him who views each event as the immediate interposition of Providence is not more at fault than that of the man who denies to his God a power of modifying natural forces which he allows to every man who throws a stone or lights a fire." The objection to miracles—

which is the matter under consideration—is that changes are wrought in the world-system by a force outside the system ; whereas a man who produces the changes referred to is surely a part of the system, and whilst acting in the way specified as really a mundane physical force as gravitation or electricity.

The kernel of the first essay may be said to be this :—“ As an age of servility to pleasure and abject shrinking from pain needs as witness the hero and saint to whom both are despicable ; and an age of sensuality men who saw pleasure and despised it, pain and embraced it ; so an age like our own, the difficulties of which are primarily intellectual, needs men who see and feel these difficulties vividly and yet see clearly beyond them the highest truth which to others they render obscure.” Very truly—if I rightly catch his meaning,—though in part somewhat obscurely, he remarks, that the great fault of the sceptical mind is “ viewing our capacities for knowledge as identical with our capacities for speculation and refraining from the activity and movement which are the natural corrective to relativity and onesidedness ” ; and treating “ religious evidence as purely metaphysical or as purely historical, instead of measuring it in the actual working of life, in action as well as in theory ; as a belief in the living soul and in its effects on that soul as well as in its previous condition of a creed or set of formulæ ; as an expression of the moral nature as well as the object of mental contemplation.”

Three witnesses are brought forward—Kant, Newman, Tennyson.

The first, “ by carrying to the utmost limits conceivable his theoretical scepticism, while at the same time his own faith and enthusiasm were unshaken, taught the lesson of firmness in obedience to the deepest practical convictions and highest insight, in spite of difficulties in detailed analysis which to the individual intellect may seem unanswerable.” Newman’s version of the lesson, we are told, was that “ no number of difficulties need amount to one doubt, —‘ difficulty and doubt are uncommensurable.’ ” And Tennyson, in “ dwelling on the wanderings of the human intellect, the thousand questions it can ask for one that it can answer, the difficulties of formal proof, the different views we take in different moods of the same proof, the relativity of all knowledge if it is analysed, and yet the force with which beliefs, which such thoughts seem to destroy, justify themselves by their own intensity and light,” “ enforces on the whole the same doctrine.” With Kant the sense of law is foremost. For Tennyson the depths, revealed in the power of the human heart to love, occupy a large space. While Newman—combining in his nature the philosopher and the poet—finds at once the sense of law and of deepest personal love in conscience ; and appeals to both as testifying to a “ personal law-giver and a God of love.” This

essay is the most interesting and the most satisfactory in the volume, perhaps because in it the author seems least under the influence of his rôle of advocate of Rome. At the same time, I cannot help the feeling previously indicated, that there is a certain exaggeration in styling these three men "Witnesses to the Unseen." Judging by the quotation given from Kant, he would seem best to fulfil the author's requirement, that a "full appreciation of the difficulties of each problem should be conjoined with unwavering faith";—a rather remarkable circumstance. Tennyson, on the contrary, impresses us as one who alternated pretty constantly between doubt and faith. And as to Newman, apart from the incongruity of selecting a man as a representative witness to the unseen, who sought refuge from doubts and fears anent the unseen in a visible, earthly, infallible authority, I do not, for my part, believe that he ever attained to "unwavering faith." Did he ever get beyond the stage of believing that he believed? Could he indeed do so,—he, with Protestantism in his blood, a convert to a church whose claims to divine authority rest on the assumption that in matters of the unseen world reason—i.e., the human intellect—is unable to attain to certitude?

"New Wine in Old Bottles" is mainly devoted to the explanation and justification of the Catholic principle or practice of finding a "*modus vivendi* with what is really valuable in intellectual movements or really true in scientific achievement"; to do which, he says, is "a special privilege of a living authoritative tribunal, which from the nature of the case cannot be clearly asserted by any ruling power whose nature is documentary."

The idea of a "*modus vivendi* with what is really valuable or really true," strikes a Protestant as, to say the least, peculiar. To what purpose is the Church a "living authoritative tribunal" if that is all it can do? Ought it not rather unmistakeably to give its sanction to what is really valuable and true, instead of refusing to "commit herself to new opinions," and prohibiting them "in private persons as a matter of discipline." The illustration in support of his position which Mr Ward draws from the application of the general principle of right and wrong to particular cases of conduct is irrelevant and misleading.

The essay on "Some Aspects of Newman's Influence" is full of just and true psychological observation; though not quite free from hero-worship.

"Philaethes" is a defence of Newman's "Essays on Ecclesiastical Miracles" against the strictures of Dr Edwin Abbott in his work "Philomythus." As usual, there is truth on both sides. Dr. Abbott has perhaps spoken too strongly; but Mr Ward fails to remove the appearance of over-subtlety, over-refinement and lack of

perfect straightforwardness and transparency in the line pursued by Newman.

The longest essay, that entitled "The Wish to Believe" is, to my mind, the least satisfactory. It is a dialogue in three sections between Darlington, a barrister, who whilst studying at Oxford had been overawed by those with whom he came into contact, and by authorities like Hume, Gibbon, Huxley, and Spencer, into the conclusion that to expect "certainty on questions connected with another world" is absurd, and that the only thing a sensible, rational man can do is to leave them alone, on the one side; and Fathers Ashley, Davenport and Walton—chiefly the last—on the other, that is, the Catholic side. Walton is an expert disputant—as Rome breeds them; Darlington makes as feeble fight as an educated man, whose knowledge of Christianity and what can be said in its favour is that common among lay members of the Anglican Church, might be expected to do. The dialogue, considered from a literary point of view, lacks vitality and naturalness. In reading it I could not help constantly recalling Goethe's words, "man merkt die Absicht und wird verstimmt."

The position taken up by Darlington is that the problem of Christianity ought to be approached in a calm, dispassionate, judicial spirit; and that he who thus examines its evidences will be most likely to arrive at the truth. The Catholic disputants all treat a spirit of that kind as pretty nearly identical with indifference, or apathy. Hence the remark by one of them, that if he were a prisoner he would rather his judge were somewhat prejudiced against him than that he had "neither bias nor sense of responsibility." A man of the latter kind might "condemn him through mere sleepiness or inattentiveness." Over and over again Darlington urges that the judicial spirit he desiderates does not imply indifference in the sense of not realising the importance of the matter; but only that the evidence should be examined impartially with full readiness to conclude on either side; but as often as not the Romish disputant confounds indifference with judicial impartiality. Similarly too, after a curious sleight of hand fashion, he repeatedly interchanges two totally different positions, as, for example, in the following sentence:—"The fact which makes it all-important for a man to *know the truth*, is a fact which makes it impossible for him to do otherwise than wish and intensely wish, that *one side should prove true rather than the other*." (The italics are the author's.) To wish to know *the truth* is to wish that *one side* should prove true: or put as it should be, to wish to know whether of *two* sides is true is to wish that *one* only of two sides should prove true. A similar juggle is performed in the following words put into Walton's mouth:—"I was deter-

mined to get at *the truth*; I believed Christianity to be the truth, and I was resolved, if there was a way to seeing its truth more clearly, that I would find it; and I have found it." He begins by believing Christianity to be the truth; then he sets out to get at the truth; getting at the truth is seeing the truth more clearly; and finally, seeing the *truth*, which must surely mean seeing it as true, is "forsaking his own reasonings" and "listening to the voice of God speaking through His chosen oracle which sanctioned his creed."

This state of mind, we are further gravely assured is "a security for impartiality far higher than indifference." An impartial judge would be apt to say that the one attitude was as poor a security as the other, for impartiality. Elsewhere again he speaks of "mere impartiality," which is thus by the method of insinuation converted into indifference.

That a writer of such ability and learning as Mr Wilfrid Ward should seriously indulge in trifling like this brings out the true force of the words he uses in describing the change that came over Walton after his conversion to Rome:—"When he had once satisfied himself that he had found a living guide and teacher, he considerably *lost his intellectual interests*, which had ever been concerned more or less with inquiry into religious subjects, and betook himself on his reception into the Church to active missionary work as a priest." Romanism seems to impair not only the faculty of vision in religious things, but even that of reasoning logically about them.

The positions set forth are supported by various illustrations, some relevant, others as irrelevant as the reasoning is fallacious. Though I have taken them out of their setting, to the best of my belief, I have not misrepresented them.

By way of general justification of my criticism I will add the author's classification of the possible "attitudes of mind in religious enquiry." "We have, first the credulous attitude, which implies flippancy in belief, readiness in its adoption, equal readiness in changing it, so slight a depth of conviction that belief can hardly be distinguished from imagination; an easy surrender to ideas begotten of hope or fear." "We have next the *law-court* attitude of mind, excellent for investigating matters in which the evidence is all expressed in words, and which arouse in us mainly a speculative interest—in which the true state of the case has no bearing on our own personal welfare. Such an attitude demands absolute impartiality and indifference as to what conclusion the evidence may point to." "Lastly there is the *religious* attitude of mind, properly so-called. And this is the attitude for viewing all proofs connected with knowledge which is of vital importance to one's own self. The first essential of this attitude is a deep sense

of the importance of the knowledge and of the bearing of the fact to be known upon oneself. . . . The intense longing for knowledge," thence arising, "is inseparably bound up with the intense wish to believe in the happier" of two "alternatives—a wish making you as keenly sensitive of its falsehood (if so be) as of its truth."

Credulity, indifference and bias—these are the only attitudes men can take up in approaching the problem of Christianity! Is Mr Ward really unable to conceive of even a "law-court" enquirer, who, whilst impartial and judicial, is intensely anxious, that a true conclusion should be reached—the more anxious, the more important the question under judgment? Nay, indeed, could he be said to be proceeding in a judicial, impartial spirit, if he did not let a case produce care and longing to get at the truth, proportional to the importance of the issues at stake?

In common with all Protestant Christian believers, I am quite ready to endorse the author's positions that a recognition alike of the general and personal importance of Christianity, not only as knowledge but for life—life here and hereafter—if *Christianity be true*, so far from being a hindrance to proper, yea impartial, investigation of its claims, is, on the contrary, a condition thereof; and that a right conclusion can only be reached by pursuing various lines of reasoning and weighing various kinds of evidence. But had this been his meaning the whole argument should have been differently constructed. The truth is, Mr Ward holds a brief for the Romish Church; and both what he says and what he doesn't say, and how he says what he says, is controlled—perhaps, for the most part, unconsciously—by the exigencies of a desperate case.

D. W. SIMON.

The Skeptics of the French Renaissance.

By John Owen, Rector of East Anstey. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. xiii. 416. Price, 10s. 6d.

MR OWEN's previous volume on the Italian Skeptics would have been sufficient to establish his credit as an erudite and enlightened critic; the essays collected here will add to his reputation. Of Montaigne and Pascal (both skeptics in Mr Owen's sense of the term) there is perhaps nothing new to be said; but Ramus, Charron, Sanchez, and La Mothe-le-Vayer are much less known in this country. At p. 602 we find a saying of Gabriel Naudé to the effect that, after the Bible, the best of all books is the *Sagesse* of Charron. What percentage of educated men, even of educated Frenchmen, can honestly say that they have read the work thus

highly praised? We are greatly indebted to writers like Mr Owen, who keep for Charron and the rest some place in the history of thought, while at the same time they dispense us from the task of digging out the facts for ourselves. In the notes to this volume, and in the index to references, we find ample evidence of the care with which the author has sifted and arranged his materials. Three things we have against Mr Owen. In the first place, he stands responsible for a good many small mistakes in French spelling—mistakes probably due to insufficient correction of proofs. In the second place, he has taken skepticism for his special subject without telling us very distinctly what he means by the term. Sometimes he uses it as equivalent to the spirit of free inquiry; he seems to assume that we all are or ought to be skeptics; at other times he speaks of Pyrrhonism, the belief that there is no certain knowledge to be attained, in a tone of dissatisfaction if not of disapproval. In the third place, Mr Owen seems to think, quite erroneously, that his essays are not good enough to stand alone; each essay is preceded and followed by passages of dialogue. To succeed in this form of composition, a certain measure of dramatic power is required; the persons who figure in Mr Owen's are too like one another to inspire any genuine interest. Trevor and Arundel talk very much in the same style, and Miss Leycester's persistent vivacity does not alter the fact that she is only Trevor or Arundel "déguisé en femme." We do not wish to detract from the expression of our gratitude to Mr Owen for much curious and valuable knowledge; but in a Review which is "nothing if not critical" these remarks are not out of place.

T. RALEIGH.

The Life and Correspondence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., late Dean of Westminster.

By Rowland E. Prothero, M.A., with the co-operation of the Very Rev. G. G. Bradley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. In two volumes. London: John Murray. 8vo, pp. 536, 599. Price 32s.

No ecclesiastic of his time was better known to his fellow-countrymen than the late Dean of Westminster. His chivalrous temper, and the serene indifference with which he bore the alternate invectives of the two great parties in the Church, made him a marked and separate figure in the ecclesiastical world. Much that is recorded in his biography is therefore already familiar. The complete record, however, which is largely composed of Stanley's own

letters, makes a distinct addition to our knowledge of his character, by revealing the motives which guided him in his public career. Some of those who admired him most did not take him very seriously as a religious teacher, regarding him as a historian and literary artist, who would have been more in his place in a Chair of History, than as Dean of the Abbey Church of Westminster. The letters now published by his biographer make it plain that Stanley himself, was throughout life devoted to his religious vocation, and that if, like Erasmus, he refrained from definite doctrinal teaching, it was because he was of opinion that he would best serve his generation by speaking to it through the parables of history. Living at a time when charity and even religion itself were in danger of perishing amid the fury of doctrinal and ecclesiastical strifes, he sought to make history the peacemaker by showing that in the past, one and the same Christian life had been found in men who held the most diverse doctrinal opinions. S. Paul and Loyola, Gregory VII. and John Wesley, widely as they differed in their theological and ecclesiastical views, held the same faith and the same hope. Stanley believed that the general recognition of this unity of Christian life in the past, would silence invective, and quench the unholy fires of controversy, while it would leave Christians free to adhere to their special theological and ecclesiastical opinions. In his introductory lecture at Oxford, as Professor of Ecclesiastical History, he thus avowed his faith in the reconciling power of Christian History.

"The wrath which is kindled by an anathema, by an opinion, by an argument, is often turned away by a homely fact. It is like suddenly meeting an enemy face to face, whom we have known only by report: he is different to what we expected; we cannot resist the pressure of his hand and the glance of his eye; he has ceased to be an abstraction; he has become a person. How many elaborate arguments respecting terms of salvation and terms of communion are shivered into pieces, yet without offence, almost without resistance, as they are 'walked through' by such heathens as Socrates, such Nonconformists as Howard, such Quakers as Elizabeth Fry."

The view stated in the above quotation underlies all Stanley's theological and literary efforts. It was adopted, as we shall see, at a very early age, and he never swerved from it, although it brought down much odium upon his head, and sometimes the sorrowful disapproval of friends whom he revered.

Arthur Penrhyn Stanley was the son of Edward Stanley, brother of the first Lord Staunley of Alderley. His father was Rector of Alderley, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich. Bishop Stanley was a staunch Liberal and an uncompromising opponent of ecclesiastical intolerance; he incurred a good deal of censure in his day from the

Low Church party, because of his reproofs of the language they were in habit of using about the Church of Rome. The son was sent to Rugby in 1829. During the last three years of his stay at Rugby he was under the daily teaching of Dr Arnold. Dean Vaughan, who was his school-fellow, describes the intensity of his effort in school and chapel not to let one word or one tone of the master's voice escape him. Almost everything that fell from Arnold's lips was transferred to his note-books. He completely imbibed Arnold's spirit, and adopted most of his opinions, being specially attracted by his theory of a comprehensive Church. In 1834 he went to Oxford as a scholar of Balliol. The Tractarian Movement was at its height, and Stanley was greatly impressed by Newman. He never, however, became a disciple, and he soon came to the conclusion that the doctrine of Apostolical Succession was unchristian and unanglican. But while he continued in agreement with Arnold's theology, he did not join in Arnold's strong condemnation of the Tractarian Movement and of its leaders. Of Newman we find him writing in his early undergraduate days. "Newman and Arnold seem at present almost antagonistic powers, whereas they are of the same essence, so to speak." Of the Oxford Movement he said, at a somewhat later period, that it was the greatest religious movement of the nineteenth century, as the Evangelical Revival was the greatest movement of the eighteenth century. When Arnold wrote his famous article on Dr Hampden and the Oxford Malignants, Stanley, while agreeing with its main contentions, regretted the vehemence of its tone, and especially the language employed about the leaders of the High Church party. An undergraduate who could adopt so impartial an attitude in the midst of a fierce debate, must have possessed unusual intellectual independence, and no little confidence in the moral rectitude of his own convictions. What his opinions were is apparent from two extracts from letters which were written before he went to Oxford. In one letter he says: "Alas, that a Church that has so divine a service should keep its long list of articles! I am strengthened more than ever in my opinion, that there only should be one, viz., 'I believe that Christ is both God and man.'" Again he writes with special reference to Unitarians, with whom he had some pleasant intercourse. "Unitarians are, I think, excluded from the outward Catholic Church as a body, but their individual members are not so from the communion of Saints, which I take to be the communion of all good men, in all ages and countries, of all who have loved God and served men; including therefore chiefly real Christians, but also the Jewish saints, and all those, such as Socrates, etc., whom we value among the Pagans, or those whom we might have to value among Unitarians and Deists."

After a university course of exceptional distinction, Stanley was in 1838 elected a Fellow of University College; for Balliol refused to have him, because he was supposed to be a disciple of Arnold. A year later he was ordained, after some scruples about subscription to the Athanasian Creed, which were occasioned not by the teaching, but by the anathemas of the Creed. After his ordination to the priesthood, he was appointed College tutor, and this gave him his first opportunity of showing his power of influencing young men. He had one great qualification. He liked young men. His heart, he writes, always leaped up at the sight of an undergraduate, for he saw in him the representative of the future. The character of University College did not stand high, but his efforts to elevate it were crowned with such unprecedented success that an unusually large number of the *élite* of the best schools were sent to it; so keen was the interest excited by his divinity lectures that his pupils continued to attend them in the very crisis and agony of the final work for the degrees, and also obtained permission to introduce friends, which, says Dr Bradley, was the first germ of those inter-collegiate lectures which have revolutionised Oxford teaching. He had some drawbacks as a tutor, we are told; he was neither a moral philosopher nor a metaphysician; and although he was a good scholar, his interest was languid in the minuter points of philological scholarship. But he could make history live again, and he drew forth its moral and religious lessons in a manner which left an ineffaceable impression upon his hearers. He gave to his pupils, we are told, a perfect enthusiasm for the study of the scriptures, which under the magic of his treatment became full of moving life and present-day meanings. One of his pupils writes that in treating of the Politics of Aristotle he would recommend his pupils carefully to note peculiarities with three varieties of coloured pencils, under the following heads: truths for all time, *red*; truths for the time of Aristotle, *blue*; and then, with a humorous twinkle of his eye, truths for the schools, *black*.

The lectures on the Greek New Testament to the students of University, were probably the germ of the *Commentary on the Epistles to the Corinthians*, published some ten years later. The volumes were intended as companion volumes to those published by Dr Jowett on the Romans and Galatians. They were severely criticised at the time of their appearance by a 'certain Mr Lightfoot of Cambridge,' who pointed out a number of errors in scholarship. Stanley, who always treated mere outcry against his writings with serene neglect, admitted the justice of Lightfoot's criticisms, and did his best to amend his errors. Perhaps one consequence of the criticism was, that he ceased henceforth to write commentaries. The work on the Corinthians, in spite of its philological deficiencies was

a real contribution to the understanding of the words, and especially of the character, of St Paul. Many attempts have since been made to popularise the results of exegesis; but most of those attempts want the note of distinction which marked this work of Stanley, who by the simple effort of the historical imagination transported his readers into the past, while the modern populariser too often transforms the past into the present, thus violating historical truth and sometimes religious decorum. The *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age* were another contribution which he made to the understanding of Christian antiquity.

Mr Prothero has naturally much to say regarding Stanley's travels, which were indeed closely connected with the main purpose of his life. He loved to visit strange people and strange churches; and he found in such visits, not only interest, but inspiration. Many of the best pages he ever wrote were simple transcripts of the impression which historical scenes left upon his susceptible imagination. As a traveller, his interests were limited. He was rather indifferent to the beauties of nature, speaking disrespectfully even of the Alps. He never entered a picture gallery except to see portraits, and the great cathedrals left him unmoved, unless they had been the scene of events of human interest. What he cared to see were the scenes of great events. As Mr Prothero admits, his taste was somewhat grandiose; he could not, like Wordsworth, perceive the moral grandeur of the humble and familiar; he required a lofty stage. For his travels, he prepared himself with great care, reading everything he could find about the places he designed to visit. Although by no means robust, he cheerfully endured privation and fatigue in order to reach a place where a battle was fought, or a Church council had assembled. When he reached the goal of his pilgrimage, all the associations of the place rushed in upon his mind like an overpowering flood, and he almost lost consciousness of the present through his intense realization of the historic past. Having once seen a place, however, he did not care to revisit it, being unwilling to weaken the vivid recollection of his first rapturous gaze. The readers of *Sinai and Palestine* do not require to be told that Stanley could describe historic scenes as few before him have done, and some of his letters in the biography are quite equal to his best printed pages. His descriptions of Greek scenery and his remarks on its connection with Greek History are full of vivid insight. Some of his casual expressions on places which he just saw, are quite memorable for their accuracy and their freshness. For example, he names Nuremberg "A Pompeii of the Middle Ages." Of Prague he writes: "Not to my mind strictly Oriental, nor even Slavonic purely; it is, I think, what you would expect from a city of a barbaric race struggling in the arms of a civilised world."

In 1851 Stanley left Oxford for Canterbury, having been appointed a Canon of the Cathedral, but in 1856 he returned to Oxford as Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History. In his introductory lecture he quoted Bunyan. We observe that a writer in a recent number of *Blackwood's Magazine* comments on the bad taste of quoting Bunyan on such an occasion and to such an audience. But surely a Professor of Ecclesiastical History may quote an English classic, even although it was written by a tinker and a dissenter. His writings had thoroughly aroused the suspicions of the High Church party, and Dr Pusey who loved him personally, was unable to congratulate him on his appointment. In a letter printed in the Memoir, Dr Pusey writes that the pupils of Jowett and Stanley would certainly reject all positive Christianity, if they followed the teaching of their masters to their logical conclusions. Stanley reminded his gentle censor, very courteously but firmly, that other teachers besides himself and Mr Jowett were charged with sending their pupils on before them into regions not acknowledged by the Church of England.

As Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Stanley was not at first so successful as he had been as a college tutor. The awful dignity of the Regius Professor kept students at a distance, but he contrived by degrees to break down the barrier, and became quite happy in his work. The biography contains some remarkable testimonies to the moral influence which he exercised on a certain class of students, who would listen to no other teacher, and to whom the atmosphere of Oxford itself had become distasteful. John Richard Green had gone to Oxford a hard reader and a passionate High Churchman. Two years of residence left him idle and irreligious. What Stanley was to him in this crisis of his life will be best understood by quoting his own words in a letter addressed to Stanley.

"I was utterly miserable when I wandered into your class-room, and my recollection of what followed is not so much of any definite words as of a great unburthening. Then, and afterwards, I heard you speak of work, not as a thing of classes and fellowships, but as something worthy for its own sake—worthy because it made us like the Great Worker. That sermon on Work was like a revelation to me. 'If you cannot or will not work at the work which Oxford gives you, at anyrate work at something.' I took up my old boy-dream History again. I think I have been a steady worker ever since. And so in religion; it was not so much a creed that you taught me, as fairness. You were liberal; you pointed forward; you believed in a future as other 'Liberals' did, but you were not, like them, unjust to the present or to the past. I found that old vague reverence of mine for personal goodness, which alone remained to me, widened in your teaching into a true catholicity. I used to think, as I left

your lecture-room, of how many different faiths and persons you had spoken, and how you had revealed and taught me to love the good that was in them all. I cannot tell you how that great principle of fairness has helped me ever since; how in my reading it has helped me out of partisanship and mere hero-worship. In my parish it used to disclose to me the real sterling worth of obstructive churchwardens or meddling committee-men. But it has helped me most of all in my realisation of the Church, that Church of all men and all things 'working together for good,' drawn on through error and ignorance by and to Him who is wisdom and truth."

It is admitted by Mr Prothero that Stanley was not so highly esteemed by the older men in Oxford as by the young. He lacked, he says, the resolute concentration on a single branch of knowledge, the sustained attention to any one line of thought, which is essential to intellectual leaders. But he was a social power of the highest order; what Mr Goldwin Smith calls the charm of his mediation drew together men of the most opposite opinions, and friendships were formed through his influence which would have been thought impossible. Of his love of peace, Mr Prothero writes:—"He never, it may be almost said with perfect truth, had a feud or a coldness with any of his associates which was not caused by his taking up the cudgels on behalf of someone, often a stranger to himself, who was attacked. Even then the alienation was never on his side. If a friend or acquaintance insisted on breaking with him, he would watch his opportunity to win him back, sometimes by acts of thoughtful kindness, sometimes by inviting him to his table to meet distinguished guests."

One cannot help surmising that Stanley's conduct, gentle and courteous as it was, must have been sometimes irritating to antagonists who, having delivered their testimony against him in their best polemic form, found that Stanley was quite unconcerned save for them, and that he treated them as he would have treated wayward boys who had lost their temper. Did it not betray something of the indifference of the born-aristocrat to the clamour of his inferiors?

Stanley took an active part in the controversy which broke out on the publication of the once famous *Essays and Reviews*; but, as usual, his position was perfectly independent. He disapproved of the plan, and of the exclusively negative character of the volume. "No book," he wrote, "which treats of religious questions can hope to make its way to the heart of the English nation unless it gives at the same time that it takes away." But he was moved to indignation by the attacks made upon the authors, and especially by the Episcopal condemnation of the volume. In an article in the *Edin-*

burgh Review, of great controversial ability, he protested against the injustice with which the writers had been treated, and he pointed out that some of the bishops were themselves responsible in their printed writings, for the same opinions which they now denounced as infidel. The article, it is said, prevented Stanley from being made a bishop. It was rumoured, after the death of Archbishop Whately, that he had been offered the See of Dublin. The offer was never actually made, nor would he have accepted it. In a letter addressed to Archbishop Tait, who had urged him to accept it, if offered, Stanley replied that he could not seriously defend the Irish Church as an institution; and that its position as a "Missionary Church" was even more untenable than the institution itself.

Trench went to Dublin, and Stanley was offered the Deanery of Westminster, which he accepted. Many of his friends regretted his decision, for his own sake as well as for the sake of Oxford. They feared that it would interrupt his studies; all his best literary work was certainly done in Canterbury and Oxford, and not in London. It gave him, however, a seat in Convocation, where he proved himself to be a dexterous and effective debater, but one cannot help thinking that such work was hardly likely to call forth his best powers. But Stanley was deeply attached to the Church of England, and was willing to make personal sacrifices if he could influence its counsels in the direction of reasonable thought and enlightened ecclesiastical action. Having married Lady Augusta Bruce on December 23, 1863, he was installed as Dean of Westminster on January 9th, 1864.

He desired as Dean of Westminster to make the Abbey a meeting-place of men belonging to the three schools of thought within the Church of England; his failure to do so was one of the great disappointments of his life. He invited representatives both of the High Church and of the Evangelical parties, to unite with his own friends, and to preach at special services which he was preparing to hold in the Abbey on Sunday evenings. The leading Low Churchmen accepted the invitation, but Pusey, Keble and Liddon all declined, on the ground that they could not identify themselves with Maurice, Jowett or even with Stanley himself. The correspondence that passed between Stanley and Liddon is specially interesting. Liddon speaks with warm regard of Stanley, and also of Maurice, writing regarding the latter that it was a very perplexing mystery of the moral world, that so good a man should be in error, but, he adds, "Mere moral goodness is not a sufficient basis for engaging in a public profession to teach the people a common faith. You speak, my dear Mr Dean, of a period of transition. Transition to what? One current of thought flows towards Mr J. Stuart Mill,

and Positivism beyond, and another towards Baur and the School of Tübingen, and the desolate waste beyond that. The Girondins of revolution have their day ; but they make way for its Jacobins."

During seventeen eventful years Stanley, as Dean of Westminster, laboured to fulfil his early religious ideal. From his pulpit in the Abbey, by means of his numerous printed addresses, and by his speeches in convocation, he advocated a comprehensive church and a liberal theology. His hope was that the Church of England by manifesting a liberal and catholic spirit would draw within its borders those who were alienated from its doctrine and polity. In his later years he was accustomed to admit that his efforts had not been crowned with great success. He had but a small following among the clergy, who were becoming more deeply imbued with the sacerdotal spirit, and he could not conceal from himself, that agnosticism was making progress among the educated laity. In 1877 we find him writing to Professor Max Müller that the face of Providence seemed set against a reasonable progress of Christianity ; and again we find him saying, "This generation is lost ; it is either plunged in dogmatism or agnosticism ;" but even when uttering such complaints and admitting that he had lost the ear of the public, he did not altogether despair. "I look forward," he adds, "to the generation to come." Sanguine enthusiasts, and Stanley was an enthusiast, are often disappointed in their closing years, when they look back upon what has been accomplished, and compare it with their early hopes. Stanley had, however, exercised a wider influence than he supposed, having in an age of transition given to a multitude of laymen a provisional form of religious thought which enabled them to cling to the central truths of the Christian religion in spite of perplexities occasioned by the new discoveries of science and of history. Archbishop Tait said of him after his death : "No clergyman, perhaps, who ever lived exercised over the public at large, and especially over the literary and thoughtful portion of it, so fascinating an influence." Stanley was an admirable custos of the Abbey. As years went on, he loved it with an ever-deepening affection, and he was always pleased to descant upon its antiquarian treasures and its historic associations. One cannot, however, refuse some sympathy to the ecclesiastically-minded clergymen who complained that its character as a Christian church was obscured, by the constant references of the Dean to it as a cemetery of the mighty dead, and a treasure-house of memorials of English History. But in Stanley's mind the English Church and the English people were so intimately connected that he never cared to distinguish between the secular and the sacred. His conduct with regard to the Abbey was the subject of much acrimonious controversy, in which the High Church newspapers took a leading part.

He sometimes thought in his later days that he had lost the confidence of the English people, but the universal grief called forth by the tidings of his death showed that he had mistaken the outcry of a factious minority for the voice of England. He died on the 18th of July 1881, and on the 25th he was buried in the Chapel of Henry VII. by the side of his wife.

The long delay in the appearance of Stanley's Life is explained in an introduction contributed by the present Dean of Westminster. It was Stanley's wish that his Life should be written by Sir George Grove. As he was unable to undertake it, owing to other engagements, the work was entrusted to Mr Walrond, Stanley's companion on his famous Eastern journey. On Mr Walrond's death, Dean Bradley took up the task, only, however, to lay it down again, and the volumes now issued are from the pen of Mr Prothero, who has acted the part of editor rather than of an independent biographer. Stanley was the most indefatigable of letter writers; and as his letters were carefully treasured by loving friends, the story of his life is mostly given in his own words. On the publication of the life of Arnold, Stanley noted with keen pleasure that the impression made upon the public was exclusively of Arnold and not of himself. No higher praise can be given to Mr Prothero's work than that it recalls by a similar characteristic the most charming biography of modern times.

JOHN GIBB.

Theism as grounded in Human Nature, historically and critically handled, being the Burnett Lectures for 1892 and 1893.

By William L. Davidson, M.A., LL.D., London: Longmans, Green & Co. 8vo, pp. 490. Price, 15s.

IN these Burnett Lectures there is much vigorous thinking, and an abundance of incisive as well as lucid criticism. Their author has read extensively, and has kept an open eye, as well as preserved a deeply reverent spirit, throughout his studies. As a philosophical performance, the book is vastly superior to Mr Davidson's previous one, *The Logic of Definition*. It is very suggestive, although not specially original, and it should be helpful to all students of the theistic problem. Occasionally, however, in his polemical attacks, the author overshoots his mark, and his critical arrows do not always hit the white.

He begins modestly, and quotes Simonides' well-known request, when asked to answer the question, "What is God?"—first for a day, and then for other days, to consider it. He indicates three

ways of answering the problems of Theism—(1) the effort to “trace the origin” of the notion of God; (2) the study of the roots of the idea “in human nature”; and (3) the attempt to explain the universe, minus the idea of God. “It is the second of these three attitudes that is taken” in this volume. Mr Davidson considers Theism to be a doctrine *psychologically grounded in human nature*, and therefore rationally defensible. He remarks truly that “the reverent spirit is the earnest spirit and the open spirit, and to it necessarily revelations are emphatically made. It is also the tolerant and sympathetic spirit” (p. 6). With his way of stating the problem in debate, and the many wise just, and clever things he says in the course of his argument, every Theist will be in sympathy; and for his powerful defence of its rational evidence they will be grateful, even when they differ from him, *toto cælo*, in details.

He says “the method I adopt is a very simple one. It consists in a statement and analysis of theistic experience, together with an explicit reference to its psychological grounds and logical implications. This, and nothing more.” He appeals to experience, and he tries to interpret experience. He holds that the theistic interpretation of the universe has been evolved as the only rational explanation of things, but he assumes this dogmatically, just as the mediævalists assumed their postulates; and he contrasts with it what he is pleased to consider as the helpless position of mere Intuitionists. He refers his readers to his own previous book for an explanation of the meaning of “Intuition,” and he affirms that Intuition “has been tried and has failed” in Religion.

He gives us no information as to those who have used it, and failed to use it well; or as to the “noble army” of intellectual athletes who have tried it, and found it wanting; while it must be said that he wholly misconstrues its function, in the sphere of religious belief. He has even the courage to affirm that the evidence of Intuition is supposed to “remove all doubt” as to the Divine Existence; that it is “such a clear Revelation of God, as to assure us absolutely of his existence, and to free us from all harassing or disturbing questionings, or fears regarding it.” (p. 12). Instead of indulging in vague rhetoric of this kind, it would have been more to the point if Mr Davidson had quoted the words of any rational Theist who has adopted this line of intuitional evidence, and has at the same time said what he affirms. He satirizes the position of the Intuitionist when he affirms that, according to him, God is “a dictum of consciousness;” which, he says, will be “generally denied, if not contemptuously set aside.” It is, however, extremely difficult for any unprejudiced mind to see the difference between the position which is thus contumeliously dismissed, and Mr Davidson’s own subsequent dogmatic affirmation—to the

defence of which many pages are devoted—that God is “a necessity of human nature,” “the object of a natural want,” and “his existence a rational certainty.”

Mr Davidson reaches his Theism by a process of reason, and he thinks that this is a much more philosophical procedure than that which is adopted by the poor misguided intuitionist; but, after all his ratiocination he only reaches—as Plato and Proclus have shewn us—a shadowy abstraction; while he simultaneously rejects the very evidence which is alone a guarantee of reality. He seems to think that if Intuition can guarantee the theistic inference, all the judgments of the “Mahommedan” or of the “Savage,” as to “Gods many and Lords many,” are of equal value, and that there is no arbiter to select between the consciousness of “the Gentile and the Jew” on these points. He thinks that mysticism of every kind is the doorway to Pantheism, not to Theism. But this is both a philosophical and a historical mistake, of the first magnitude. In proportion as Philosophy becomes mystical, Mr Davidson says it “acknowledges its own impotence.” It would be a quite valid rejoinder to say that, in proportion as it becomes empirical, it loses every characteristic of thoroughness and strength. Mr Davidson contends that “the object of devotion is assured to us just as the existence of a friend or a brother is assured to us, not by intuition, but by inference.” But, if God be merely an inference from phenomena, he will assuredly be a very different being from the God whom the reverent intuitionist recognises, as *known in his conscious life, and in the world beyond him*, and at the same time unknown and incomprehensible.

Mr Davidson denies that the “Divine Presence is discernible, save through its effects.” It would seem then that God is only a remote “inference” of the human reason; and yet, he speaks of Him as “the Loadstar” of “the pious man.” He says it may be known by the devout worshipper that “God dwells in him,” “works in him, and transforms him;” but this is only an *inference*. In his polemic against Intuition, he goes on to say—when trying to explain how it is that the evidence of the Divine Existence is not so direct as the evidence of sense—that it is only when our “attention” is turned to things that they are known, and quotes the saying that “the least seen is that which the eye constantly sees.” But how is he *ever* seen, if God be only an inference from phenomena? He adds that “God may be present with us, and his presence be indubitably realised, *if we conform to the conditions*” . . . “Let us open the soul’s eye to the heavenly prospect”—(and what is this but intuition)—and we will have ample evidence of the Divine Existence. Surely there is some intellectual confusion here. We are told that the supposed intuition of God is a piece of mystic folly,

for giving credence to which the rational theologian commiserates the weak-minded intuitionist. At the same time we are told that God, the Divine Being, stands to us in the relation of a living person; and the great sentence in the Beatitudes, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall *see* God," is actually quoted against intuition! What is that *sight* but the highest form of intuition?

In his second chapter, Mr Davidson gives what he calls "a hasty review of the various conceptions of Human Nature, as represented in the history of philosophic thought." It is an excellent chapter, condensed and learned; and although it is open to criticism here and there, it gives a luminous bird's-eye view of the progressive development of the higher reason of the race, in construing Human Nature. It is every way superior to his earlier chapter. Many readers will think it curious, however, that, after his attack on Intuition, the writer should maintain—in the most eclectic manner—that Theism is "grounded in all the three provinces of Human Nature, the intellect, emotion, and ethics."

Two lectures are devoted to a consideration of agnostic objections, in which there is much felicitous criticism. In dealing with Kant and Mansel (particularly with the latter), Mr Davidson is seen at his best. His handling of Mr Herbert Spencer and Mr Huxley is also extremely able. The chapter on "Personality" has many merits, as a *resumé* of the best recent philosophical thought upon the subject. Mr Davidson defines "Personality" in general, as "intelligence, feeling, and will, gathered up into a centre of conscious being" (p. 234); and the Divine Personality is "the perfection of these three, held together in entire harmony." Personality is "the highest fact in our experience"; and it is "only when gathered up in a person that the highest excellencies are intelligible to us." It does not follow that, in ascribing Personality to God, we make Him finite, or one out of many. Short extracts from this chapter may be given as specimens of Mr Davidson's discussion.

"Religion is wider than any one of the great historical religions of the world—much more, is it wider than any outward ecclesiastical embodiment of religion now existing or ever known to have existed. Hence, too, it follows that each of the great historical religions of the world has embodied and carried forward some portion or portions of Divine Truth. But hence, further, it follows that Natural Religion may be deeply indebted to Revealed Religion, even when not identifying itself with it. In so far, at any rate, as the truths of Revealed Religion are but purified and ennobled forms of the truths of Natural Religion, they commend themselves to the enlightened searcher (altogether apart from consideration of the authoritative source whence they issued), and must be taken as a spiritual advance. I do not lay the foundation of Theism in what is usually known as Revelation" (pp. 232-3).

"Personality, if the grounds of theism be psychological, is seen to attach to the Deity ; for, it is only when gathered up in a person and manifested in personal act that the very highest excellencies—such as wisdom, love, mercy, righteousness—are intelligible to us, and it is only thus that they can affect us as really noble, or stimulate us to the imitation of these prime virtues in ourselves" (p. 239).

"We need not, then, find personality an insuperable barrier to our theistic structure. It may quite legitimately be ascribed to God, because it is not necessarily finite. It would only be necessarily finite, if the correct idea of it were that of an *Ego* as one reality, set over against a *Non-Ego* as another reality, each absolutely distinct and independent. But this is by no means the true conception of Personality, nor is it given by the logical doctrine of correlation" (p. 247).

A remark may be added, not to the author but to his publisher, viz., that it is a mistake to place recommendatory reviews of "Works by the same author," between the prefatory note to his new Book, and its table of contents. No author could possibly arrange this for himself ; and it is surely a pity that his publisher should do it.

To the printer it may be said that capital letters are very irregularly arranged. Sometimes subordinate adjectives have capitals, and important substantives have none.

As to the literary form of the book, there are some sentences in it like cut-crystal in their clearness ; while there are others of a very different kind. It should be a very easy task to rectify the latter. It has certain defects—and what book is free from them ?—but, considered as a whole, both in its aim and its accomplishment, it is a noteworthy contribution to the philosophical and theological thought of our time. It reflects credit, alike on the Writer, on the Lectureship, and on the University of the North.

WILLIAM KNIGHT.

Notice sur quelques textes Latins inédits de l'ancien Testament.

Par M. Samuel Berger. Paris : Librairie Klincksieck, 4to, pp. 38. Fr. 1.

WE were permitted to review M. Berger's "*Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers Siècles du moyen age*" in the last number of the *Critical Review* (p. 57). The present work, which is reprinted from the "*Notices et extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres Bibliothèques*" presents us with some valuable fragments of the early Latin versions of the Old Testament.

The study which has been so earnestly directed of late years

towards the Latin versions has naturally concentrated itself upon the New Testament; the problem of the pre-Hieronymian text of the Old, still remains unanswered and almost unexplored. To this day the most complete collection of material on the subject is preserved in Sabatier's "*Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae*," which was published in 1743; and in the present century, with the exception of the Würzburg fragments published by E. Ranke, and the Lyons Pentateuch published by M. Ulysse Robert, not very much material has been added to the stock amassed by Sabatier and his fellow-workers. M. Berger gives a useful list of books on the subject on p. 7; we would like to add to it the following items: Cozza, Jos., "*Sacr. Bibl. vetust. fragmenta graeca et latina ex palimpsestis codicibus Bibliothecae Cryptoferratis*," Rome, 1867 (containing fragments from the prophets); Ranke, E., "*Fragmenta versionis antehieronymianae e codice Manuscripto (Fuldensi)*," Vienna, 1868; Belsheim, J., "*Libros Tobiae, Iudit, Ester . . . ex codice olim Freisingensi nunc Monacensi*," Trondhjem, 1893; Thielmann, P., "*die lateinische Übersetzung d. Buches der Weisheit*" in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, vol. viii. (1892) p. 235 f.;¹ and since the publication of M. Berger's work, "*Die lat. Übers. d. Buches Sirach*" by the same author and in the same volume (1893) p. 501 f.

The Munich Academy, under the competent guidance of Prof. Wölfflin, has undertaken the task of preparing a revised and enlarged edition of Sabatier's great work for the Old Testament; and a welcome contribution to their material is made by M. Berger in the texts which he has here printed.

The first extract consists of the book of Ruth from the famous *Codex Complutensis*, a ninth century Bible presented by Cardinal Ximenes to the University of Alcalá (= Complutum), and now in the University Library at Madrid. The version is Old-Latin, and agrees closely with Ambrose's citations preserved in his commentary on St Luke; and we are thus fortunate in obtaining the whole book in a form previously known to us only by a few chance quotations; needless to say, it differs completely from Jerome's translation.

The second extract is the song of Hannah (1 Sam. ii. 3-10) from the margin of a 15th century Bohemian MS., now at Einsiedeln; late though the MS. is, this version is early, and agrees

¹ A convenient edition of the Book of Wisdom, the Greek text, the Vulgate, and the English, with introduction, commentary, &c., was published by the Rev. W. J. Deane, in 1881 (Oxford, Clarendon Press); the Latin version is African in origin, and is preserved in its original form, as Jerome did not re-translate it ("in eo libro qui a plerisque Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur . . . calamum temperavi, tantummodo canonicas Scripturas vobis emendare desiderans," preface to the books of Solomon).

with the text used by Lucifer of Cagliari. Then follow two extracts from early translations of the book of Job. Jerome, before attempting a complete retranslation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, worked at an amended Latin translation from the Septuagint. Only two books of this early translation survive—the Psalter and the book of Job. The Psalter is well known ; it is the *Psalterium Romanum*, still used in the service at St Peter's in Rome, in the Roman Missal, and in parts of the Breviary ; but MSS. containing this first revision of Job *juxta LXX.* are rare, and the publication of part of the book from an 8th century MS. at St Gall is an important addition to the stock. Still more rare, however, are any relics of the *Old Latin* version of the same book, fragments of which M. Berger also publishes from the great 10th century Bible at Leon. The type of text here, as in the other fragments, is the revised old Latin, usually called the *Italian* ; and the Greek text on which it rests, resembles that of the Codex Alexandrinus. Dr Weihrich¹ has noted the same fact in the Greek text underlying the Biblical quotations in the work “*de divinis Scripturis sive Speculum*,” wrongly ascribed to Augustine ; this is all the more remarkable as the Greek text of the “*Speculum*” in the *New Testament* presents a revised *African* type of text. The remaining pages of M. Berger's work furnish us with parts of the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs, from the St Gall MS. (No. 11) mentioned above ; with the early *resumé* of the book of Esther, which did duty for the complete book in the Old Latin version ; and with selections from the books of Maccabees, from the *Codex Complutensis*, and from a ninth century MS. (No. 356) at Lyons ; the text here seems also to be of the same type, and to agree with the citations from Ambrose.

In all the extracts the orthography and punctuation of the MSS. is carefully reproduced ; those who have had occasion to study M. Berger's excellent edition of the Fleury palimpsest of parts of the New Testament (Paris, 1889) will feel perfect confidence in his accuracy, and gratitude and pleasure at his clear concise descriptions of the several MSS. and their history.

H. J. WHITE.

¹ “*Die Bibelsexcerpte de divinis scripturis und die Itala des h. Augustinus*,” Wien, 1893, p. 70.

Collected Essays.

By T. H. Huxley. Vol. I. Methods and Results ; Vol. II. Darwiniana ; Vol. III. Science and Education ; Vol. IV. Science and Hebrew Tradition ; Vol. V. Science and Christian Tradition. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, 5s. each vol.

WITHIN the last fifty years a momentous change has taken place in the beliefs and opinions of a large section of the educated class both within and without the Christian Church. This change has been for the most part due to the application of the scientific method of enquiry to many subjects which had before that time been generally accepted without question as matters of faith. Now, however, nothing is too sacred or too time-honoured to be exempt from the application of the test of criticism, and in consequence many cherished beliefs have crumbled, and many widely-accepted opinions have been rudely shaken.

Among those who have been foremost in this work of destructive criticism, few have exercised a wider influence than Dr Huxley. A recognised authority in certain branches of science, he combines with the power of original research a rare degree of the ability to popularise his own discoveries and those of his fellow-workers. The master of a forcible literary style, which, though sometimes a little rough, is always clear and impressive, he is one of those whose writings can hardly fail to interest the most casual reader, and by whom even the most unsympathetic cannot avoid being influenced. He is essentially one of those to whom (in his own words) "the satisfaction of throwing down a triumphant fallacy is as great as that which attends the discovery of a new truth, who feel better satisfied with the government of the world when they have been helping Providence by knocking an imposture on the head, and who care even more for freedom of thought than for mere advance in knowledge."

The essays, which fill these volumes, are practical illustrations of this state of mind. Dr Huxley is without doubt one of the ablest controversialists of the age, and is throughout actuated by a genuinely honest desire to contend for what he considers to be the truth. He combines a fearlessness in the statement of his own conclusions with an impatience of opposition, and having been himself often subjected to unsympathetic treatment on the part of some of his opponents, he is quick to perceive the weak points in their arguments, and pitiless in his treatment of them.

Many of these essays have been long before the public, and some of them have the additional interest that they have borne fruit. It has been in a measure due to his influence that science-teach-

ing has become a reality in this country, that the education of medical students has been redeemed from the unsatisfactory state in which it formerly was, and that our English Universities have ceased to be, as they once were, chiefly known as "the resort of the pleasant, moneyed, well-bred young gentlemen who do a little learning and much boating by Cam and Isis," and have risen to a position in the world of thought in which they can stand comparison with any of their continental contemporaries in the value, if not in the amount, of their intellectual output.

In the sphere of practical educational reform, his writings have been equally influential in directing public opinion, and his essays on the duty of the State and on certain questions of administration are always lucid, and if less popular, are no less suggestive, than his more purely scientific writings.

The great work of Dr Huxley's life has been the popularisation of Darwin's work. It is not too much to say that Huxley has done more to promote the general acceptance of the evolution hypothesis than the great discoverer himself. It is also mainly due to him that the methods of the evolution philosophy have been understood, adopted, and applied in these last days to a far wider range of subjects than Darwin himself had contemplated. The "Lectures to Working Men," which are contained in the second volume, have probably never been surpassed as clear popular expositions of the theory of descent.

The fourth and fifth volumes of this series, which deal with the relations of modern scientific methods as interpreted by him to the dogmatic side of the teaching of the churches, are those which will naturally attract more attention than the other essays, whose matter is less decidedly controversial. These have already appeared in different magazines, and are consequently well known, but there is an advantage in reading them in this collected form, as thereby the reader can obtain a clearer view of his position.

The attitude of the Huxleyan agnostic has this advantage over that of most other sectarian philosophers, that while it is easily appreciated, it is difficult to define. He himself finds fault with his more constructive disciples for their attempts to formulate the articles of the agnostic creed. Herein consists the strength of his position, for a polemic whose purpose is essentially destructive offers fewer vulnerable points to the critic than one which is constructive. For while he professes to act on the apostolic maxim, "Prove all things," he first demands a certain kind of proof, and then rejects or passes by whatsoever cannot present the exact sort of proof which he requires.

The three subjects which Dr Huxley has especially selected for this form of criticism in these essays are the biblical narrative of

the creation, the account of the deluge, and the demonology of the New Testament. There is nothing essentially new in his treatment of the first of these topics. The articles bearing on it are principally those which he wrote in his controversies with the Duke of Argyll and Mr Gladstone. In these he appears to considerable advantage, as neither of his antagonists was thoroughly at home in discussing the scientific bearings of the subjects under consideration, and they consequently have suffered the fate which has befallen all reconcilers from Chalmers downwards, that of seeing the destruction of the foundation upon which they had based their *eirenikon*.

In the present position of our knowledge of nature no one can gainsay that evolution has been the method whereby the things that exist have been originated, and it is equally certain that the language of Genesis, interpreted literally, does not, without violence, lend itself to an evolutionary interpretation, and whatever of ethical value there is in the Scriptural narrative, it must be admitted that all attempts at verbal reconciliation of the book of nature and the first chapter of Genesis have only ended in disaster to the reconciler.

Dr Huxley criticises sharply the compilers of certain "Helps to Bible Students," on the ground that they have ignored certain well established results of recent scientific criticism. There is undoubtedly a very serious reality in this charge. It can only be a cause of evil and confusion if our teachers continue to enforce certain traditional views which are directly contradicted by the evidence of modern science, and scepticism is sure to follow as the Nemesis of false beliefs.

Dr Huxley's criticism of the biblical narrative of the deluge is of an equally trenchant character. He regards with greater respect the Chaldean legend of Khasisathra than the story of Noah, and, entrenching himself behind the terms in the Genesis narrative which attribute universality to the flood, and taking along with this the chronology of Ussher, he argues that if it can be proved that there was no universal deluge four thousand years ago, the whole story is therefore to be rejected.

That the biblical narratives of the Flood, like those of the Creation, are stories of the same events as those which are found in the legends of the Izdubar cycle, can hardly be doubted, but this is no argument against the reality of certain original incidents of which these are traditional accounts, which date back to the early days of humanity. There are many considerations which render it extremely improbable that the Hebrew version was taken from the Akkadian, or that the latter was taken from the former. They are apparently independent children of an older common tradition, but the Hebrew author, in his feeling after God, has raised the story to a higher level, and invested it with a distinct ethical purpose.

The special position of the Christian tradition with which science

is said to conflict is its demonology. When subjected to analysis the contention resolves itself into the statement that the doctrine of the existence of a world of spirits is not demonstrably impossible, though our author regards it as highly improbable. It is to him essentially a question of evidence. This leads him to the consideration of the writings of the New Testament, with regard to which he adopts the conclusions of the most destructive of the modern schools of higher criticism. As the authorities upon whom he leans cannot aid him in shaking the historical value of the Epistles of St Paul, he is obliged to change his method of attack, and so he resorts to a species of analogy. This, when reduced to logical form, may be expressed in the following way :—St Paul records certain spiritual and miraculous phenomena as occurring in the early Church. But Eginhard records phenomena somewhat comparable as having occurred in the days of Charlemagne. We reject the testimony of Eginhard. Therefore we must reject that of St Paul.

In these portions of the essays there is nothing new, as his arguments are taken from the ordinary German sources. In the course of the polemic he assumes as definitely proved many critical positions which are exceeding doubtful. This was wholly unnecessary, for as he can fall back on the antecedent improbability of a spiritual world, he is prepared at once to reject as unworthy of belief any testimony of the only kind which can possibly be adduced in favour of spiritual phenomena.

The Sadducean doctrine which pervades these essays being especially concerned with the history of the processes of evolution as they affect physical nature, practically ignores the equally real phenomena of psychology. The system of philosophy set forth herein is founded on such a definition of the order of nature as effectually prevents our taking account of those classes of phenomena which are of a kind that they cannot be weighed, or measured, or tested by the chemist, such phenomena as consciousness, thought and volition. These cannot be interpreted in terms of matter or energy and therefore lie outside the realms of physical evolution. But as Dr Huxley cannot accept anything which is not to be accounted for as the product of evolution, any narratives which profess to deal with phenomena of the spiritual world are therefore to be rejected. Hence the impatience with which he again and again returns to his attack upon the Gadarene swine.

But when one reviews the history of humanity as drawn by the evolutionist and compares the *protiston* at one end of the series with the philosopher at the other, the fact cannot be ignored that there has at some stage entered into the being of the individual a spirit as real as that which in the story took possession of the swine. The mysterious process by which the speck of protoplasm

which at one time was all that existed of what is afterwards to be the philosopher, becomes endowed with the spirit which has driven him upwards through the many steep places of thought into the highest flights of imagination and fancy, is a far darker problem than that contained in the story of the momentary panic whereby the swine of Gadara precipitated themselves into the Lake of Galilee.

It has always been a fundamental belief in the universal consciousness of humanity that there is a world of spirits. Professor Huxley has by an application of the method of palæontological reasoning given us a graphic study of the development of this belief, which no doubt is sufficiently in accordance with truth in most of its details, but the palæontological method is not ætiological. That man in his primitive condition gained his first concept of a spirit world from the phenomena of his own consciousness, and that these, as man became more highly educated, became purified and elevated, so that thereby he has learned much concerning God and his own soul, is one thing; but that there are no objective realities corresponding to these discoveries is a separate proposition, and one which this line of argument does not touch.

To the Christian the order of the Universe is the clearest proof of the wisdom and power of the great First Cause whom he adores, and the discovery of this has been one of the greatest achievements of the human intellect. Humanity has been from its first days feeling after God, and as men advanced in power of thought they have discovered as much of His ways as their finite minds could, from time to time, understand. From the Christian standpoint it becomes intelligible how God can help and has helped His people to the understanding of Himself by influencing the spirits of those who are anxious and willing to learn. But as these considerations belong to another sphere, it is impossible to make these spiritual phenomena matters of physical demonstration, and it is here that the parting comes between those who believe in their existence and those who will believe in nothing which cannot be made the subject of such demonstration. The proposition is as old as the Apostle Paul, that "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; and he cannot know them, for they are spiritually judged."

The evolution philosophy can help us to understand the order of the development of the phenomena of the physical history of the world, but the facts of the spiritual history of human life and those ethical and spiritual doctrines which have been recognised by the prophets of all nations and systems of belief are equally real, and these have found their highest and clearest exposition in the teachings of our Lord. And this side of the history of humanity cannot

be left out of account by any philosophical system which professes to give an adequate explanation of the sum total of the phenomena of the universe.

A. MACALISTER.

Logik.

Von Benno Erdmann. Erster Band: Logische Elementarlehre. Halle: Niemeyer, 1893. Pp. xv. 632. M. 10.

Logik.

Von Christoph Sigwart. Zweiter Band: Die Methodenlehre. Zweite Auflage. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1893. Pp. viii. 778.

THESE two works, the first dealing with the general questions of Formal or Deductive logic, the second presenting an elaborate review of the methods of scientific investigation, and corresponding, therefore, to what is ordinarily known to us as Inductive logic, exhibit in a striking fashion the main characteristics of much of the recent German activity in logical science. The prevailing tendency in that sphere of philosophy is towards the more practical and psychological treatment which has for long distinguished the writings of English logicians. It is a natural incident of this tendency that the contributions of English writers to logic should play a much larger part than they did a generation ago in determining the line of research followed by their German contemporaries. Mill and Jevons present themselves even more frequently in the discussions of logical problems than Kant and Hegel.

What has happened in logic is, indeed, but a special case of the more general movement in German philosophical work, a movement away from the abstract problems of metaphysics and all *a priori* methods towards the concrete facts of nature and mind, and the application to them of the principles and processes that have approved themselves in the field of natural science. It is possible and legitimate for an onlooker to doubt whether the revolt is altogether judicious and well-founded, and to think that perchance, in the long run, the old and well-worn philosophical questions will be found to reappear and revenge themselves for their temporary neglect. But each generation has to work out its philosophical salvation in its own way, and at present our German friends seem disposed to begin their proceedings with a strenuous insistence on empirical fact that is startling even to the British thinker.

Of the two works before us, that of Prof. Erdmann has the

greater general interest. It is pre-eminently a discussion of fundamental points, and though there is presented in it, as resulting from the discussion, a tolerably systematic account of the logical elements, the Notion, Judgment and Syllogism, the chief value of the work will be found in the contribution it makes to the analysis of thought in general, or, as the author prefers to put it, of the act of judging. The precise nature and significance of the judgment, that act of thought which underlies all assertion of objective fact, is most rightly singled out by the author as the logical problem, and to it his work is mainly devoted. Unfortunately, clear insight into his view and concise statement of it are hindered rather than aided by the amplitude of detail with which it is worked out. The main idea, that the logical judgment is a complex fact of mind resting on a combination of more elementary processes, naturally leads the author into a prolonged treatment of these simpler facts, raising so many side issues as to obscure the thread of his argument. Quite one half of the volume is occupied by the analysis of the components of the judgment and the careful, often luminous, and instructive discussion of its general features, psychological, grammatical and logical.

The advance towards the central idea of the completed judgment is made in a way tolerably familiar to readers of recent German psychology. The elementary processes of presentation, apperception, and abstraction are regarded as yielding the articulated content on or in which judgment becomes possible, the picture of a world of things with qualities, events, and relations. What judgment effects in regard to the details of this articulated content is to represent its parts in a new though corresponding form of connexion, and this new representation, the essence of which is found in the correlation of subject and predicate, is itself mainly dependent on that important addition to immediate apprehension which is yielded by language. The predicative relation which is expressed in every judgment can be expressed only by the help of those verbal signs which seem at first sight to be only the external, accidental clothing of the judgment.

The predicative relation itself rests on the more immediately apprehended relation of thing and quality, a relation that is *extended* by thought beyond the sphere within which it is primarily applicable. The total content of the judgment remains always the complex whole that is directly apprehended, and what is peculiar to the judgment consists in the new form in which this whole is expressed. Given, *e.g.*, a whole that is distinguishable into ABCD, of which, again, in the more immediate processes of apprehending, D has been distinguished as a quality, the logical act of judgment consists in the predicative expression of D, now made more general

by the word, as identical in its more general acceptation with the D that forms part of the total complex ABCD. The judgment thus places the content of a general term in the content of the subject on ground of the recognised identity (the author uses the terms *Gleich* and *Gleichheit* without distracting ambiguity) between what is represented and what is presented. There accompanies every valid judgment the consciousness of the necessity for thought of such identification between what is verbally separated off in the predicate and what is apprehended as part of the total subject. From this it follows that the determining element in the judgment is always the subject, which is, in fact, the total content that is present in thought in order that the judgment may be made. The relation between the subject and predicate, the true copula, can only find expression in terms of both; the copula is, in other words, the general or abstract expression of the particular way in which one part of the whole is viewed as "logically immanent" in the whole. In the assertion, e.g., "the dead ride quickly," the true copula is "the quick-riding of the dead."

The general analysis of judgment is supplemented by a classification of judgments according to two principles, first, into real and ideal, according as the subject is taken to be actually presented or to have existence only as represented; and second, into extensional and intensional, according as the subject is viewed in the light of a class embracing sub-classes and individuals, or in that of a combination of distinct characters. Within the lines of this classification, and with much acute and pertinent criticism of other views, the author seeks to bring the rich variety of forms of assertion. Like Sigwart and other recent writers he regards the negative judgment as secondary in nature, and he defends stoutly the view of hypothetical judgment as the assertion of the specific relation of logical sequence or dependence between two categorical assertions. He insists rightly, as we think, that the question as to the assumption or non-assumption of real existence of the subject does not assume or decide the problem as to the relation between categorical and hypothetical judgment.

The exposition of syllogism contains relatively less of novelty than the discussion of judgment. Syllogism, in fact, is rather definitely viewed as but mediate judgment. So regarded, the main forms are either hypothetical, where the judgments are given as in a relation of necessary consequence, or categorical where the given judgments contain elements which render necessary the relation expressed in the conclusion. Induction is but touched upon, and so far as its form is concerned, it seems to be regarded as essentially the transition from some to all, an interpretation which stands in need of such defence as it may receive in the projected second volume, on scientific

method. It must be added that Professor Erdmann excels in happy exemplification of the formal doctrines of logic. His examples of proposition and syllogism are selected with the greatest care, and are often of considerable independent interest.

The second edition of Sigwart's detailed treatment of the fundamental principles and methods of scientific investigation differs from the first in but one main feature. The author has added two sections containing an elaborate statement of the ideas and methods of psychology (pp. 179-210, pp. 518-573). In both, important psychological questions are raised and discussed; in one case, at least, not with the fulness of detail required to do justice to them. The first of the sections contains a general account of the elements with which psychology as a science has to deal, and there in particular two questions come forward, on which, at the present time, the most diverse views obtain among psychologists. On the ground of a distinction to be drawn, as the author thinks, between *that of which we are conscious*, and the *degree or measure of our consciousness*, the legitimacy of the assumption of unconscious mental facts is maintained. The unity of mind is taken to signify the presence of its inner nature as an active and controlling force in contrast with the isolated sensations, feelings, and the like which serve as occasions for calling forth its development. Both views are dubious and debateable, but to come to a definite understanding in regard to them demands more thorough analysis than Sigwart gives to them.

In the second additional section, on the induction of laws of mind, the main feature is the strenuous and able defence offered of the popular conception of a causal inter-action between body and mind. Sigwart subjects to close and acute criticism the arguments that have been advanced against this, mainly, in recent times, from the consequences supposed to be involved in the law of the conservation of energy, and his criticisms seem to us for the most part sound and successful. Whether the notion of causal inter-action is appropriate to express the relation of bodily and psychical processes is another and more doubtful point. For it is hardly possible to apply that notion, unless the meaning it ordinarily bears be radically wrong, and not thereby to confer upon the elements related by it a quasi-independence to which they are in no way entitled. Perhaps here, as elsewhere in philosophy, much of the perplexity we find is arbitrarily caused. We give to body and mind a fictitious existence as complete facts, whereas they are more properly abstractions from the truly complete whole. But undoubtedly, on the other hand, nothing but confusion of thought can lead us to rest content either with a merely verbal identification of them, or with the notion that, as complete and independent, they simply go on in a mysterious, mystical parallelism with one another.

R. ADAMSON.

The Conversion of India from Pantænus to the Present Time—A.D. 193-1893.

By George Smith, C.I.E., LL.D. With Illustrations. London: John Murray. 8vo, pp. 258. Price, 9s.

MISSION literature is becoming a marked feature of our age, and is developing a variety of branches. Fifty years ago it consisted mainly of pleas for missions and narratives of the work of single missions or of individual missionaries. The experiences of modern Christian missions were then too limited and isolated to be summed up and analysed. Such strides has this beneficent enterprise now taken, and such varied experiences have accumulated, that we can in some measure take stock of different aspects and results of the great work. Some years ago Dr Warneck wrote his thoughtful and interesting volume on the mutual relations of Modern Missions and Culture, bringing out vividly how the Christian mission not only changes the spiritual condition of the converts, and thereby their moral conduct, but, in the wider spheres of the community and of social and intellectual habits, "turns the world upside down" in a most beneficial sense. Christianity "inspires," as De Quincey puts it, a new economy of life, "indirectly through a new atmosphere surrounding all objects with new attributes."

In Bishop Caldwell's too little known "Early History of the Tinnevely Mission," giving the story of the development of a native Indian Christian community during the seventy years from Schwartz's time till the author's arrival in 1841, we find a narrative as suggestive as it is interesting to all concerned in the progress of Christianity. And in the volume under notice, by the Secretary to the Free Church Foreign Missions, we have a fresh presentation of evangelistic work in heathen lands, treated with much information that must be fresh to nearly all readers, and from a new point of view. Hough's history of Christianity in India covers, of course, the chronicle of the period in fuller detail, at least down to the publication of his fifth and last volume in 1860. Dr Smith, except in one short chapter, does not concern himself largely with statistics or the narrative of successes in individual missions, though these are not overlooked; his aim is rather to bring to light the *influences* at work—often outside mission agencies—that have been the preparation, and have moulded the progress of the cause in India as a whole. This is an important aspect of mission history that demands thoughtful study by those who would possess a clear understanding of the nature and elements of evangelistic progress in the East. In bringing forward this view,

however generally, the author has done an important service to the student of modern history, as well as to everyone interested in the effective carrying out of what Wellington justly called the Christian's Marching Orders (Matt. xxviii. 19).

The origin of the book is described in this way :—In 1888 Mr Nathan F. Graves founded a lectureship on Missions in connection with the Theological Seminary of the Reformed (Dutch) Church at New Brunswick, N.J. Dr Smith was selected to give the fifth course of these Graves Lectures, and chose as his subject "The Conversion of India," and this volume, he tells us, "contains a somewhat fuller treatment of that question, historically and practically, than was possible in the six lectures which he was appointed to deliver in the first fortnight of October 1893."¹

The period chosen, of precisely seventeen centuries, is far too extensive to permit of detail in the earlier portion; in fact the first thirty pages bring the story down to the thirteenth century. The tradition of St Thomas is, of course, passed over; for if there is any basis for the Syrian statement connecting that apostle with King Gondophares, he may have preached in Arakhosia (India Alba), without ever having reached Malabar or entered India—as we understand the term. Pantænus, the master of the catechetical school of Alexandria, Jerome tells us, was sent as a missionary to "India" about the end of the second century, and returned with a copy of Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew; but beyond this we know nothing of his mission, its sphere or its fruits. Jews had settled on the Malabar coast at an early date; but the tradition Dr Smith recites of their having come to India immediately after the destruction of the Temple (A.D. 70), must be altogether discredited. Their copper-plate deed is of uncertain date; they say themselves that it was granted in 379 A.D., but palæographical considerations render it probable that it belongs to a later date by at least three centuries. Nor is he quite correct in saying that Dr Claudius Buchanan deposited these Jewish plates in the University Library of Cambridge; Buchanan tried hard to obtain them, but had to be content with a copy, and the originals are still with the Jewish elders at Cochin. The Syrian Christians on the same coast were also there from an early date—they say from the time of St Thomas,—though the next, and perhaps first missionaries arrived, they believe, in 345 A.D. There, as well as in Ceylon, about 540 A.D., Cosmas Indicopleustes found them with a bishop at Kalyana—probably the small port of that name thirty-six miles north of Mangalur. They also obtained charters or deeds from native princes, engraved on copper, and the earliest of these seems to belong to the latter

¹ Perhaps we should read "September" here, for the Preface is dated from Edinburgh, "13th October 1893."

half of the eighth century. Their ancient crosses with inscriptions, found in Southern India, naturally suggest a reference to the great Chinese inscription of the Nestorians at Si-ngan-fu, dating from 638 A.D. That remarkable monument has long been known to Orientalists, but we are indebted to Dr Smith for presenting the general reader with a concise popular account of it, illustrated by a facsimile, and in an appendix he adds a curious extract from Samedo's account of the finding of the tablet in 1625.

While the author's style is easy and the movement rapid, one comes on sentences here and there that indicate hurried composition, and which it is to be hoped an early second edition may enable him to recast. They are not, however, of such a nature as to interfere with the purpose and real merits of Dr Smith's book. An instance may be cited from the second head, dealing with the Romish attempt in the thirteenth century to proselytise the East:—At page 33 we read—"The Mongolian dynasty which he (Chinghiz Khan) founded, continued his conquests right into the heart of Europe, under Batu at Cracow and Breslau, Pesth, and Lignitz, defeating the chivalry of Christendom led by Prince Henry of Silesia on the 12th April 1241." Thus, to compress a chapter into a single sentence is hurtful to both the history and the composition; for Batu did *not* lead the expedition into Poland and Silesia, but a son of Chagatai; and the battle near Lignitz, where Henry II., with 30,000 Poles and Germans, including the Teutonic knights, was defeated, was fought on the 9th April. But the great and decisive victory of the Mongols was won by the main army under Batu, on the banks of the Sajo, about the same date, when Bela IV. of Hungary, at the head of a great array of about 400,000 men, was totally defeated and most of his troops massacred. It was this terrible defeat that laid Central Europe at the mercy of the Golden Horde,—but they withdrew on learning of the death of Ogotai. The Romish Church, knowing of the influence of the Nestorian missionaries in Central Asia, then roused herself to send forth her preaching friars to try and convert the restless and savage warriors of the Asiatic steppes. After rapidly glancing at this attempt, Xavier's work is treated succinctly, and followed by a brief review of the later Jesuit efforts—confessedly failures.

It is when he comes to the English influence that the author enters fully upon his real subject. He sketches, rapidly enough, the early features of that influence; but when Charles Grant, the brothers Chambers and their friends, appear on the scene, his interest deepens, and, with abundant knowledge, he brings out the interaction of Christian officers, governors, chaplains, and missionaries in India, and East India Company Directors, Statesmen in

Parliament, and private Christians at home, all working out from different points of view a divine purpose. This section of the work is deserving of special attention. The chapter on "The United States of America's Co-operation" gives a rapid sketch of the evangelistic work of America from 1630, and will enable people in this country to estimate rightly the extent and value of the noble efforts our brethren in the West are now making in many provinces in India.

"The methods of the Evangelical Mission" contains important testimonies from many quarters to its success; and the "Results" are represented of course by statistics that are by no means "dry":—this chapter is an excellent *resumé* of facts of the highest import. Here we learn that the native Evangelical Christians in South India alone increased over sixfold between 1851 and 1890, or 614 per cent., while among these the communicants multiplied $12\frac{1}{2}$ times in the same period. This means that the increasing efforts of the churches during the last forty years have been rewarded by the steady doubling of native Protestant Christians periodically every fifteen years or less, or at the rate of fully a hundredfold in a century. If this rate of increase continue, their numbers will rise to a million of souls by the year 1903. Nor is South India an exceptional area, though its mission history goes farthest back; in the Punjab the census of 1881 gave 2,455 native Christians; in 1891 they had increased to 17,944, or fully sevenfold in ten years. Why are we so slack in multiplying labourers to gather in such abundant harvests? Well does Dr Smith put on his title-page the motto *δεήθητε*—the first word of Matt. ix. 38.

The "Prospects of the Conversion of India" are, lastly, set forth with encouraging and weighty testimonies; but space forbids remark on this or the last chapter, consisting of a collection of prayers for missions and mission fields, &c. The volume can be heartily commended as full of interest and deserving the careful attention of the Christian public.

JAMES BURGESS.

The Christian Ethic.

By William Knight, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St Andrews. London: John Murray. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. and 178. Price 3s. 6d.

SOME treatment of Christian ethics has long been expected from Professor Knight, and it may be a disappointment to find that he has not proposed to himself so exhaustive an examination of the entire field as has been undertaken by Dorner, Martensen, or New-

man Smyth. "This little book," he tells us, "is issued as a partial answer to the question, What are the distinctive features of the Christian ethic, as distinguished from the other moral systems of the world." And even this limited aim is attained, not by an elaborate comparison of the Christian with other ethical systems in all their aspects, but merely by an indication of the distinctive peculiarities of the contents and sources of the Christian morality, with occasional illustrative reference to the Platonic or Aristotelian teaching. For this limitation we can be thankful. Surely we have nowadays and in the meantime a sufficiency of treatises of the more elaborate kind; and we are grateful for this brief statement in which the salient points are not lost sight of amidst a mass of detail.

Professor Knight, although he does not consider the Christian ethic to be an entirely new product, holds that Christianity has produced a new type of character and of conduct. He is very successful in exhibiting the elements of newness which are found in Christian morals, the uniting of principles elsewhere antagonistic, and the raising to a central and dominating place of qualities which in other systems were rudimentary or obscure or depreciated. The distinctive features of the Christian ethic he traces to two sources, the doctrines or truths which Christianity first proclaimed, and the peculiar virtues which were for the first time exhibited in harmony as well as in their individual strength in Christianity. The special teachings which he believes to lie at the root of Christian morality are, the doctrines of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of men, the idea of immortality, the teaching regarding the nature of evil, the quickened sense of duty and the peculiarly Christian doctrine of human Recovery or Reformation by the unification of the Divine and the human natures. Each of these is dealt with separately, and although briefly, yet with much suggestiveness. Certainly greater fulness in the treatment of immortality was desirable, as Professor Knight has not allowed himself room even to show *how* the belief in immortality tells upon conduct.

In the second half of the volume those virtues which are more distinctively a reflection of the character of the Founder of Christianity are enumerated and discussed. These are self-sufficiency and humility [on p. 74 *αὐτάρκεια* is awkwardly misprinted for *ταπεινοφροσύνη*] devotion to others, philanthropy and Christian socialism, forgiveness of injuries, patience under wrong. Some pages at the end are devoted to a discussion of the relation of Christianity to wealth, and among other aspects of this subject, the ethics of betting are considered. Professor Knight treats this superficially, and apparently believes that its condemnation lies mainly in the circumstance that it is a trivial and idle occupation. He will not affirm that gambling and betting are disallowed by the

Christian ethic, although he admits they are discouraged by it, "mainly on the ground of their triviality or irrationality." Considering the disastrous extent to which these vices prevail at present, we should have expected some firmer and more trenchant analysis from a Christian moralist. Is it not a Christian principle that if a man will not work, neither shall he eat? Is a man justified in craving to be maintained by a community to whose welfare he contributes nothing? Are parasites to be encouraged by Christianity? Is a Christian justified in hasting to be rich? In this connection Professor Knight might with advantage have added a chapter on those amusements and business customs which, although not explicitly prohibited, are incongruous and incompatible with the spirit and example of Christ—fancy Christ betting—and undermine honourable relations between man and man.

In common with all Professor Knight's work this volume is exceptionally well written. It gives a clear and succinct statement of the peculiarities of Christian morality. It contains much that suggests thought and nothing that is crude. It is not hampered with technical phraseology, and both the professional and the lay reader will find it pleasant as well as profitable reading.

MARCUS DODS.

The Earliest Life of Christ ever compiled from the Four Gospels, being the Diatessaron of Tatian. With Historical Introduction, Notes, and Appendix.

*By the Rev. J. Hamlyn Hill, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
8vo, pp. 379. Price 10s. 6d.*

So much has already been written by Professor Hemphill, Dr Maher, and others regarding the Diatessaron, that space need not be occupied with any account of Ciasca's publication of the Arabic version of the original Syriac some five years ago. With the Arabic a Latin rendering was given. It is this Latin version which Mr Hill has now translated into English, securing accuracy by availing himself of the aid of Arabic scholars, especially of Mr Buchanan Gray of Mansfield College. It will be remembered that Professor Hemphill only gave us an English rendering of the parts of the Diatessaron which could be recovered from the commentary of Ephraem Syrus¹; so that Mr Hill has the satisfaction of giving to the public the first English version of the Diatessaron itself. This is a valuable addition to accessible Ante-Nicene literature,

¹ These Fragments are translated in Mr Hill's appendix.

and Mr Hill deserves cordial acknowledgment for the painstaking industry and scholarship he has spent upon this formidable task.

Besides the Diatessaron itself, we have in this volume an introduction giving a history of Tatian and his best known work, an explanation of the method followed in the harmony and of some of its characteristic features, and an estimate of its value. Still more valuable are the tables given in the Appendix. Among these, the first is both interesting and useful, furnishing us, as it does, with the means of comparing Tatian's order with that adopted by the three eminent harmonists, Greswell, Stroud, and Tischendorf. Another table enables us to see at a glance what portions of each gospel are incorporated in the Diatessaron, and what are omitted. The other tables are also carefully drawn up, and will save trouble to future workers.

The value of the Diatessaron lies mainly in the light it casts on the history of the Gospels and their reception in the Church. As a means of ascertaining the relative dates of the Curetonian and Peshitto Syriac, and of gaining through the Syriac a knowledge of the Greek Text of the New Testament, it is likely to yield important results. Its intrinsic value as a Harmony is of course discounted by the labours of modern critics. Believing the first and fourth Gospels to be from the hand of Apostles, Tatian attaches great weight to the order they adopt. Sometimes, as in the case of the cleansing of the Temple, these authorities conflict; and in this particular case Tatian follows Matthew, with the somewhat awkward consequence that not only the cleansing of the Temple, but the conversation with Nicodemus as well, is lifted to the close of the ministry. But that Tatian spent immense care on his Harmony is manifest, and that he did not succeed where no one else has succeeded cannot be matter of astonishment.

MARCUS DODS.

The Great Reconciliation and the Reign of Grace.

By Edward Seeley, Vicar of The Martyrs, Leicester.

London: E. Stock. Pp. 306.

THE object of this book is to throw light on some of the difficulties of the scheme of grace, or, as the author calls it—"the great reconciliation." He accepts very cordially in its main features the evangelical view of the way of life, but he thinks that in some points that view is defective, and his object is to supply some things that seem to be lacking, and thus make the great enterprise assume grander proportions, and appear more worthy of the Infinite God.

The chief defect in current representations of the atonement of Jesus Christ he holds to be, that it is viewed too exclusively in its relation to man, and that its object is too much narrowed to the removal of man's sin. He draws attention to passages, such as Ephes. i., where a much wider scope is attributed to the divine purpose in Christ, God having designed "that in the dispensation of the fulness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are in earth." This of course does not imply universal restoration, but it implies that Christ is to be the Head of a Kingdom in which all holy beings in heaven and earth will be brought into one. Small and insignificant though this world is, it is suitable to be the scene of that great work whereby Christ has not only redeemed men but laid the foundation of a universal, holy Empire.

With reference to God the Father, the work of Christ was designed to show the exceeding riches of his grace, as it could not have been shown in dealings with angels or any unfallen community. With reference to Jesus the Son, it was fitted to exalt his love and grace to a new pinnacle of glory. And with reference to man, to place him in a higher relation to God than Adam's—a relation of more vital fellowship, for "God in man" and "man in God" were now to be the terms of the relation. Redeemed man is a more exalted being than unfallen man; his relation to a divine Redeemer places him under motives and brings out qualities of a higher order. And the inheritance awaiting him will be higher, the faithful servant will be ruler over "cities"—an expression which we cannot define, but which denotes something very high. Owing to the comprehensiveness of God's scheme, it is liable to be misjudged when we view a portion of it apart from the rest. An entire plan may be just, while parts of it appear unjust. Mr Seeley thinks that from this point of view the divine procedure in permitting the fall of man receives material vindication.

The subject is worked out with great care and reverence, with a profound regard to the teaching of Scripture, beyond which he is careful not to go. But as the wider bearings of the work of Christ are not formally treated in Scripture, it is rather hints and glimpses than definite conclusions that are presented to us. The style is simple, exact, and utterly unadorned, and it must be confessed that but for the grandeur of the subject, the book would be tedious. But it is better on such a subject to be somewhat dry, than by giving too free scope to imagination, to gain beauty at the cost of precision of thought and exactness of statement.

W. GARDEN BLAIKIE.

Sin and Redemption : or the Spirit and Principle of the Cross of Christ.

By John Garnier. London : E. Stock, 1893. Pp. 508.

THE purpose of this work is similar to that of the preceding—to remove, or at least lessen difficulties in connection with theism and the Christian redemption which in many cases destroy belief, and even in the case of believers, impair confidence in God. It is like the other in its tone, its devout reverence for Scripture and cordial acceptance of the method of grace ; but not in its line of discussion, nor in the view it takes of the redemption of Christ. The origin of evil is first discussed, and here we cannot think that the author has put his best foot foremost. On the sufferings of the inferior creation he does throw some light, by noting that as they are incapable of recognising the law of love, selfishness (as a rule) must be their principle of action, and, therefore, it is natural for them to disregard the comfort or even the life of their rivals. In regard to human beings, he somehow thinks that he has proved that it was a moral impossibility for God to create perfectly righteous beings, and he infers that experience of moral evil was necessary to enable man to reach the heights of excellence to which he is raised by redemption. What he *has* proved is, that created moral beings must be *liable* to sin and consequent suffering, but his contention that they must actually sin and suffer is contradicted by the condition of the unfallen angels, whose range of spiritual experience and enjoyment, however, Mr Garnier's principles would oblige him to place very low.

On the whole, the book presents a considerable number of helpful views in the prosecution of its great aim, which is to clear God of being the author of sin, to bring it home to man himself, and yet not lessen its guilt. We like, for example, the way in which, all through, he emphatically regards separation from God as the essential evil caused by sin, and the restoration of that fellowship as the chief fruit of grace. We agree in his view that the essence of future punishment will lie in everlasting separation from God, in the darkness and desolation of soul which this must bring, and in the hopeless confinement to which the sinner must be subjected in order to prevent his sin from spreading, and thus infecting other parts of God's dominion. And we are one with him in holding that the essence of redemption lies in restored fellowship with God through Jesus Christ, and in the experience of the surpassing excellence of the divine Being, as realised by union to the Saviour and participation in His redemption. The chief divergence of the author's views from our prevalent theology lies in his repudiation of Christ's

death as *expiation*. But when we add that he accepts it as *propitiation*, it will be seen that he is prone to subtle distinctions. While he goes so far as to maintain with reference to Christ's suffering for sin that it was precisely the same in kind as the sinner himself experiences, he seems to look on his death mainly as a testimony for righteousness, and on the acceptance of believers by God as the consequence of their union to Christ, in consequence of which God regards them as he regards Christ. This view, so far as it rejects expiation, is neither in accordance with the teaching of Scripture, nor with that craving of the human conscience for a substitutionary propitiation to which the practice of expiatory sacrifices bears witness in the heathen world. We fall back on the simple testimony of Scripture :—"Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God."

In an Appendix, there is a brief but effective discussion of some of the more recent anti-Theistic and other positions—Agnosticism, Design, Prayer and Miracles, and Progressive Revelation.

W. GARDEN BLAIKIE.

The Truth of the Christian Religion.

By Julius Kaftan, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated from the German by George Ferries, B.D. With a Prefatory Note by Robert Flint, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. In two volumes. Pp. x. 357, and pp. vi. 445. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh. Price 16s. nett.

ENGLISH readers have now the opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the teaching of the Ritschlian school, as it is set forth by one of its foremost representatives. Dr Kaftan is a man of great ability, an able thinker, a lucid and vigorous writer, and if we are not persuaded by him of the truth of the Ritschlian teaching, it is from no lack of ability on his part. The translation is also worthy ; it is clear, accurate, and adequate, and fitly represents the original. We are glad to have Dr Kaftan's work in English. It is well on every account that we should have the teaching of the Ritschlian school accessible in English. It has an extensive influence in Germany, as every reader of German theology well knows. In France, in America, and in our own country, the influence of Ritschl is felt. References to him abound in theological literature, treatises are written in attack and in defence, and every philosopher and theologian feels that sooner or later he will have to reckon with Ritschlianism. The adherents of this system number among them some of the foremost names in German theology. Harnack, Herr-

mann, Schultz, Wendt, and Kaftan, each in his own department, is working under the influence of Ritschl, and the principles and methods of Ritschl have penetrated into every sphere of theological science. These appear in the history of dogma, in the theology of the Old and New Testament, in exegesis, in church history, in philosophy, and in dogmatics. It is well that men should calmly consider and weigh the claims of this school.

Dr Kaftan may be called the philosopher of this school, as Harnack is its historian. We are not sure that the other adherents of the school would agree to the name by which we have called him. For the followers of Ritschl are by no means agreed as to the philosophy they teach. Dr Kaftan himself is a pure empiricist of the type of J. S. Mill, while Herrmann is a Kantian, and Bender of Bonn is inclined to pure subjectivity. But each one of the school is left free to choose his own philosophy. As Professor Orr has said in his able, thoughtful, and clear account of "the Ritschlian theology" in the *Thinker* (August 1892), "It is a matter of indifference to theologians—so maintains Herrmann in his work on *Metaphysic and Theology*—whether philosophy be deistic, pantheistic, or whatever it is." Many things might be said on this, but we must hasten on to the work more immediately in hand.

Dr Kaftan's work is in two volumes. The first is mainly occupied with the history and the criticism of Dogma, the second with the statement and defence of his system of philosophy and his view of knowledge. In the first volume we have Dr Kaftan's view of the origin of dogma, its development, and continuance, until it was overthrown by Kant and dissolved under the influence of modern science and philosophy. Having thus traced the origin, history, and dissolution of dogma, he finally pronounces a sort of funeral oration over it, sums up its merits and demerits—mainly its demerits—and calls this oration "the judgment of history." The work from first to last is skilfully done. With ample knowledge of dogma and its history, he passes on from period to period, and shows how, in his view, theologians have got on the wrong track, have missed their way, and have built up an edifice of theology which must be taken down and altogether reconstructed on new lines. We read with something like a shock of surprise. If a reader had taken his notion of the nature and structure of theology from such theologians as Dorner, if, under the influence of such a work as Dorner's "Person of Christ," he had believed Christian thought had done something and arrived at some assured result, he soon finds that Dr Kaftan writes down all such studies as irrelevant, misleading, and impossible. For theology cannot be a science of the objects of faith. It cannot reach truth; it must be content with such knowledge as is required for practice.

We have found a great difficulty in determining the starting point of Dr Kaftan. In his account of ecclesiastical dogma we are at once landed into a discussion of Greek philosophy and of Christian faith, and of the relation between the two. More particularly we are told that Dogma has its origin in the combination of the Christian faith with the Logos idea. But one would surely expect that Dr Kaftan, in dealing with Christian dogma, might have made some adequate reference to the New Testament. What is the relation of dogma to the teaching of the New Testament? After giving his own account of the origin of dogma, Dr Kaftan has a few pages on the relation of dogma to the New Testament. He admits a certain connection between the Logos idea in the Fourth Gospel and dogma, between certain Pauline epistles and dogma, but the connection is only apparent. "Any one who is not satisfied with a superficial observation of that fact, but considers the whole connection, must admit that these conclusions of the New Testament are the *latest offshoots* of the process of thought in the New Testament, whereas in the ecclesiastical development of doctrine the identification of the pre-incarnate Christ with the Logos is made the determinative starting-point of the process of thought. Even in the Gospel of John we find nothing more than just a *leaning* upon the Logos idea. Even here it is not this idea, but that of the perfect *revelation* of God, which is the distinctively governing thought. And whoever considers that according to John that revelation of God was made for the purpose of bringing men to the saving knowledge of God, and again, that the knowledge of God so attained calls forth love to God, and that love to God necessarily expresses itself in love to the brethren, and in general in the fulfilling of His commandments, he soon sees in what close touch all this stands with the preaching of the kingdom recorded in the synoptic Gospels," vol. i. pp. 112, 3. Dr Kaftan ends with the curious reflection, "the fact that the old theology begins at the point at which the New Testament arrives as a closing point, tells, in truth, of no such progress, but signifies that the leading idea is coming to be different, to be relatively opposed. I do not think it will be possible to mistake that fact for any length of time," p. 113. The passage quoted is fitted to give rise to many reflections. We are inclined to ask a good many questions. Is the remark about "the latest offshoots of the process of thought in the New Testament" intended to make them less normative and authoritative than the earlier branches are? If not, what is the relevancy of the remark? There is a remarkable development of doctrine in the New Testament. What are we to make of that development in Dr Kaftan's view? Has the process of deterioration been at work within the bounds of the New Testament? What are we to make of the contrast between.

the later and the earlier of the Epistles of St Paul? We know, for instance, what the view of Pfeiderer is. He makes Hellenism to be a great factor, if not the most potent factor, in the production of the New Testament writings. For him Paul is a Hellenist, and Hellenistic tendencies have, according to Pfeiderer, produced the successive strata of New Testament doctrine, until it culminated in the Fourth Gospel. But, then, Pfeiderer believes in Hellenism, and Dr Kaftan does not. For the one Hellenism is truth, for the other it has led to the corruption of the Christian Faith. We have a right to inquire what Dr Kaftan is to make of the development of doctrine within the New Testament? Is it legitimate? If it is, why should he despair of reaching a knowledge of true doctrine?

It is also a large assumption which Dr Kaftan makes, when he says that "the old theology begins when the New Testament ends." Not many people will believe that statement. Certainly no one who believes that the New Testament is the norm of Christian teaching for every age. We have placed this criticism at the outset, because until Dr Kaftan has dealt more fully with the apparent sanction which is given to dogma by the New Testament, he has not laid the foundation on which the superstructure is to be built. For the New Testament does appear to make statements about the person of Christ, His cosmical position, His pre-existence, His creative and redemptive activity, which mean something, and which were meant to be understood. Are Christian men to ignore such doctrinal statements as we find in the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians? Are they to be shut out from any definite views as to the relation of Christ to them, to the world, and to God? Is there no Christian view of the world?

Dr Kaftan is, however, of opinion that the primary place given to knowledge and doctrine, and the substitution of the idea of the Logos for that of the kingdom of God, led the early church astray, and that theology from that day followed in the wrong track. What then is the remedy? Are we to get rid of dogma altogether? No; for the church cannot dispense with a body of dogma. She must have a didactic presentation of Christian truth, and yet on Dr Kaftan's terms it seems impossible for her to have such? What are we to think of the history of dogma? Is it a misfortune that the church has been led to lay such stress on knowledge, and to attach such importance to dogma? We cannot tell what Dr Kaftan's view really is. For at one time he seems to long for the deliverance of the church from dogma, and at another time he seems to regard the whole process as divinely ordered and providential. "Who can fail to see that that was not an accidental result of circumstances there and then existing, one which might have also turned out differently, that in what concerns this

process we must rather speak, if we can do so anywhere, of *historical necessity*? In order to strike root in the educated world of Greece and Rome—and without doing that it could not fulfil its vocation in universal history—Christianity had to accommodate itself to the intellectual life existing in that world. Not as if that was done intentionally or even consciously. It resulted quite spontaneously. Very soon the church had no other officials whatever except such as themselves shared the presuppositions of antique life. But how were these men to adopt Christianity if not by arriving at an understanding of it with the aid of the intellectual means which lay at their disposal? How were they to impart it to others if not just in the way they had understood it themselves, and in which alone it could be intelligible to the others also? And, lastly, how could it be conceivable that in this development form and content were kept separate, that only the form was derived from the intellectual life which already existed, while the whole content proceeded from the new evangel? That is not the course of things in real history. The Gospel certainly transforms those who accept it in faith into new men. But it does so by acting as a leaven in the old existing mass, and in such a way that the results are something relatively new—in our case the form which Christianity first assumed in the educated world of humanity, and which it had to assume there. It is therefore not surprising—the issue is simply self-evident—if, as is the case, the dogma which arose then is not a pure expression of the Christian faith, but the Christian faith intimately combined with the intellectual contents of antique life, and expressed in the intellectual forms of that life” (vol. i., p. 74-5). How far is the principle enunciated here to be carried? Are we to say that Christianity in every age has to accommodate itself to the intellectual life existing in that age? Are we on that principle to judge of Dr Kaftan’s book? Are we to look on it as an attempt to accommodate Christianity to the Agnosticism and the Empiricism of the present hour? This might be a severe judgment, but it would be only to apply to himself and his work what he has applied to the history of dogma.

There are many things in the work which are true in themselves, and finely said. It is well to set forth, as Dr Kaftan has done, the practical aim of Christianity, and to show that above all else it has for aim and purpose the redemption and the blessedness of man. This is a truth never to be forgotten, and we may be grateful to Dr Kaftan for reminding us of it in so forcible a way. This aim may be fully recognised and acted on, without causing a divorce between the rational and the practical interests of man. If it can be shown that reason is wrong in its affirmations, if reason cannot reach universal and necessary truth, what trust can be placed in

any of the faculties and tendencies of man? Dr Kaftan has introduced a contradiction into human nature, and he is unable to overcome it. The peculiarity of his method is that he has a theory of knowledge in virtue of which he denies the possibility of a theory of knowledge. His treatment also of dogma and its history is determined by the theory of knowledge which he advocates. A theory of knowledge does not stand by itself. It determines the view we take of every thing, and philosophy, science, and theology vary in contents according to the theory of knowledge which a man may hold. Ritschl recognises this, "Each theologian is under necessity or obligation as a scientific man to proceed according to a definite theory of knowledge, of which he must be conscious himself, and the legitimacy of which he must prove." (Quoted by Dr Orr, *Thinker*, August 1892.) Dr Kaftan recognises the obligation, and in the second volume elaborates his theory of knowledge. His position is that of an agnostic empiricist. That is to say, he bases knowledge on empiricism, and denies that it can reach universal and necessary truth. His method is to start "with the primacy of the Will in our self-consciousness and of the Practical Reason in our philosophical speculation." He accepts from Kant all the destructive results of the Kantian criticism, and has not accepted Kant's proof that synthetic judgments *a priori* are possible. He builds largely on Kant's postulates of the Practical Reason, but gives to the element of knowledge in our experience a very subordinate position.

Dr Kaftan begins with an examination of "Common Knowledge," and states what seems to him to be its characteristics. "If I affirm that I know something—no matter whether I am wrong or not—I mean that my assertion agrees with reality, and that I have every reason to be convinced that such is the case." "Knowledge is in principle communicable, and can always be a general possession." So far all is well. But as we proceed difficulties arise, and the course of procedure becomes by no means clear. For we find that what we seek to know is not reality, but "we desire to know about things because we must accommodate ourselves to them in our action, with the view of making them serviceable for our purposes. It is from this point of view that ordinary knowledge originates and is developed. It is quite natural, therefore, that from the first it includes *an element of arbitrariness*, and that a piece of knowledge suffices for us as soon as it simply expresses completely, exactly, and without error, that side of things that possesses interest for us, and falls to be considered in its bearing on our purposes, while all else is put aside, as "collateral circumstances" or as "accidental" (vol. ii. p. 26). We ask for explanations and none are forthcoming. If "an element of arbitrariness" enters into all knowledge, how can my knowledge "agree with reality"? What security has Dr Kaf-

tan, that the same element of arbitrariness enters into the knowledge of every individual? If each individual supplies his own element of arbitrariness, how can knowledge be a general possession? It would seem that if there is to be common knowledge, the element of arbitrariness must be eliminated, or the arbitrary element must be common to all men, in which case it ceases to be arbitrary.

When he passes from the knowledge of individual things to general notions, we find that for him the general notion is an "arbitrary creation of the mind," and that our common knowledge as it takes form in our consciousness always involves a "natural illusion." How are the arbitrariness and the illusiveness to be overcome? For they must be overcome if we are to have knowledge of reality, and to have knowledge as a common possession. "It appears that the forms of our ordinary knowledge, in which we gather up its contents, are determined by the consideration of practice, and therefore give evidence of the arbitrariness which is always connected with it. At the same time, a further defect in it will meet us here, a *natural illusion* inherent in it" (p. 41). It is natural to ask what effect the arbitrariness and illusiveness have on practice? Do they in any way interfere with our power of making things serviceable to us, or with our relation to reality? Dr Kaftan assumes that they do not, but he assumes, or rather states, that they are sufficient to destroy our confidence in the possibility of theoretical knowledge. He rejoices in the conclusion, for he is of opinion that up to the present time men have laid too much stress on knowledge. His aim is to make knowledge and intelligence serve only for the purpose of practical life. He uses knowledge for the purpose of discrediting itself. And we cannot get rid of the conviction that there is something arbitrary and illusive in the procedure.

We pass on to his comparison of common knowledge with science. "The extension and correction of common knowledge is the purpose aimed at by science." We thought that when common knowledge is corrected by science we should get rid of the arbitrary and illusive elements which troubled us. We met instead with new surprises. "Science is always composed of general judgments. The particular fact purely as such has no interest for it, and does not appear in it at all. It is only when the fact has been freed from isolation and brought under a general rule, or has led to a discovery of such a rule, that it is scientifically accepted and mastered. Otherwise it stands over as a problem for the solution of which means will perhaps be found by and by. Science has always to do with what is general and with that alone. It therefore necessarily declines to seek an exact knowledge of what is individual, as it concerns itself only with the elements which things and processes possess in common: and in that way it inevitably shares in the

arbitrariness involved in general notions and judgments" (p. 85). We do not seem to make any progress towards getting rid of arbitrariness. On the contrary we have made scientific knowledge as arbitrary as common knowledge. And there is no approach to reality. Empiricism has always made the same fatal mistake. It assumes that science deals only with generalities, "with the elements which things and processes have in common." If it did so, it would not be science. For it deals not only with the elements which things have in common, but also with those which make a thing a thing. Scientific knowledge is more abstract than common knowledge: it is also more concrete. If science looks at things in relation to one another, and endeavours to bring them all under general laws, it has also another process in hand at the same time. It seeks to obtain a more systematic knowledge of differences as well. Thus science is not merely a process of abstraction or analysis, by which it seeks to arrive at more and more general laws: it is also a process of synthesis, by which it arrives at a more adequate knowledge of concrete realities. What common knowledge means by any phenomena, say light or air, is very different from the knowledge of it possessed by the scientific man. By science such a word as "light" is looked at more concretely, more adequately. It means for science the undulations of an elastic medium, and the sensibility of the retina, and many other concrete things unnoticed by common knowledge. In fact scientific knowledge is distinguished from common knowledge, not so much by generality, but by the definiteness with which it recognises the various elements and their relations which make up the concrete unity with which it deals.

The most curious part of Dr Kaftan's theory is that which deals with "the relation of a thing to its properties," and "with the relation of cause and effect." His position here is essentially that of J. S. Mill. He is specially indebted also to the very subtle and remarkable essay by Mr Shute, "a Discourse on Truth," London, 1878. We shall not say much of Mr Shute's essay. It is in our judgment the most subtle and plausible presentation of the empirical view which has been given since Hume. It is written also in the most delightful way, with an ease and simplicity of style as admirable as it is rare. But even Mr Shute has not been able to give any rational account of the universality and necessity which belong to certain judgments. Dr Kaftan has simply borrowed his analysis of the causal judgment, and has not added anything to it. Nor is there any improvement on the presentation of the case for empiricism as it has been presented in this country by such writers the Mills, Bain, Lewes and others. "Thus too we find that the picture of the world drawn for us by physical science is in great

part a creation of our own minds, not a product of necessity arising from the constraint of the will to live, but certainly a work of meditated art, struck out in the interest of those practical purposes of the human race which are comprised in our intellectual sovereignty over the world" (p. 118.) It would be instructive also to examine Dr Kaftan's account of the necessity existing in logic and mathematics. This necessity is only subjective. "Our subjective apprehension is after all the main point in the case; and here arbitrariness has wide scope." What Dr Kaftan has not explained is how a product of subjective arbitrariness has relations to the real world we know! How men should have been able to formulate, say the laws and properties of conic sections, and to find that they were thinking after the same manner as the thought manifested in the universe. Why should arbitrary combinations in mathematics find their counterpart in nature? He got no answer from Dr Kaftan.

There is a curious section in which Dr Kaftan seeks to come to an understanding with Comte, on which we have not space to make any remark. As we follow Dr Kaftan, we find that we have to unlearn as well as to learn many things. We have to master a new meaning of Understanding and Reason. "The fruitful knowledge of the Understanding gives a feeling of mastery over the things known, the knowledge of Reason has as its starting-point a practical subjection of man to the truth expressed in the guiding Idea." When we reached this point, and read this sentence, we thought we had come to something objective, and freed from arbitrariness. "The truth expressed by the guiding idea" must be something worth knowing. We had not proceeded far when we found ourselves in the old position. "A judgment of reason is always in part an expression of personal conviction. For a judgment of the kind is implied in the decision made in favour of definite religious and moral ideas, upholding the truth and validity of them alone," p. 193. In short, from first to last we are confronted with arbitrariness. From the first beginnings of knowledge up to the highest affirmation of reason, we are in the region of arbitrariness and caprice. On this theory it is difficult to understand how man has attained to "an intellectual sovereignty of the world."

The same arbitrary demand enters into Dr Kaftan's view of the Kingdom of God, which, for him, answers to the true idea of the Chief Good. The Idea of the Chief Good does not express the whole meaning of the Kingdom of God. There are other Ideas, such as the True, the Just, the Pure, which are essential to the meaning of the Kingdom of God. But if the True were recognised as an essential element in the Kingdom of God, Dr Kaftan's theory would be at once recognised as inadequate. But in his view, the Kingdom of God, and God Himself, and all the creation of God,

are placed as means for the realisation of the will of man to live. Man becomes the centre and the measure of things. Truth and knowledge are means by which man can attain to the sovereignty of the world, and are of no value in themselves. The Kingdom of God is not an end, but a means by which man may attain to freedom from sin, and to positive blessedness. The Godhead becomes a means by which hindrances to man's salvation are swept away, and helps are given to man by which he can attain blessedness. We submit that a system of Apologetics which makes all existence a mere means for the blessedness of man is on the face of it inadequate, that a system of philosophy which makes knowledge impossible, places what knowledge we may attain to in utter subordination to the will, and makes truth unattainable, is suicidal, and that a system of doctrine which places the Kingdom of God and God Himself as a mere instrument and means for the blessedness of man, is too Ptolemaic for the present hour, and will not long survive.

JAMES IVERACH.

A Dissertation on John Norris of Bemerton.

By F. J. Powicke, Ph.D. London: George Philip & Son.
Cr. 8vo, pp. 218. Price 5s. net.

THIS volume gives a clear and concise account of the life and writings of an English philosopher of two centuries ago. Born in 1657, the son of a minister of Puritan opinions in Wiltshire, he was educated at Winchester School and Exeter College, Oxford; and as soon as he began to think for himself, he seems to have cast off his father's views and to have adopted strong Tory and High Church principles. One of his earliest writings was directed against the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, which he says he had "imbibed with his mother's milk" and had not rejected till after a prolonged mental struggle. He became a Fellow of All Souls in 1680, and remained there for nine years. In 1689 he became Rector of Newton St Ives in Somersetshire, and two years later he was translated to the living of Bemerton in Wiltshire, where he spent the remaining twenty years of his life. He wrote much, and in different characters. At times he could stoop to the level of an ordinary seventeenth century pamphleteer, as in his early fugitive publications; in other publications he appears in quite another light, as a theologian of a stern, ascetic tone.

The latter aspect comes out very strongly in a work entitled "Spiritual Counsel," which he wrote originally for the use of his own children. It reads like a monkish manual of devotion in many

parts, and shows few traces of the mystic views with which Norris's name is principally associated. He advises his children to shun the world and its pleasures as much as possible, and frequently to make religious "retreats." "Place yourselves frequently upon your deathbeds, in your coffins and in your graves. Meditate much upon the places and the days of darkness and upon the fewness of those that shall be saved." He recommends set times for religious exercises, and whole days to be spent in prayer and fasting. The entire spirit of this treatise, both in its sincere piety, its prevailing stern and gloomy tone, and its inculcation of the usefulness of forms and rules of devotion, strikingly calls to mind the spirit of the leaders of the Oxford Movement of 1833.

When we pass to the philosophical writings of Norris, we enter a different atmosphere. It is true that he did not belong to the class of what have been termed natural mystics. He was not, as Mr Powicke says, of such an intensely spiritual temperament as the illustrious Cambridge Platonist, Henry More, whom in many things he looked up to as his master. It is all the more remarkable that by sheer force of reasoning he should have come to conclusions substantially the same as those of the Cambridge mystical school. The first essay of Norris in this field was his translation of the "Golden Verses" of Hierocles, the celebrated Neo-Platonist of the fifth century. In his preface he exhibits a tone towards pagan philosophers which contrasts strangely with the intolerant spirit he frequently displayed against the Dissenters of his own day. "There is not one precept of Christianity so exalted and heroic but may be paralleled in the Heathen. No man can deny this who has ever read the morals of Plutarch, Seneca, Epictetus, Cicero, and the rest. They teach not only outward conformity, but also inward purity. They recommend and enjoin the love of enemies (?). Sometimes they discourse so much like seraphims and the most ecstasized order of intelligences that the reader seems lifted toward the third heaven. They are most defective in their idea of God, but even here the wisest pagans were accurate enough in their conceptions and (except only the inconceivable mystery of the Trinity) thought as well of God as any Christian whatsoever, and better than a great many of them do."

Norris seems to have thought out very early the main points of his philosophical system. They all appear in outline in a volume which he published in 1689 under the title of "Reason and Religion, or the grounds and measures of devotion considered from the nature of God and the nature of man, in several contemplations, with exercises of devotion applied to every contemplation." As will be seen from the last clause of the heading, this work is not purely speculative, and it bears a somewhat more popular character

than the author's more elaborate later writings. From its pages alone, however, we might define with tolerable exactness the philosophical and theological position occupied by Norris. His cardinal doctrine, which he derived directly from the French philosopher Malebranche, is that we see the ideas of all things in God, and in an interesting passage he states how he was led to this view.

In his next work on a philosophical subject he engaged in controversy with no less a person than Locke. In the year in which the "Essay on the Human Understanding" appeared (1690), he published what he called some "Cursory Reflections" on it in the form of a letter to a friend. The chief subject of his criticism is directed against Locke's denial of the doctrine of innate ideas. He contends that the arguments of the latter are insufficient for his purpose, and that on Locke's principle he can never disprove innate ideas. Locke took no open notice, during his lifetime, of Norris's animadversions, but he jotted down some "hasty thoughts," as he styled them, on the subject, which were found among his papers, and published after his death. He is certainly less respectful to his antagonist than the latter had been to him. As Mr Powicke says, "The inevitable antagonism of the two minds comes out sharply, not seldom in words, and in a tone, which betray the common-sense philosopher's contempt."

Some of the points in the discussion remind us strongly of more recent disputes. "We have a distinct idea of God," says Norris. "To say that we see Him as He is in Himself is presumption," answers Locke. "God made all things for Himself, therefore we see all things in Him," says Norris. "And this is called demonstration," answers Locke. Such passages cannot fail to suggest to the memory of those who have read it the controversy between Mr Maurice and Mr Mansel on "What is Revelation?" Locke's sarcastic tone displays much the same spirit as the latter writer showed in reply to the former's strictures on his Bampton Lectures.

The *opus magnum* of Norris did not appear till many years after this controversy. This work, in which he gave to the world the fullest and most elaborate exposition of his philosophical system, was entitled, "An Essay towards the Theory of the Ideal or Intelligible World." This treatise was divided into two parts, of which the first appeared in 1701, and the second in 1704. In the former volume Norris considers the ideal world "absolutely in itself," in the latter "with relation to the human understanding." Norris begins by affirming "the existence of two worlds—the one natural, the other ideal. The former consists of things *rerum naturā* created in time out of nothing by the free and arbitrary will of the

Almighty Laws." The definition of the latter evidently gives him more trouble, and it requires some mental exertion to grasp the meaning of the words in which he describes it. It is, "This state of things which is necessary, permanent, and immutable, not only antecedent and pre-existent to this (the material world), but also exemplary and representative of it; having in it the reason, essences, and specific natures of all things, and whereof all things in the natural world are but as the prints and impressions."

Having thus stated the groundwork of his theory, he proceeds to bring forward his proofs. He argues that the visible universe cannot always have been in being, and that its existence must have been derived "from some other Being." Its Maker, he goes on to contend, "must have thought it before He made it. But thinking is a seeing of the mind." God, therefore, must have seen the world before He made it. But where or how did He see it? To answer this question, we are compelled to admit the existence of an ideal or intelligible world, "in which things had a real existence, according to their essential reasons and nature, before they had any in this." We are here somewhat reminded of a remarkable modern work of a very different character from the one we are now considering—the "Unseen Universe." Its authors base their conclusions largely on physical facts and speculations, of which Norris knew nothing; but they begin by arguing, in language very similar to his, that the visible universe implies an invisible one behind it, from which it received its being.

Norris proceeds to maintain that the Eternal Essences or ideas of things can only be conceived as elements of the Divine nature, and argues that this was really Plato's doctrine: "There is, I know, a certain traditional presumption, I know not well how or why, as if Plato should place his ideas out of God, representing them as so many abstract and universal forms or essences, separately existing from the Divine nature, which must be very gross philosophy if really Plato's; but I think that it is indeed none of his, and whoever can but keep himself awake while he but reads over his 'Tímaeus,' will, I believe, find reason to think so too, viz. :—that by his ideas he meant only the original forms or patterns of things in the Divine understanding (the very same we are now contending for), and accordingly, that he placed his ideas nowhere else but in God."

This position is not accepted by all, or perhaps even by the majority of Platonic students at the present day, and the objections of Dr Martineau in his "Types of Ethical Theory" must be allowed to have considerable force. Still, the view of Norris has certainly commended itself to many minds, and remains at least fairly tenable. But though the ideas exist in God, we are not to conceive of them as created by him; they are as Eternal as Himself. Norris

points out the bearing of this doctrine upon Christian Theology. "Though the Divine ideas have an emanative result, as I may call it, from the essence of God, yet they are not the creatures of His understanding or of His will, which by the way may intimate to us what relation they stand in to Him of whom we are taught to say in our more solemn creed, 'not made nor created but begotten.'"

"Ideas as being in God are God." But the Logos is also God. 'He is indeed the great Idea and Exemplar of the whole creation, and the true intelligible world, and as the Divine Ideas themselves give us a fair designation of His Person, so their necessary emanation from the All-perfect and All-being nature of God, do as well express His Eternal but ineffable generation.'" This leads Norris to consider the relation of the Divine Ideas to "the formation of the natural and sensible world" and the function of the Eternal word or Logos in creation.

His reasoning is abstruse and difficult of comprehension, but his general idea appears to be that the part of the Logos was, as Mr Powicke puts it in his marginal analysis, "not to make but to model." The ideas are not only "Exemplars or patterns in creation, or first production of things," they stand in the same relation to "all successive generations of them." "Through them (which is the same thing as saying through the Word) the world is sustained as well as made."

Norris now enters into a comparison of the two worlds with the object of showing that "the existence of the intelligible world is more certain than that of the sensible." His reasoning rests on substantially the same grounds as those on which Berkeley founded his system. He assails the evidence of the senses as less certain than that of the reason; yet he does not believe that they "entirely abuse and deceive us," neither does he deny the real existence of the material world. Still, it is evident that much in his line of thought leads logically to Berkeley's conclusions. As Mr Powicke puts it, "matter for Norris was a logical impropriety. It was a dead weight on his system which he did not dare to cut off."

Norris next considers the ideal world in relation to Eternal Truths, which he regards as resulting inevitably from the Divine Ideas. "Eternal truths must be resolved into the essence and substance of God." He controverts the position of Descartes, "who will have all truth to be positively ordained and established by God, so that according to him, two and two might not have been four or the three angles of a triangle might not have been equal to two right angles." Here we light upon a perennial topic of controversy, and one, as Mr Powicke says, of "vital importance," and Norris champions with vigour and ability the side to which our moral feelings naturally incline.

The second part of the treatise, though larger in size than the first, is not so intrinsically important for the understanding of Norris's views and theories. He states his object to be "to see whether upon our ideal foundations, we can give an account of the true manner of human understanding, or, at least, erect an intelligible system of it. The questions he propounds for resolution are: (1) Of what is thinking a function? (2) How do we think?

Thought, he decides, cannot be ascribed to matter; it must be the property of spirit. He next engages in a long discussion as to the nature of thought, in which the complicated divisions and subdivisions are rather bewildering; thought being classified under a great number of different heads, as formal and objective, reflex and direct, of perception and volition, active and passive, simple and complex, clear and confused, pure and impure.

We are enjoined to distinguish our objects of knowledge as absolute or relative to us. The former are comprehended by a "real presence." "God is immediately intelligible, not absolutely as to degree and extent of knowledge, but as to immediateness." Ideas and Eternal truths are also classed as self-revealing. Objects of relative knowledge are either in or out of the mind; "things in the mind are not our ideas but our thoughts (*i.e.*, acts of thinking), of whatever kind they be." Things out of the mind, *i.e.*, material objects, are seen by the mediation of ideas. Nothing in the world of matter can be immediately perceived by itself.

The last point to be considered is how men derived their ideas. Here Norris closely follows Malebranche, and adopting the classification of the latter, specifies six possible theories of the origin of ideas, deciding in favour of the view that the "ideas whereby we understand are the divine ideas." In fact, we may be said to see all things in God. Norris winds up by stating "some of the advantages to religion and morality, which may be inferred from the theory." Such in outline is his "ideal system."

He cannot be said to have much matter that is absolutely original. His general line of thought is the same as that of the Cambridge Platonists, and he has been styled the last of the school. He cannot be placed on an equal footing with such men as Cudworth and More, and his biographer makes no such claim for him. But he often displays great freshness and vigour in the handling of his subjects; and the peculiar position which he occupies as one who was led to mystical conclusions by a process of logical reasoning, would alone render him worthy of attention. And the questions with which he was occupied, are, as Mr Powicke truly said, though under different names, "just as living and pressing to-day as they ever were. These questions are of perennial interest, and are the vital breath of philosophy." R. SEYMOUR LONG.

The Riddle of the Universe.

*By Edward Douglas Fawcett. London: Edward Arnold.
8vo, pp. xvi. 440. Price, 14s.*

THIS book, like a great many others, is stronger on its negative than on its positive side. It is distinctly able, and gives evidence of much industrious reading—logical, psychological, and metaphysical. The first part of it is critical, and is concerned with the metaphysical views of the leading European thinkers from Descartes to Von Hartmann. The second part is constructive, albeit incidentally critical, inasmuch as it assails materialism, agnosticism, destructive idealism, University philosophy, theology, and the defective side of modern mysticism. With Part I. we are in general agreement, and think that, within the limited space, an uncommonly good account has been given of the great philosophies passed under review. There is nowhere any surfeit of detail; but each system, in so far as relevant to the end in view, is briefly stated, lucidly explained, and canvassed with insight. We are also in general harmony with Mr Fawcett in his analysis and criticism of the various *isms* of Part II., and are specially impressed with his handling of Materialism. The sole criticism we should be disposed to urge has reference to his treatment of Pessimism. He appears to us to have drawn the present life in far too dark colours, even though the intention may be the pious one of proving the necessity of a future life or lives. It is never well to exaggerate; but it is ever well, in this matter of pessimism, to remember that there are many optimists, or at any rate meliorists, among philosophers, who have found the reason of their faith in the very facts of the present life, apart altogether from considerations of a hereafter, or even from the facts and experiences of religion. Where, however, we separate from Mr Fawcett entirely is when he comes to the handling and critique of Theism, and to his own presentation of the doctrine that is to supersede Theism. He is an idealist—which we can quite well appreciate. His idealism is founded on a monadology—which we can also understand. But when, further, he proceeds to place behind his monadology, “no conscious individual,” but the impersonal self-actualizing Metaconscious, which, as *prius*, is “the abysmal black night whence individuals, and with them consciousness, uprise,” and which in the end emerges as the Deity, “no individual,” however, “but a republic of interpenetrative individuals, a Being with myriads of eyes, every one of which is itself a Deity,” we feel that he is simply feeding us with “words, words, words.” If atheism, pantheism, theism, and agnosticism can be synthesized only thus, we are afraid that the riddle of the universe remains un-

solved. In like manner, we are in disagreement with Mr Fawcett in his doctrine of the persistence of the individual. Palingenesis may be logical corollary from the Metaconscious ; but it raises more difficulties than it removes. We cannot allow Reason to be swamped by "mystic insight,"—at least, not in philosophy, though it may be otherwise in poetry.

WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

Man an Organic Community.

By John H. King. In Two Volumes. London and New York : Williams & Norgate. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 327 and 328. Price, 15s.

THIS is a biological, not a metaphysical, work ; though the title might, not unnaturally, suggest the latter. It is occupied with illustrating and working out the principle that "the Human Personality in all its phases in Evolution, both co-ordinate and discordinate, is the multiple of many sub-personalities" : in other words, "that the human personality is a co-ordination or growth combination of many differentiated distinct sub-personalities, and that these sub-personalities in like manner consist of aggregates of lower class differentiations, until we arrive at the primary constituents of organisms, the free-moving granules of plasma." That the workmanship is competent, though the literary style might be greatly improved, cannot be disputed. The facts of embryology and evolution are marshalled with skill ; and the vast mass of physiological and pathological material that is here brought together is deftly manipulated to the end in view. Yet, the question *will* arise, "Is the biological problem the whole problem in the case ? or must we not rather supplement the biological facts with a metaphysical foundation ?" To us, the answer is not doubtful ; and the very imperfections which Mr King himself feels to adhere to his handling at critical points, and the unsolved problems of life that he glances at in his Appendix, show that more has to be done than is here attempted before the position that man is an organic community can be fully understood. Philogenesis, ontogenesis, and all the other "geneses" notwithstanding, Personality is not simply biological ; and Evolution—being merely a method, though a most significant one—cannot dispense with the deeper truth that itself presupposes, but does not formulate. Nevertheless, as a clear and wonderfully exhaustive statement of the grounds for holding that the Human Personality is a derivation from, "and betimes reversionary representation of, animal characteristics, both mental and organic, thus implying their oneness of origin," Mr King's work is

to be commended, and, particularly, in its treatment of abnormal disordinate states. We expected, indeed, to hear more of Weismann than we do, and to have some reference to Romanes; but the authorities consulted cover a large range, and the information is well up to date. Only once or twice—say, in the references to “sarcode”—did we feel as though we were thrown back to the Natural History classroom of twenty years ago.

WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

History of the Philosophy of History.

By Robert Flint, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France; Honorary Member of the Royal Society of Palermo; Professor in the University of Edinburgh, &c. Vol. I.—Historical Philosophy in France and French-Belgium and Switzerland. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1893. 8vo, pp. xxvii. 706. Price 21s.

“Too swift arrives too tardy as too slow” is the appropriate motto prefixed to this book. No weightier addition has been made to Scottish literature in our time by a Scottish theologian; nor has any more important contribution to historical philosophy come in recent years from any scholar, whether native or foreign. It is because the work is the ripe result of patience and self-control that this can be said of it. In a time of hasty production, when men are tempted to court recognition by cultivating the smaller arts of literary popularity, or by striving after things novel and surprising, this book is a conspicuous example of study long protracted, of publication long restrained, of a method entirely sane and unpretentious, of a style utterly free of anything strained or adventitious. It is the first instalment toward the final completion of a purpose formed over twenty years ago, and persevered in with strenuous constancy ever since. Impressed from his youth with the grandeur of the history of mankind as the greatest of all studies, Professor Flint made his first attempt on any large scale to describe and value men’s thoughts on that subject so far back as 1874. This was done in his book entitled “The Philosophy of History in France and Germany,” which at once took high rank among works of its kind. The present volume is a new beginning in the execution of the same project, taking up the old study on a still larger scale, on a better plan, and with the advantage of wider knowledge and more prolonged reflection.

The former volume dealt both with France and with Germany. This one limits itself mainly to the survey of French thoughts, and finds in that more than enough for its crowded pages. It is to be

followed by other volumes, the materials for which are gathered. The scheme of the work is to trace the course of historical philosophy along the national channels, giving a review of what has been done in this department of enquiry by the several peoples who have achieved most distinction in it. These are the French, the Germans, the Italians, and the English. A fourfold division, therefore, is adopted. The currents of thought are to be followed in each of these nations separately. Belgian and Swiss literature, however, is to be taken along with French; Dutch together with German; and American in conjunction with English. In this first volume, accordingly, after an elaborate and valuable introduction, in which he discusses the idea, scope, and method of his subject, the origins of historical narrative, the growth of history towards a scientific stage, and the value of the speculations and achievements of Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, and Ibn Khaldun, Professor Flint concentrates our attention on the Philosophy of History in France. Commencing with a short sketch of Medieval historiography, he notices the beginnings of historical Philosophy in Bodin, and from that traces the progress of the study through the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. No name of any importance is omitted, no work with any claims to notice is left without exposition and criticism. Those writers who have exercised the greatest influence on the course of reflection, and made the most characteristic contributions in each particular period, are reviewed at length and their distinctive positions carefully determined. Among these special consideration is given to Bossuet for the seventeenth century, and to Montesquieu, Turgot, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Condorcet for the eighteenth. The nineteenth century is so much richer that it has to be dealt with in sections. The Ultramontanist and Liberal Catholic Schools are taken by themselves, the former as represented by De Maistre, De Bonald, and De Lamennais, the latter by Gratry. The Socialistic Schools, the Spiritualistic Movement, the Democratic Historical School, the Naturalistic and Positivist Schools, the Critical School, and the Historical Philosophy of Belgium and Switzerland, are next examined in succession. In connection with these we have reasoned statements of the positions of representative men like St Simon, Buchez, Leroux, Le Blanc, Cousin, Jouffroy, Guizot, Javary, De Tocqueville, Michelet, Quinet, Comte, Littré, Taine, Cournot, Renouvier, Altmeyer, Vinet, Secretan, De Rougemont, and others. The immense field is exhaustively surveyed. Its vast riches are most skilfully unlocked. The wealth of matter is so great, the names which come under review are so many, that the book almost defies criticism. Only one who has read as extensively and thought as carefully as the author has done, could undertake a critical estimate of the volume as a whole. But by what Professor Flint

says of the few thinkers with whom one can claim some measure of acquaintance, we can judge of the worth of the accounts given of the multitude of writers, great and small, familiar and unfamiliar, who are made to pass under our eye in these learned and instructive pages.

① Something may be said, however, of the scheme of the book and the general conception which is formed of its subject. In constructing his History on what may be called the *national* plan in preference to the *universal*, Professor Flint lays himself open to obvious criticism. It seems most reasonable for the historian of the Philosophy of History to give the movement of thought, from its beginnings along the entire line of its progress, as it can be traced, stage by stage, not merely in a particular nationality, but in humanity as a whole. And that is the principle which has been accepted by some, of whom Rocholl is perhaps the most recent example. To follow the history along the course which it has pursued in each of the leading nations by itself is not only to risk the loss of unity and to lead to needless repetition, but to disturb the historical view by allowing too much to the influence of nationality and too little to that of collective civilisation. It is not because he does not recognise the force of these objections that Professor Flint adopts the other scheme. He admits that to give a complete review of the intellectual movement all the world over, from epoch to epoch, is theoretically the better plan. But he urges the difficulty of carrying it out. The rupture of unity, he thinks, will be greater on this scheme than on the other, the historian having to pass from country to country in a confusing and discontinuous fashion. The difficulty is increased, he points out, by the circumstance that the great mass of the history in question belongs to the last sixty or seventy years. Having tried the *general* or *universal* scheme, and found it impracticable in his hands, he has decided for the other. All will admit that he has made splendid work of it, and that, as he treats it, it not only yields satisfactory results for the immediate subject, but has the recommendation of enlarging our understanding of the intellectual development of the several nations themselves. We cannot but feel, nevertheless, that serious disadvantages attach to this scheme, and that the other, if it were handled with equal ability, should give us the completer and more continuous view—all the more that the sense in which the great peoples of the ancient world made *nations* is so different from the modern idea of nationality. These disadvantages will be so far remedied if the description of the particular national developments is followed by a general review of their characteristics and relationships, and an exposition of the nature of the universal movement of which they form parts. But the fact that it is confessed to be necessary to supplement the

history proper by this general review tells against the scientific fitness of the scheme.

Another point which may seem doubtful is the ~~intermingling~~ of the ~~critical with the historical~~ in a book which takes the title of a *History of the Philosophy of History*. Professor Flint commences his task with the announcement that his aim is both critical and historical. His first object is to give an objective account of what men have thought from time to time on the great subject of the life and progress of humanity. Men's ideas, he rightly contends, are not less fit and proper subjects for historical treatment than men's acts. To give a survey of men's reflections on man's history is a work which can never be uninteresting or unprofitable, and at present it is both opportune and of great value. In many respects it is pre-eminently in harmony with the tendencies of the time. But to be effectual it must be beyond the suspicion of partiality or bias. It may be questioned whether two faculties so unlike as the critical and the historical can exist in proper balance in one and the same mind, and the fear is natural that the judgments of the critic may colour and deflect the historical statement. Professor Flint is not blind to this danger. He speaks of it, indeed, as "almost ludicrous" to expect anything to be gained by a mixture of the criticisms of the historian with his historical survey in the case of the history of philosophy or theology. But he conceives that the danger is much less in the case of a "comparatively recent and comparatively limited department of knowledge," like the one in question. There is no doubt force in this. Yet all will depend on the success with which the two things, the objective account and the judgments passed on the merit or demerit of the various matters which make it up, are kept distinct, and prevented from intruding into each other's province. Professor Flint has strenuously striven to preserve the impartiality of the historian, although he pronounces on the worth of each man's work that comes within his view, and he will be allowed to have succeeded in this to a rare degree. His pages on men like Rousseau, Voltaire, Comte, and Renouvier are a witness to this. 2

Of far greater importance is it, however, to see what idea Professor Flint has of *History*, and what conception, consequently, he takes of the task to which he sets himself. He notices the ambiguity which is so apt to arise from the double sense given to the term *history*, as expressing at once a form of literature and an order of facts. But he notices it only to say of it that there are advantages in the use of the one term for these two distinct things, and that these advantages more than counterbalance the dangers of ambiguity. He has a habit, indeed, of finding something desirable in the undesirable, and some compensation in acknowledged

awkwardnesses. His purpose, however, being neither to give a History of history nor to attempt a Historic, the term *history* has for him the second sense, and the question is, With what breadth of meaning does he take it? He speaks of it as covering "all that man has suffered, thought, and executed—the entire life of humanity—the whole movement of societies." Many definitions of History have been constructed—some wider than this, some more precise. In defending his own view Professor Flint states and criticises several of the more notable conceptions of History which have taken a different form. His remarks on these are acute and interesting. He has the faculty of putting his hand quickly and convincingly upon their vulnerable points. Some of them, indeed, are easy to dispose of. The definition given, for example, by the Dictionary of the French Academy is at once rejected as "narrow and superficial," and rightly so. For if History is simply "le récit des choses dignes des mémoires," it has no room for the small and the commonplace, which yet make the bulk of man's life and of the movement of society. M. Bourdeau's view of it as "la science des développements de la raison," and Professor Bernheim's that it is "the science of the development of men in their working as social beings," are also justly set aside as too "limited"; the former because, though it has the merit of fixing on the main thing in human history, it overlooks the operation of other things beside reason; the latter because its terms themselves require explanation. It is different, however, with the definitions offered by three distinguished Englishmen, Dr Arnold, Mr Freeman, and Bishop Creighton. Professor Flint joins in the general commendation of Arnold's definition of History as "the biography of a society," but objects to it at the same time on the ground that biography is not necessarily a "more general notion than history." Mr Freeman's sentence, "history is past politics, and politics are present history," is held to give a view of it which is both illogical and arbitrary. The *via media* between the restrictions of Mr Freeman's description and more general definitions, such as that adopted in the present volume, is taken by Bishop Creighton, who regards History as "the record of human action, and of thought only in its direct influence upon action." But Professor Flint, with some reason, asks why the development of human thought should be supposed to be intelligible apart from that of action or the development of human action apart from that of thought. There is force, it must be admitted, in his criticisms of these counter-definitions. His own way of expressing it has the advantage of breadth, if it lacks the note of perfect precision. And as things stand, he is probably right in not only not attempting anything more exact, but in thinking that to make such attempt would be useless and misleading.

Is History then, as thus understood, to be regarded as a Science or as a Philosophy? Here again Professor Flint takes ground of his own, and gives good reason for so doing. In the first place, he strongly asserts the right of History to rank as a Science, and his book contains nothing better than its statements on this subject. They are concise, but admirably clear and determinate. The contentions of men like Goldwin Smith, who regard History as a Philosophy, but not as a Science, and of those numerous writers in whose view mathematical and physical studies alone are entitled to the dignity of sciences, are decisively repudiated. In our author's view, of all the ways "in which it has been proposed to draw a rigid line of separation between science and philosophy, this of treating all physical studies as sciences, and all mental studies as philosophy, is probably the worst." We are entirely at one with him in his attitude on this question, and in the reasoning by which he justifies it. Why should it be said that mental phenomena are outside the reign of law, and that history, because it deals largely with such phenomena, is no science? Why should it be assumed that the connection of phenomena is one thing in the physical world and another in the intellectual? Why should it be asserted that there is no such thing as causation in the latter, or that, if causation can be predicated of it in any sense, it must be in another sense than holds good for the former. The genius of one great system of theology at least is on the other side. It would be interesting to have Professor Flint's views of Calvinism in this connection. He points out how "historical connection is often as strictly causal as chemical or biological connection"; and he makes the pertinent remark that "intelligent defenders of free agency do not oppose it to causation, but represent it as the highest type of causation." This is really the quick of the problem. Once grant that causation is not operative in the region of will, and the whole world of mental phenomena passes out of the sphere of law, and history ceases to be a science. But it is not necessary to make this concession in order to vindicate man's free will and responsibility, and to speak of results as uncaused, or but partially caused in the mental world, is to surrender the idea of the life of mankind as a movement of reason, certainty, and order, not of the fortuitous or capricious. "The notion," says Professor Flint, not too strongly, "that historical results are connected with their antecedents, yet uncaused or only partially caused events, is almost too unreasonable for discussion. Results or events not fully caused are no more conceivable in the moral and social world, than in the mechanical and physical world."

But while thus vindicating with the utmost energy the right to speak of history as a science, he dissents from those who would

dispense with its claim to the name of a philosophy. A true science, he holds, can no more be separated from philosophy than a genuine philosophy can be dissociated from science. In the case of history the only way of distinguishing between the science and the philosophy which he sees to be valid, is to regard the former as conversant with "the course, plan, and laws of history itself," and the latter as occupied with "the relations of causation and affinity which connect history with other departments of existence and knowledge." But these two things appear to him to be so akin to each other that the need or propriety of taking the one apart from the other can very seldom arise. He prefers, therefore, to speak at once of the *science* and the *philosophy* of history. In this, too, he seems to us to be right, for if history is admitted to have laws of its own, there must surely be a science to seek these out and exhibit them; and if it does not stand absolutely apart, there must be a philosophy to unfold its relations to other things, and define its position in the system of the universe.

This, then, is the conception of History with which Professor Flint takes up his task. It is a large, scientific conception, which makes History co-extensive with the entire life of mankind, and interprets it as a movement ruled by law, standing in relation to the entire system of things, and embracing in it all that goes to make man's life and progress—the small as well as the great, the social, political, and industrial, as well as the mental, moral, and spiritual.

With masterly hand he describes how the leaders of thought have striven, from age to age, to interpret the life of humanity, with what different eyes they have looked upon the story of mankind, how small were the beginnings of a constructive view of it, how limited the first ideas which were formed of the study which is now named the science or the philosophy of history, how impossible it was for the pre-Christian world to rise to any adequate conception of it, how vast was the influence exerted on it by the entrance of Christianity with its new ideas, how circumscribed even the Christian conception of it was at the first and for long centuries, and how slowly it has come to be recognised that the story of industrial, political, and economical effort and action are essential elements of the problem.

Among the best things in the Introduction we should rank the discussions of the great ideas of *progress*, *unity*, and *freedom*. The connection of these ideas with the advance of history towards a scientific stage, partly as its cause, partly as its consequence, is most lucidly stated; while the growth of these ideas themselves, and the forms which they took, or failed to take, in the civilisations of the old world, the speculations of the old philosophies, and the various

stages of Christian belief and practice, are traced with skilful touch. Sometimes the condensation which has to be cultivated in the execution of so large a project leaves us in some doubt whether we can wholly assent to Professor Flint's readings of particular parts of his vast subject. When he speaks, for example, of the religion of Israel as in its very nature a "religion of the future, a religion of life," and yet adds that there is "no evidence of the ancient Jews having attained to a conscious apprehension of the idea of progress," and that there is "no distinct enunciation of that idea in the Old Testament," we should like to see how he adjusts this to the Old Testament conception of the Kingdom of God. But his generalisations seldom lack solid and obvious ground.

The book rescues many a name from undeserved oblivion, and sets many more in a new light. What is said of Ibn Khaldun will give a fresh interest to all that can be learned of a great Mohammedan genius. Ample justice, we rejoice to see, is done to men like Cousin and Guizot, who have been thrust too much into the background of late. The appreciations of classical writers like Herodotus, Sallust, Thucydides, Polybius; of men of older Christian times, like Augustine, Bede, Matthew Paris, Roger Bacon; of modern authorities, like De Tocqueville, Quinet, and Sainte Beuve, will be valued by all, and most by those who know these writers best.

But it is impossible to do more than indicate in this rough way the quality and tenor of a book which is so crowded with things of unusual worth. If Professor Flint completes the project which he has so nobly begun, as we trust he may be able to do, he will enrich the literature of his country by one of the best contributions which have been made to it in our century.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Versuch einer Reconstitution des Deborahlieds.

Von Carl Niebuhr. Berlin: Nauck, 1894. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 48. M. 1.50.

HERR CARL NIEBUHR'S *brochure* is probably unique among recent contributions to Old Testament criticism. Germany, at least—the fountainhead of many a startling theory—has produced nothing more extravagant in the way of literary and historical criticism than this attempted "Reconstitution" of the Song of Deborah. In its present form it cannot *on account of the Aramaisms* it contains be older than the half century preceding the fall of Samaria (p. 9). But in the interval between this date and its original composition,

the Song has become so mangled as to be almost unrecognisable. Thus, if we would know how the Song began, we have a choice "between verses 2, 3, 4, 6, and 12!" Of these, in Herr Niebuhr's opinion, the first is last, and the last first; in other words, we must begin with v. 12. But his arbitrary re-arrangement of the verses is less startling than the new setting he gives to the original Song. In the first place, Deborah, "the mother in Israel," is no woman, prophetess or other, but the city Dabareh of Joshua xxi. 28, which had placed itself at the head of coalition of the neighbouring cities and tribes. In the second place, Sisera is an Egyptian prince, Sesu-Ra, "the last descendant in the female line" of the famous Khuenaten, the heretic king of the eighteenth dynasty! Of course in that case the Song is quite wrong in making Sisera flee northwards; he must have set his face Egyptwards, and in accordance therewith the home of Jael must be sought in the Negeb. And so on and so on. If the text does not suit the theory, so much the worse for the text, or as the author naïvely remarks in his characteristic *Vorwort*, "And thus the possibly unscientific way out of the difficulty had to be adopted of altering the shoe where it did not fit the foot"! As may be inferred even from his title, our author possesses a style and vocabulary of his own which does not conduce to the lucidity of his argument.

ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY.

Die falschmünzerische Theologie Albrecht Ritschls und die christliche Wahrheit. Allen Christgläubigen gewidmet durch Johannes Claravellensis.

Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. 200. Price, M. 2.40.

Zur Symbolfrage. Zwei Abhandlungen von D. E. Chr. Achelis, ord. Prof. d. Theol. an d. Universität Marburg.

Berlin: H. Reuther. 8vo, pp. 88. Price, M. 1.

Eine Antwort auf des Herrn Prof. Dr Adolf Harnack "Apostolisches Glaubensbekenntniss," von G. Fr. Chr. Bauerfeind.

Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. 28. Price, Pf. 60.

THE pamphlets above named are all contributions to controversies arising out of the Ritschlian movement in Germany.

The first of the three, on *The Spurious Theology of A. Ritschl and Christian Truth*, is a strongly-worded attack on Ritschl's own theology, in which the writer sees a true "poison-tree" on German

soil, and work of the "serpent," the "base-coinage" of which (the author's metaphors are rather mixed) he sets himself to expose. The standpoint is that of strict orthodoxy. The headings are:—I. Ritschl and Religion in General; II. Ritschl and Theology; III. Ritschl and Holy Scripture; IV. God and His Kingdom; V. Reconciliation, Justification, and Sanctification; VI. Church, Pietism, and Mysticism. As the author's method leads him to extract and quote the leading passages in Ritschl's writings on all these topics, and this is done with considerable method and completeness, the pamphlet may be found useful by many who do not agree with its criticisms.

The other two pamphlets arise out of the controversy on the "Apostolicum" at present being waged in Germany as the outcome of the decision in the "case of Schrempf"—a young pastor deposed for his inability to continue the use of this symbol (the Apostle's Creed) in the offices of the Church. That by Achelis, colleague of Herrmann at Marburg, on *The Question of the Symbols*, consists of two papers, one on the nature of the obligation of the symbols, and the other on the worth of the "Apostolicum" in the usage of the Church. While apparently fairly orthodox in personal conviction, Achelis sides in the main with the Ritschlians in their view of the use of the symbols. He rejects the "juristic" and what he calls the "Biblical" view of the obligation of the creeds—meaning by the latter their authority in so far as they agree with Scripture. For this still leaves it undetermined what is Scriptural and what is not. There remains only the kind of obligation which answers to the idea of "evangelical faith" (p. 30). He tells a story out of one of Spurgeon's sermons of a shepherd boy who was received to communion on the ground of his simple confession: "I know only that I am a sinner, and that the Lord Jesus has saved me." He would have all articles in symbols tested by relation to this simple confession of faith. On this account he would leave such articles as that of the miraculous conception open questions. He rather weakens his position, however, by declaring his own conviction that the miraculous conception is an indispensable presupposition of the sinlessness of Christ (p. 33). The second paper is on the same lines, and was called forth by a semi-official declaration in a Church organ that the miraculous conception "is the foundation of Christianity; the corner-stone on which all wisdom of this world is shattered." Against this Achelis protests, and discusses the general question of the worth of the "Apostolicum," which he regards as in no proper sense a confession of evangelical faith, but which he would retain in the use of the Church for the sake of what the believing people (with Luther's aid) have learned from their own faith to put into it.

The remaining pamphlet is *An Answer to Professor Harnack on the Apostle's Creed*, by an aged superintendent—eighty years old—who, not without learning and ability, traverses Harnack's contentions as to the history of the Apostolic symbol, and endeavours to vindicate its substantial Apostolic origin.

JAMES ORR.

Original Notes on the Book of Proverbs, mostly from Eastern Writings.

By the Rev. S. C. Malan, D.D., late Vicar of Broadwindsor, Dorset. Vol. iii., chaps. xxi.-xxxi. London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, 603 pages. 12s.

THIS goodly volume completes a work which anew bears witness to the untiring industry and varied learning of its accomplished author, who here presents his readers with the results of labour lovingly bestowed on a worthy object during many years. The wealth of interesting material here collected and arranged is marvellous, and the work as a whole has been executed in a most praiseworthy fashion.

The plan of the book is simple. The common English translation ("Authorised Version") is taken as the basis of arrangement; but brief philological remarks regarding the Hebrew original and the older versions are usually made, when such notes may be required, regarding any word or expression in the verse or group of verses on which the succeeding comments are founded. These linguistic notes perhaps form the weakest portion of the whole, and are inferior in accuracy to those found in the better class of commentaries accessible even to English readers. But the main body of the work is composed of the material gathered from many sources and placed in the order determined by the subject-matter of the different verses. It is rather misleading, however, to call these illustrations of the Scriptures "original," inasmuch as the ordinary acceptance of this term surely warrants us to expect remarks by the author himself—independent observations on the subject-matter before him, expressed in language of his own. What we do receive instead is really a catena of parallels drawn from sacred books of the East, and from other literary monuments which, though not usually regarded as specially sacred, yet record the utterances of oriental sages regarding the same matters as are presented in our canonical Book of Proverbs; these gnomastic sentences are derived from Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Persian, Greek, Egyptian, and many other writers. All are presented in English dress; the Greek parallels, however, are also given in

their original garb. The collection thus formed is not merely interesting, but highly instructive and most stimulating.

Unintentionally, perhaps, but actually, this work forms an excellent contribution to the study of "comparative religion;" for the reader is here enabled to compare and contrast the choicest observations made by other Oriental sages with the sacred wisdom of the Hebrews. But as Christianity suffers nothing when compared with other religious systems, so the Book of Hebrew Scripture with which similar productions of other nations are here compared will be found distinctly and decidedly superior. Not to speak of the simple but surpassing grandeur of the Hebrew Proverbs distinctively religious, those on a somewhat lower plane, dealing with ordinary human conduct, display a dignity, terseness, and force which favourably contrast with the diffuseness—to say the least—that not unfrequently marks even the best utterances of the wise among other nations.

A good index of subjects would greatly enhance the usefulness of this valuable work.

JAMES KENNEDY.

Notices.

THE preparation of the volume on *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, the joint production of Messrs Abbey and Overton, naturally led to investigations which went beyond the period in question. The outcome of these researches is a volume by Canon Overton on *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*,¹ which will add considerably to our knowledge of the ecclesiastical condition at the beginning of our era. The period dealt with has the peculiar interest which belongs to a time of transition. The close of the previous century saw things at their lowest in the National Church. The opening of the present century marked the turn of the tide. The fact was scarce observable at first, and it took years to make itself visible and felt. But the new life which began to stir in other departments of English social existence in the train of the French Revolution, touched and vivified the Church also, and did it more deeply and more extensively than is sometimes allowed. Canon Overton shows how the change to better things set in, how it progressed, and what shapes it took in different sections of the Church. He begins with a review of the state of the Church generally at the commencement of the century; he next takes up in succession the "Orthodox," the "Evangelicals," and the "Liberals"; and he then

¹ *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century (1800-1833)*. By John H. Overton, D.D., Canon of Lincoln, &c. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 8vo, pp. 350. Price 14s.

proceeds to show how it stood with the Services and Fabrics of the Church, with Literature and Education, with the Church Societies, with the relations of Church and State, and finally with the question of Intercourse with other Churches. The inquiry is practically confined to the Church established by law, and it is, therefore, far from giving a complete picture of the condition of religion in the England of those years. But within these limits the book is not only rich in matter but wonderfully impartial in its estimates of men and parties. The sketches of men like Hugh James Rose, Christopher Wordsworth, John Venn, W. Wilberforce, William Paley, and others of different schools, are done with manifest fairness as well as with ample knowledge. There is perhaps a tendency to underrate the influence of the Liberal School. But Whately and Arnold are appreciated, and justice is done to the more serious side of Sydney Smith. The volume is of value for the view which it gives us of the circumstances that led to the Oxford Movement. It is of even greater value for the proof which it furnishes that, low as the condition of things was in the English Church at the beginning of the century, it was not so low as it has sometimes been painted.

The volume on *The Theology of the New Testament*¹ makes a valuable addition to the *Theological Educator* series. The matter is dealt with in two great divisions, *The Teaching of Jesus* and *The Theology of the Apostles*, with subdivisions. There are some points to which exception may be taken, particularly the exposition of the doctrine of the Last Things. Both Christ's teaching and Paul's on the Resurrection and Eternal Life, when they are taken in their due relation to the Old Testament conceptions of *life* and *death*, mean more than is made of them here. But the book throughout is an exceedingly lucid, compact, and informing summary, interestingly written, and sure to be of great use to the student. It is one of the very best volumes of the series to which it belongs, its statement of our Lord's teaching on the *Kingdom of God* and His own *Person*, the account which it gives of Paul's doctrine of *Redemption*, and its whole treatment of the *Johannine Type*, are especially good. But in point of fact, the volume, as a whole, is remarkable for the amount of carefully-studied and tersely-put matter which is packed into it.

The late Prebendary Scrivener's edition of the Greek New Testament,² prepared for the Syndics of the Cambridge University

¹ By Walter F. Adeney, M.A., Professor of New Testament Introduction, History, and Exegesis, New College, London. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Fcap. 8vo, pp. vii. 248. Price 2s. 6d.

² The New Testament in the Original Greek, according to the Text followed in the Authorised Version, together with the Variations adopted in the Revised Version. New Edition. Cambridge, at the University Press. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 658. Price 4s. 6d.

Press, appears in a new form. The changes are few. Spaced type, however, is used instead of thicker type, to indicate readings which were not adopted by the Revisers. The printing, and the whole form of the book, are all that could be desired, and will secure for it a new career of usefulness and acceptance.

Under the title of *Our Christian Passover*,¹ the Rev. C. A. Salmond publishes a Bible-Class Primer on the Lord's Supper. It is intended to be a "guide for young people in the serious study" of the subject. In a style well adapted to the object in view, it expounds the ordinance in its origin and interest, its sacramental meaning, its uses, and its names. It gives, at the same time, some direct and useful counsels on what should be in the communicant's view before, during, and after the act of communion.

The Hebrew Twins, a Vindication of God's Ways with Jacob and Esau,² is the title given to a volume by the late Samuel Cox. The fourteen discourses in which the main incidents in these two lives are expounded have all the qualities by which the departed author made himself so favourably known. The volume is enriched by a Prefatory Memoir by his wife, which gives us an attractive picture of a good man who triumphed over difficulties which might have discouraged him, and struck out a field of usefulness for himself which won him a high place among the religious writers of his day.

The new series of translations projected by Messrs Williams and Norgate begins well with Weizsäcker's *Apostolic Age*.³ The form of the volume is handsome, and in every way a great advance on what the former series offered. The book itself which opens the new venture is of great interest, and the work of the translator has been done in a most satisfactory way. Than Weizsäcker there is no better representative of the second form of the Tübingen criticism. He has the advantage of the happy gift of a clear and pointed style, and he gives as persuasive a view of the Tübingen construction of primitive Christianity as is anywhere to be had. He is also thoroughly candid. The influence of Baur is strong upon him, but he goes his own way in many things. So he recognises Philipians and 1 Thessalonians as Pauline, and Colossians and Philemon as having claims in the same direction. He gives also a greatly mitigated view of the differences in the primitive Church. He is best, perhaps, in his exposition of the Theology of the Pauline

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 94. Price 6d.

² London: T. Fisher Unwin. Cr. 8vo, pp. xl. 259. Price 6s.

³ The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church. By Carl von Weizsäcker, Professor of Church History in the University of Tübingen. Translated from the second and revised edition, by James Millar, B.D. Vol. I. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. x. 405. Price 10s. 6d. (Subscription Price, 21s. for three volumes.)

writings. But his general view of early Christianity is dominated by the presuppositions of his master, and is in principle open to the objections which have told so heavily against many of Baur's contentions. He is vulnerable also in many particular points—his distrust of the Book of Acts among others. Yet his book has deservedly made its mark, and contains much that is just and instructive.

In committing the *Epistle to the Romans* to Principal Moule,¹ the editor of the *Expositor's Bible* has put it into competent and appreciative hands. Mr Moule knows the great Epistle as only one can know it who is entirely in sympathy with its doctrine. The Pauline teaching on the whole subject of human sin and Divine grace is expounded here, therefore, in all its breadth and depth. A translation is given, which is often very helpful by taking us out of the accustomed form of words, and due regard is had, as far as the limits of the book allow, to the niceties of New Testament Greek. But the strength of the volume is wisely given to exhibiting the broad truths on which the Apostle expends the force and fire of his reasoning, and which have formed the pith and marrow of the theology of the Reformation. The author is seen at his best when he deals with the sections in which the problems of Divine grace, in justifying and sanctifying, are more immediately in view. The book is a worthy addition to the long list of expositions of this loftiest of the Pauline Epistles.

By his volume on the *Epistles of St Peter*,² Professor J. Rawson Lumby makes another valuable contribution to the same series. The preface discusses briefly the literary questions connected with these Epistles, their historical attestation, and their internal characteristics. As to the Second Epistle, Professor Lumby expresses himself as not unwilling to believe that the doubts which the early Church entertained about its genuineness had been removed before it got a place among the other New Testament writings, and that these doubts would also be "cleared away for us could we hear all the evidence tendered before those who fixed the contents of the Canon." He notices also how a study of the recently discovered fragments of the *Gospel* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* tends to mark the Second Epistle as by contrast not unworthy of its place in the Canon. The exposition of the two Epistles is characterised throughout by insight into the thought of the writings and into the character of the reputed writer. The acknowledged difficulties in the exegesis are carefully considered. The paragraphs most disputed, those

¹ The Epistle of St Paul to the Romans. By Handley C. G. Moule, M.A., Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 437. Price 7s. 6d.

² London, Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xix. 374. Price 7s. 6d.

especially on the preaching to the *spirits in prison* and the *Gospel to the dead*, are handled with commendable caution and self-restraint.

Dr Alexander Whyte issues a second Series of Lectures on Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*,¹ which will be no less valued than the first. They have the same strong qualities of insight into all varieties of character, terse and often pungent expression, and the preacher's gift of bringing all home to the life and conscience of men and women of the present day. The pictures of Ignorance, the Flatterer, Mrs Timorous, and Mr Brisk, and Madam Bubble, not to speak of others, are drawn with great force. The better and sweeter characters, Great-heart himself, Old Honest, Standfast, Gaius, Mercy, are handled with admirable appreciation. The closing chapters on the Enchanted Ground, the Land of Beulah, and the Swelling of Jordan, are among the richest in a volume which is altogether racy in style, varied in its contents, and pointed in its applications of the great Dreamer's fancies to the church-goers of our own day.

In publishing in 1882 a separate edition of Athanasius's treatise *De Incarnatione*, Principal Robertson of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham, did a real service to students. This he followed up with an excellent translation in 1884, a second edition of which appeared in 1891. We have now a second edition of the Greek,² which differs from the former in giving up Montfaucon's text, which has hitherto been current, and adopting that of the best available manuscript, that known as the Codex Seguerianus. The book is most carefully prepared, and should be of much use to students of theology.

Canon Scott Holland's *God's City and the Coming of the Kingdom*³ will take high rank among recent volumes of Sermons. The theme is the Church of God as the subject around which, in the Canon's opinion, all religious discussions at present tend to turn. "Individualistic forms of belief have become impossible," he thinks, and the socialistic forces which are at work point more and more to a corporate Christian society. So he discourses on the Invisible City, the Visible City, the Worship of the City, the Life in the City, the Methods of the Kingdom's Growth, and the Story of the Kingdom's Coming. All is done with the power of strong conviction. A very high doctrine of the Church is advocated. The Christian Faith, it is asserted, is never contemplated by the Scriptures as "existing in

¹ Bunyan Characters. Lectures delivered in St George's Free Church, Edinburgh, by Alexander Whyte, D.D. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 307. Price 2s. 6d.

² St Athanasius on The Incarnation. The Greek Text edited for the use of Students. By Archibald Robertson, &c. London: David Nutt. 8vo, pp. xiii. 89. Price 3s.

³ London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvii. 342. Price 7s. 6d.

any other form than that of an organized society." But the book will be appreciated not only by those who agree with the author in his views of the Church, but by many who think differently on that subject; and the Society which Canon Scott Holland has in view seems to be one with the Catholic Priesthood, its Liturgy, its Sacraments, the Apostolic Succession, and the like. But the book has qualities which will make it appreciated even by those who think differently on these subjects.

The Archbishop of Canterbury publishes a number of Addresses delivered in the course of the third visitation of his diocese.¹ They deal with such practical matters as Church Legislation, Temperance, Patronage, Parish Councils, Education, as well as the larger questions of the Social Movement, the Critical Movement, Unreligious Philanthropy. On these things he gives much good counsel. The last of these Addresses speaks impressively of what the Church requires in Quietness, Orderliness, and Sincerity, in order that she may give the help which is demanded of her in solving the problems of the day. A volume of a somewhat different order comes from the Rector of the Church of the Epiphany in Washington.² It contains a series of Lectures in defence and explanation of the Christian Faith. It is written in an unaffected style and a modest spirit. It aims at disentangling Apologetics from irrelevant issues, and after touching the Theistic Foundation directs itself to the citadel of the faith—the Person and Claims of Christ.

Under the title of "Presbyterianism as a form of Church Life and Work,"³ we have a lecture which was delivered by Principal Rainy in October last in St Columba's Church, Cambridge. Avoiding the polemical and even the argumentative spirit, it gives a large and temperate statement of the main ideas which intelligent Presbyterians associate with Presbyterianism as a system of organisation and government. The great principles of the system, which express themselves in the parity of ministers, the conciliar form of Church government, the recognition of the unity of the Church, the value of Church Order, are treated here in a broad and luminous way, which makes their own reasonableness their best commendation.

Mr Waddy Moss, Tutor in Classics in Didsbury College, contributes a volume on Jewish History to the excellent series of *Books for Bible Students*.⁴ The volume does not profess to give more than

¹ *Fishers of Men*. By Edward White, Archbishop. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 167. Price 6s.

² *Christ and Modern Unbelief*. By Randolph Harrison M'Kim. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Cr. 8vo, pp. iv. 146.

³ Cambridge: Macmillan & Bowes. 8vo, pp. 23. Price 6d.

⁴ *From Malachi to Matthew*. London: Charles H. Kelly. Small crown 8vo, pp. xiv. 256. Price 2s. 6d.

a sketch of the history of Judea for the period in question—namely, 440 to 4 B.C. But the sketch is distinct, informing, and attractive. One can gather from this small volume a very good view of the movement of things in Judea during the Persian supremacy, and in the times of Alexander, the Ptolemies, the Seleucidae, and the Maccabean leaders on to Herod the Great. Excellent pictures are given of Judas Maccabeus, Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus.

Mr Blake continues his most helpful Chronological Study of the Prophets.¹ The present section, which is devoted to Ezekiel, is executed no less skilfully than the former divisions. It is an easier task, the amount of re-arrangement required to place these prophecies in the proper order of time being comparatively small. But all that is necessary is done with judgment and with adequate knowledge. After a brief introduction the text is given, and this is followed by the setting of the chapters in historical succession, by some instructive pages on the Religious Conceptions of Ezekiel, a Chronological Table, a Glossary, and abundant Indices.

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¹ How to read the Prophets. Being the Prophets arranged Chronologically in their historical setting, with Explanations and Glossary. By the Rev. Buchanan Blake, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 238. Price 4s.

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The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man.

By Henry Drummond. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1894.
8vo, pp. 1-444. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

THE interest of the subject and the well-known literary power, moral earnestness, and intensity of religious conviction of the author, will secure for this work a large amount of attention, more especially among a class whose training is not strictly scientific. Mr Drummond, however, from the almost certain popularity of the book, runs the risk of being much misunderstood. One section of his readers will be startled by some of his statements, because they cannot reconcile them with orthodox beliefs; while another section, including the more thoughtless minds, will imagine that the whole problem of the origin of man has been finally solved. On the one hand, not only the author's aim but his real thoughts and opinions may be misinterpreted, and, on the other, more importance may be attached to the book than would be claimed for it even by the author himself. This state of matters arises from the fact that the book cannot be strictly regarded as a contribution either to biological science or to theology. It is rather a brilliant exposition of certain ideas regarding the evolution of man with which all who have been following the drift of thought in recent years are more or less familiar. Such ideas, however, have not yet permeated the general mass of readers, more especially those of a theological turn of mind: to them the book will come with all the freshness of novelty, and on their minds it cannot fail to exercise an effect for good or evil.

The origin of man, from the time of Lamarck, has been a subject of intense speculative interest, although, no doubt, one may date the scientific existence of the development theory from the publication of Darwin's "Descent of Man" in 1871; at all events, it was this work that brought the subject in a straightforward manner before men of science. Since that time much has been written on the subject; and man as regards physical structure, mind, morals, language, sexual instincts, and social habits has been studied in the light of the theory of evolution. Professor Drummond is evidently well acquainted with the literature of the subject, as is shown by the apt quotations from authorities which he weaves into his argument, although we think that he sometimes is too credulous, and accepts as authenticated statements of fact much that is after all matter of opinion. Before we go further, it is only fair to express our admiration of the fearless way in which Professor Drummond accepts the doctrine of evolution and attempts to apply it to the solution of all

problems. No half-acceptance will satisfy him. It must be applied to the explanation of the rise of mind, of morals, and even of religion, and not to the evolution of man's body only. One law must run through the universe; evolution must be the one supreme explanation. It is unphilosophical to imagine gaps in the order of things, gaps at which a supernatural interference took place. The story is one of continuity, of progress from lower to higher forms, and of transitions from lower to higher states. Evolution, however, according to Professor Drummond, is the mode of God's working; it is the gradual unfolding of the Divine Plan as regards all things, physical, mental, moral, social, religious. This way of looking at the matter will not commend itself to many thorough-going evolutionists. There can be no doubt that a mechanical view of evolution is the one generally held, and that all the wondrous changes happening in the universe are regarded as the result of mechanical laws, working without purpose, which have their seat in the distribution of energy and the power and potency of matter.

There are three classes of thinkers who maintain very different attitudes to the theory of evolution as applied to the origin of man. First, a large and increasing number of men of science who accept the theory of evolution as the only adequate explanation, and who take refuge in agnosticism as regards all religious beliefs that are contrary to what they think the theory of evolution demands. Second, many scientific men, psychologists, and theologians who regard the theory as still on its trial, more especially as regards its application to the mental and moral development of man, but who, at the same time, consider that there is a strong presumption in its favour. These wisely suspend judgment on many questions, and thus they are able to maintain their religious beliefs with comparative equanimity. Lastly, there is a third class who view the theory of evolution with apprehension, partly because they fear it may be true, and partly because they think that if true it will destroy their faith. The first class will not accept Professor Drummond's attempt to engraft on the theory a supernatural element, and to give to the process the aspect of a Divine Plan. The book will not carry much weight with them because it is not new, so far as statement of fact is concerned, and they will look on it as another well-meant attempt to square things that cannot be squared. The last class will be alarmed at finding the teacher in a Theological College giving expression to views that they will deem opposed to their cherished convictions. The second class, however, will, in an unbiassed spirit, test both the statements of fact and the conclusions advanced in a book that has been written with so much perspicacity, enthusiasm, and devotion to an ideal.

In chapter i. there is an excellent account of the *Ascent of the Body*

as revealed by the study of embryology. We take exception, however, to the statement on p. 79 that the ova of different animals are practically identical. The dog, the elephant, the lion, the ape, do not begin in a house the same as man's. Certainly the highest microscopic powers can observe no marked distinction, although recently progress has been made in this direction, and we may be assured that physical differences exist. The future Being potentially is in the ovum, and small as the latter is, there is room enough for particles of matter that would in the one case build up a man and in the other a monkey. The story of the evolution of the embryo is told in admirable language.

Chapter ii., under the title of *The Scaffolding left in the Body*, gives a good statement of the argument from the occurrence in the body of vestigial organs that are not only of no use but of actual danger. These can only be explained by supposing that they represent organs that existed in remote ancestors. It is more dangerous to reason as to habits supposed to be derived from progenitors. Thus because, as Dr Louis Robinson found, a newly-born child hangs on to a stick with its little hands, it is hardly safe to assume that this is a habit derived from an arboreal relation who found his way among trees in the olden time. This clutching of a stick is simply a strong reflex action, easily excited in a child before its cerebral hemispheres have assumed that restraining function over lower centres that is called inhibitory. In early life the lower centres are less under control and are more easily excited, so that a newly-born child behaves something like a decapitated frog, and a physiological explanation is possible without reference to the arboreal personage.

Professor Drummond is almost too anxious to disown relationship with any existing ape, and, like Mr Darwin himself, in the *Descent*, he carefully warns us against such a view. No doubt the warning is needed; but for our part we would rather be related to some of the Simians we have seen than to a gruesome creature presumed to have existed in a primeval forest, the progenitor of both man and ape! It is remarkable also that not a vestige of this wild monkey-man has yet been discovered.

The *Arrest of the Body* is treated in chapter iii. By this is meant that evolution has not made a better body than we find in man. This is generally true, and yet it is a statement that requires qualification. The body of man, as a whole, is not the most finished mechanism one can conceive, nor even the best that evolution could possibly produce. Apart from brain, the most finished body, considered as a mechanism, belongs perhaps to the felines. It may also be urged that no eye is optically perfect. Similar examples might be given. It is possible to conceive that the process of evolution might still improve on the body of man. This is

especially the case with the intricate structure of the brain, as admirably pointed out by Professor Drummond himself on p. 366. Professor Drummond makes an excellent point by showing that organic evolution is arrested when the mind teaches man how to increase his powers by mechanical or optical contrivances. This, however, presupposes mind, and some may object to bringing mental operations into the category of processes of evolution, especially when biological processes are under consideration. "The Mind discovered better methods, safer measures, shorter cuts. So the body learned to refer to it, then to defer to it." Quite true; but, then, whence came the mind? "Nature is full of new departures; but never since time began was there anything approaching in importance that period when the slumbering animal brain broke into intelligence, and the creature felt that it had a mind," p. 148. What a difficult question is suggested by these words! How unthinkable is the proposition that the "slumbering animal brain broke into intelligence"! Professor Drummond cuts this knot with a hatchet. He gives no explanation, because probably he felt that no explanation is possible. Still it is one of his points. Mind has dawned, and "once it was a physical universe, now it is a psychical universe." One is inclined to say that here there is some confusion of language. A psychical universe could only exist in a mind, but the physical universe, the counterpart, the other side of the shield, still existed.

In chapter iv. Professor Drummond discusses the *Origin of Mind*. His notion seems to be that in some mysterious manner the elements of a future Mind were associated with animal matter, and that at last the animal became self-conscious. At the same time, he guards himself against the materialistic view that mind is the outcome of operations occurring in matter. Thus: "Instinct is linked with matter, but it is not therefore material; intellect with animal matter, but it is not therefore animal." The real question, however, is whether the human mind has arisen by any kind of genesis from the minds of the quadrumana, or rather from the animal that was the precursor of both man and the ape. It is well known that Mr Darwin answered this question in the affirmative, while Mr Wallace held the opposite view. Professor Drummond endeavours to minimise the weight of Mr Wallace's authority by stating that Mr Wallace only meant that the evolution of mind could not be accounted for by the action of the law of natural selection. We think Mr Wallace meant more than this, or, at all events, when he asserted that the mental faculties of man could not have been derived "from their rudiments in the lower animals, in the same manner and by the action of the same general laws as his physical structure has been derived," he practically admitted

that evolution could not alone account for the origin of mind. Professor Drummond himself evidently feels that he is here on dangerous ground, as shown by the sentence, "Should anyone feel it necessary either to his own view of Man or of the Universe to hold that a great gulf lies here, it is open to him to cling to his belief." The illustration he uses is not cogent, as few naturalists would admit that the *Mimosa* (sensitive plant) possesses sensation. Mere movement is no proof of the psychological condition termed a sensation. A sensation can only be a psychological condition, and to call a phenomenon which may be accounted for physically a sensation is inadmissible. We therefore demur to the sentence, "Man, in the last resort, has self-consciousness, *Mimosa* sensation; and the difference is qualitative as well as quantitative." The evidence adduced from the writings of George J. Romanes (whose loss we all now deplore) regarding the correspondence as to order in the evolution of the emotions in the animal series and in the development of the same emotions in a child, has always seemed to us to be untrustworthy, because of the great difficulty in the interpretation of the motor phenomena accompanying these emotions. How easy, for example, is it to make mistakes in interpreting the movements of a fish to mean jealousy, or of a bird to mean sympathy, and how impossible to refer to emotional states the movements of a child of three weeks old, especially if we are interested in the animals or in the child. Unintentionally, we interpret the movements by reading our own thoughts or emotional states into the creatures we happen to be watching. Mr Romanes was an excellent observer, but his work in the direction indicated was tentative, and it is hazardous to treat these observations as if they were on a par with the facts of comparative anatomy.

Professor Drummond's summary of the *Ethnological Evidence* is well worthy of perusal, and nowhere have we seen the main generalisations given with such clearness. The same remark may be made regarding chapter v., which treats of the *Evolution of Language*, although, of course, well-known objections may be urged against the "bow-wow" theory which Professor Drummond favours. Towards the close of the chapter Professor Drummond shows again his favourite tendency of tracing what he believes to be continuity. Language began with gestures, then came articulate sounds, then words and sentences; then man invented the art of shortly expressing the names of things and sounds by writing in its various degrees of development; then came the telegraph; then the telephone; and now man is striving after expression of thought by telepathic communications! We wish, for the sake of science, that he had omitted the latter imaginary mode of inter-communication, but possibly our objection may be attributed to prejudice! Near

the close of the chapter there is the following striking passage, that reveals Professor Drummond's ideal :—" If Evolution reveals anything, if science itself proves anything, it is that Man is a spiritual being, and that the direction of his long career is towards an ever larger, richer, and more exalted life. In the final problem of Man's being, the voice of science is supposed to be dumb. But this gradual perfecting of instruments, and, as each arrives, the further revelation of what lies behind in Nature, this gradual refining of the mind, this increasing triumph over matter, this deeper knowledge, this efflorescence of the soul, are ~~facts~~ which even science must reckon with. Perhaps, after all, Victor Hugo is right: 'I am the tadpole of an archangel.'"

Then comes a chapter on the *Struggle for Life*, in which Professor Drummond summarises the well-known facts on which this principle of evolution has been established. His amusing account of the origin of clubs, walking-sticks, spears, and weapons in general may be correct, but we doubt much if music had its origin in the twanging of the bows used by our ancestors in the chase. Professor Drummond has a good deal to say as to the character of the struggle, and, on the whole, he is inclined to regard it as not so awful as it looks. "With exceptions, the fight is a fair fight. As a rule there is no hate in it, but only Hunger. It is seldom prolonged, and seldom wanton. As to the manner of death, it is generally sudden. As to the fact of death, all animals must die. As to the meaning of an existence prematurely closed, it is better to be eaten than not to be at all. And, as to the last result, it is better to be eaten out of the world and, dying, help another to live, than pollute the world by lingering decay." This may be all quite true from our point of view, but it is rather hard on those who are eaten, certainly against their will, as shown by the desperate efforts they make to escape. It is not easy to see ethical purpose in all the savagery carried on among the lower orders of living things. How would a poor Indian hillman, mauled by a tiger, view the suggestion that it was better to be eaten than not to be at all? Would his altruism stand the test?

In the higher orders of life, however, and especially in the case of man, the struggle with the adverse conditions of the environment has undoubtedly developed many of the finer qualities, and, in this sense, the struggle, so far as the race is concerned, has been a victorious one. Man has risen above the mere physical struggle for existence; he does not always force the weakest to the wall; the survival of the fittest does not necessarily mean the survival of the strongest, nor even of the best, for, by the aid of sympathetic help, the weakest and sometimes the worst, or at all events those who are not of the best, may be fostered and cared for. Professor

Drummond considers this a phase of the evolutionary process : "in one era the race is to the swift, in another the meek shall inherit the earth. In a material world social survival depends on wealth, health, power ; in a moral world, the fittest are the weak, the pitiable, the poor " (p. 268).

Professor Drummond in the next chapter brings forward a principle which he thinks is one of the factors of evolution, *the Struggle for the Life of Others*. The enunciation of this principle is one of the chief features of his book ; it is advanced as the ethical outcome of the evolutionary process. He does not think that the law of selfishness is the one prevailing law of evolution, but that even in the lowest forms the organism, in the act of reproduction, however simple that act may be, does something, not for itself, but for its descendants. From this beginning, in the simplest form other-ism, in the higher forms what we call altruism, is gradually evolved, until the latter becomes the great moving force in the social evolution of the present day. Even love, not in a sexual but in a platonic sense, is thus the final product of the evolutionary process. This part of the book reads more like a poem, in which the author gives free play to his fancy in depicting his ideal than a chapter in sober science. One cannot help feeling that in not a few of the illustrations Professor Drummond reads into the phenomena of nature some of his own mental moods. It is difficult to realise the existence of self-sacrifice, or of co-operation, on the part of the organism, where as yet there is no mind or will, and it is easier to suppose that these instances of apparent sacrifice are after all for the good of the organism itself, habits that have been acquired by long continued processes of selection and survival of the fittest. We are far from saying that there are no ethical notions aroused by the contemplation of these processes, but these ethical notions exist in the mind of the observer, not in the process itself. Thus, when applied to the lower forms of life, the following sentence has not much significance from the point of view of the lower organisms :—" Association, combination, mutual help, fellowship, affection,—things on which all material and moral progress would ultimately turn,—were thus forced upon the world at the bayonet's point." If we think we can detect ethical principles in the construction and daily life of the organic world, surely these are but revelations of the Mind that makes and controls all these things, and are not the outcome of the physical processes in the things themselves. Professor Drummond no doubt holds that the ethical characters are somehow apart from the physical processes, but if there is a gradual merging of the latter into the former, it is difficult to see how they can be separate. The discussion of the ethical meaning of sex is admirable and full of suggestiveness ; but here

and there one detects a tendency to glide from one sphere of thought into another with which most thinkers would hold it had no connection. Thus: "With the creation of human children altruism found an area for its own expansion such as had never before existed in the world. In this new soil it grew from more to more, and reached a potentiality which enabled it to burst the trammels of *physical* condition and overflow the world as a *moral* force." The italics are ours. In the first place, altruism was forced upon an organism, then it became a habit, and lastly it is an ideal.

The next two chapters deal with the *Evolution of a Mother* and the *Evolution of a Father*, phrases that mean, in Professor Drummond's way of putting it, on the mother's side, the evolution of love, of home, of patience, carefulness, tenderness, sympathy, self-sacrifice, and on the father's, strength, courage, endurance, watchfulness, and all that makes a man. In the discussion of these themes, which is carried on in Professor Drummond's fascinating style, he appears to be dominated almost too much by the ethical ideas of motherhood and fatherhood to the exclusion of the potent influence of the sex relationships. Thus: "Love then is no necessary ingredient of the sex relation; it is not an outgrowth of passion. Love is love, and has always been love, and has never been anything lower." The first part of the sentence is true, but the converse is not true. Sex relation may exist without love, but love as between man and woman, even in the purest form, is related to those deep affinities that are prompted by sex relationships. There is a sexual basis for the love of the sexes if the love is intended to lead to domestic life.

The last chapter is termed *Involution*, and we think Professor Drummond must have found it by far the most difficult to write. Hitherto he has been with the evolutionists, working upwards, and he has reached evolution's highest development in man as an individual and in his social relations. Most evolutionists would stop at this point and not discuss how the *transcendental* comes into relationship with the real, and they would not feel called upon to hint that religion, and most of all Christianity, is only a part, probably the last part of the evolutionary process. The illustration of the *Sigillaria*—the fossil trunk found in the coal measures—and the *Stigmaria*—the roots of the same plant found in the clay beds underneath the coal strata—does not appear to us to be quite apt. No doubt *Sigillaria* does not come from *Stigmaria*, the stem does not come from the root, but both root and stem are parts of the same plant, and the root plays its part in aiding to nourish the stem and the leaves and the flowers. The leaves and the flowers did not come from the root, but in an important sense they depend upon it, and they are not to be regarded as something different. Now,

evolutionists say that mind, morals, men have evolved, but this evolution is not like the growing of things from a root. It is the expression of the historical sequence of a number of forms advancing according to the laws of variation (in the environment, Lamarck—accidental, Darwin—in the germ plasma, Weismann), natural selection and survival of the fittest. The relation of *Sigillaria* to *Stigmara* therefore is not a true analogy. ↑

As Professor Drummond urges, the environment is an important factor, but surely it is not the supreme factor in all development. It affords the conditions of development. "Produce an organism *in vacuo*, and the right is yours to say that the tree lies in the root, the flower in the bud, the man in the embryo, the social organism in the family of an anthropoid ape." But we would urge that potentially, the flower is in the bud and the man in the embryo. Environment (conditions such as supply of nutrient pabulum, moisture, heat, &c.) can only cause the evolution of what is already there. There are there always the two factors, that which is already in the egg and the conditions of hatching.

Again, there seems to be some confusion of thought in endeavouring to blend the physical with the spiritual. "The fact that the higher principles come from the same environment as those of the plant, nevertheless does not imply that they are the same as those which enter into the plant. In the plant they are physical, in Man spiritual. If anything is to be implied, it is not that the spiritual energies are physical, but that the physical energies are spiritual. To call the things in the physical world 'material' takes us no nearer the natural, no farther away from the spiritual. The roots of a tree may rise from what we call a physical world; the leaves may be bathed by physical atoms; even the energy of the tree may be solar energy, but the tree is *itself*. The tree is a thought, a unity, a rational purposeful whole; the 'matter' is but the medium of their expression." We would remark that the tree can only be a thought in a mind; apart from mind it can only be a collection of atoms of matter arranged by physical and vital forces, and to jump in this way from the physical into the spiritual is *per saltum* to get over in imagination, but not in fact, the tremendous chasm that every one recognises.

Towards the close, Professor Drummond indicates that the appearance of Christianity is a part of the evolutionary process. "What is Evolution? A method of creation. What is its object? To make more perfect living beings. What is Christianity? A method of creation. What is its object? To make more perfect living beings. Through what does Evolution work? Through Love. Through what does Christianity work? Through Love. Evolution and Christianity have the same Author, the same end, the same spirit."

This is the grand conclusion. Still one is inclined to ask: Does Evolution really work through Love? We wish it were proven to be the case, but facts seem to be against it. X

We have not entered on the consideration of the *Introduction*, because we thought it better to let the lectures speak for themselves. The *Introduction* is an excellent account of the position of the author towards the Evolution view, and it emphasises the contribution that the author has added to the discussion, namely, the recognition of the great principle of the *struggle for others*, as a factor in Evolution. There can be no question that this is a substantial contribution to the philosophy of the subject, and it has never been put forward with such force and fulness as by Professor Drummond. Apart from the general literary excellence of the book, this is the part that will live in literature, and this is the portion that will awaken thought in many minds, and lead them to look again at Nature. At present we feel bound to say we are not convinced, although, as we have hinted, nothing would be more delightful than to be able to look at the struggle going on in Nature through Professor Drummond's spectacles.

Having offered these criticisms on this remarkable book, criticisms which we feel sure the author will take in good part, it only remains to give our general impression. As a literary production the book is admirable. Certain passages are fine examples of beautiful diction. Such a passage will be found on pp. 292 and 293, in which the author describes, in his very best style, the development of a seed. As a contribution to the discussion of the great theme of Man's relation to the evolutionary process, the book must be regarded as tentative. The time has not yet come for anything like a final statement. The gaps that science has yet to fill up are far too great to allow us to frame a consistent scheme, as has been attempted in this book. The adoption of such a scheme will not ultimately weaken faith, although it will necessitate change of view. We doubt if Professor Drummond himself fully realises the tremendous consequences that must flow from a complete acceptance of the theory of evolution as applied to man (body, mind, soul, religion, sin, death, the future) *as we are at present advised*. A thorough-going evolutionary view demands a new theology, and such fundamental questions as the origin of sin, human responsibility, the taking of our nature by the Son of God (as implied in the doctrine of the Trinity), the possibility of miracle, the possibility of a future life for the individual, will all need to be re-stated and to receive fresh answers. No one could attempt such a task at the present stage of the world's history, as the data are still far too insufficient. The last word has not yet been spoken by science as to the evolution of life from dead matter, or the evolution of animal

forms, still less as to the evolution of all that is included in psychology and morals. Even physical science is only struggling to the light, and cannot yet explain Energy, Light, Electricity, Gravitation, Matter. More light will come, but it may take years, hundreds of years, before it will pierce the darkness of our present ignorance, and enable us to see things in their just proportions. In the meantime, Professor Drummond deserves credit for the courage with which he has applied the evolutionary hypothesis to current views, for his attempt to form a consistent cosmology, for the clear-sightedness with which he sees that all must ultimately be explained by the application of one great Law or Principle representing the Mind of God working out the Harmony of His Universe, and for the beautiful account he has given of the story of evolution, a story that reads like a fairy tale. JOHN G. M'KENDRICK.

Aspects of Theism.

By William Knight, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St Andrews. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. viii. 220. Price, 8s. 6d.

THE contents of this volume consist of Lectures delivered in 1890 to the Theological College at Salisbury, and repeated in London in 1891, enlarged, with several addenda. It was the author's intention to fill the latter half of the volume with notes on the literature of the subject, and with this view he deferred publication for two years. But he resolved at length to publish the Lectures very much as they were spoken, as a short study of a great problem. He did well in coming to this conclusion. A book of this sort, unencumbered with a learned apparatus, setting forth in a clear readable form the great broad outlines and leading aspects of the Theistic view of the universe, is fitted to be very useful to many to whom a more elaborate treatise would be inaccessible or uninviting.

Professor Knight is a convinced and earnest believer in God in the Theistic sense of the word, but in stating the grounds of his faith he does not follow the beaten track. In opposition to some well-known and able advocates of Theism, such as Flint and Martineau, he does not regard the time-honoured lines of argument, distinguished as the ontological, the cosmological, and the teleological, as satisfactory or conclusive. An important part of the work before us is devoted to a criticism of these arguments. The ontological, formulated by Augustine, Anselm, and Aquinas, and always dear to the speculative mind, is pronounced a *petitio principii*. "Under every modification it reasons from the necessary notion of

God, to His necessary existence; or from the necessary existence of space and time, which are assumed to be the properties or attributes of a substance, to the necessary existence of that substance." It "identifies the logical with the real." The cosmological argument is pronounced equally lacking in cogency. It is, as all students know, based on the actual existence of the world as a contingent fact, and infers from the existence of the contingent the existence of a necessary Being as its cause. The alternative is an unthinkable eternal regress of infinite antecedents. Our author contends that the unthinkable of such an endless series of causes is no warrant for assuming the existence of a first cause. Such an assumption, after we have grown weary in mounting the ladder of phenomena, is as illegitimate as it would be to one standing on the first rung of the ladder. It is simply a speculative leap in the dark. And what do we gain by the leap? Not the God the Theist believes in, but simply *some kind of being* existing from eternity, in which not Theists only but Materialists and Atheists could believe.

Thus far many will go with our author who will be unwilling to follow him in his next critical step. The teleological argument, based on the rational order and adaptations everywhere observable in Nature, has ever had a much greater hold on thoughtful minds than the two previously alluded to. They appeal chiefly to the metaphysician, but this appeals to all; for there is no man so unlearned as to be unacquainted with at least a few striking instances of "design," and it is to be hoped few are so undevout as to be insensible to the argument: "He that formed the eye shall He not see." While sensible of the attractiveness of this type of reasoning, and allowing its value as a source of knowledge concerning the attributes of God when His existence has been otherwise ascertained, Professor Knight nevertheless thinks it very open to objection, and subjects it to a very searching criticism, which in part repeats the criticism of Kant and others, and in part offers original suggestions. Doubtless many old-fashioned apologists will be very reluctant to adopt his conclusion. And yet one cannot deny that it is a conclusion at which many thoughtful men in our time have independently arrived. Those three stock arguments, which once seemed so conclusive, have now largely lost their power, and those who still believe in God not less firmly than Anselm, Hugo of St Victor, and Paley, are compelled to go in quest of other foundations for the common faith.

The basis to which Professor Knight attaches the greatest importance is *intuition*. Intuitive evidence he regards as the impregnable fortress of Theism. It is not only in itself evidence, but the root of all evidence, that in virtue of which the ordinary Theistic

proofs seem to possess a cogency which in reality does not belong to them, "the premiss we are in search of." In laying so much stress on the Theistic instinct, Professor Knight is aware that he puts his trust in a species of evidence which is very generally disesteemed; therefore he takes pains to state it carefully and with due philosophic circumspection. Indeed, the statement and vindication of intuitionist Theism form a prominent and specially valuable part of the work under review. It is the portion of the work on which the ultimate estimate of its worth will depend.

The question naturally arises: What is this intuition? How is it to be described? Our author's reply to the question is as follows: "It may be most fitly described as a direct gaze, by the inner eye of the spirit, into a region over which mists usually brood. The great and transcendent Reality, which it apprehends, lies ever more behind the veil of phenomena. It does not see far into that reality, yet it grasps it, and recognises in it the open secret of the universe." The very terms of this description suggest the reflection that the intuition described is neither universal in its extent nor unintermittent. Professor Knight is aware of both these facts, and does his best to show that they do not evacuate intuitionist evidence of its force. He maintains that the apparent absence of the intuition of God from the field of consciousness in certain individuals, and its real absence in others, and even its slumbering in the human race, so far from being evidence against it, is rather what was to be expected *a priori*. The higher we rise in the scale of endowment, the creatures who have the finer faculty are the fewer in number. The higher powers are also those which are most easily deranged. Once more the reports of the higher faculties are less frequently in evidence than is the testimony of the lower ones. "The latter are almost always active, and their verdicts are received with unquestioning obedience because they are so familiar. Of the energy of the former we are conscious only at intervals." Through the Theistic instinct we "discern, for a moment, an august Presence other than the human, through a break in the clouds, which usually veil him from our eyes." This way of putting the matter may seem to make faith in God a purely subjective affair, the possession of the few who are endowed with the clear vision necessary for seeing the Presence through the opening in the clouds. But it may also be regarded as a claim to have the vision of the gifted few—the poets, the prophets, the seers, accepted by the less gifted as a revelation. To the latter it is said in effect: You do not see God; take it on the word of those who do see that there is a Divine Presence beyond the phenomenal. Even they do not see God at all times, but only now and then, in moments of inspiration; but the experiences of these moments not only convince them and sustain

them through the darker intervals, but supply sufficient authority for your faith.

Among the more interesting chapters in the *Aspects of Theism*, are those which treat of the personality of God, the ethical argument, and the Beautiful in its relation to Theism. The great puzzle much insisted on by Pantheists in relation to the first of these topics is the combination of personality with the attributes of infinitude and absoluteness. The line of thought by which it is sought to meet this difficulty resembles that of Lotze in his *Microcosmus*. The infinite is the truly personal; finite beings are only personal in a crude defective sense. Men need the non-ego to help them to self-consciousness, but the infinite can dispense with this condition, just because of its infinity. In his statement of the Ethical argument, Professor Knight is more in affinity with Martineau than with Kant, seeing in the action of conscience not autonomy but theonomy, the dictates of the moral sense being taken as the very voice of God. The Theistic significance of the Beautiful is manifestly a favourite theme of the author. The chapter dealing with this subject is one of the most enjoyable in the book. Some matter-of-fact readers may be inclined to think that Professor Knight at this point exchanges the function of a philosopher for that of the poet, and writes as one who has sat at the feet of Wordsworth. He would not, we fancy, very earnestly repel the charge, believing as he does that it is better to keep company with the seers and prophets of the Beautiful, than with the mere chemist or physicist, and that the poet takes one very much nearer to the heart of things than the prosaic scientist. But he would not admit that in taking up this position he was renouncing philosophy, because he holds that the beauty of the universe may be philosophically construed as a direct disclosure of the Infinite to man.

We heartily commend this book to the large and growing circle of readers who find in the problems of Theism an attraction at once for their intellectual faculties and for their religious feelings. Professor Knight speaks to both. The book is popular without being superficial. It is at once strictly philosophical and genuinely poetical. If it do not prove that God is to any who had hitherto denied that proposition, it will supply food for devout thought and stimulus to religious life in the case of all who believe that God is and that he is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him.

A. B. BRUCE.

Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens.

Von Dr Fr. Heinrich Reusch, Professor an der Universität Bonn.
München: Beck. 8vo, pp. 266. Price, 5s.

THESE contributions to the history of the Company of the Jesuits are not published with a view to influencing the controversy which has long been a burning question in several countries on the Continent. Only to a limited extent can the book be regarded as polemical. It treats of subjects which the Jesuits prefer to leave untouched, and to see untouched by others, because the discussion of them involves awkwardness, if not discredit, for their Society. The studies of Dr Reusch have brought him frequently upon the track of such subjects; and he here places before the public, in a clear and succinct way, some of the results at which he has arrived. The book may be regarded as a sort of appendix or companion volume to the two intensely interesting and instructive volumes on *Moralstreitigkeiten* in the Society of the Jesuits, which Reusch in conjunction with Döllinger published some years ago. Those who already possess that work should certainly complete it by procuring the present volume; which, however, is entirely independent, and may be read with profit by those who know nothing of the earlier and larger work.

The book contains five chapters, thus distinguished:—I. The Doctrine of the Assassination of Tyrants; II. French Jesuits as Gallicans; III. The Conference at Bourfontaine, A Jesuit Fable; IV. The false Arnould, An Illustration of the Dictum that the End sanctifies the Means; V. Smaller Contributions.

The volume concludes with an appendix to the first chapter, containing a separate discussion of the attempts to assassinate Queen Elizabeth.

With regard to the first subject, it is at once admitted that the Jesuits were not the *inventors* of the doctrine that it is lawful for private individuals to put tyrants to death. The question is, whether Jesuit theologians have, as a rule, defended or condemned the doctrine. The principal writers during two centuries, from Mariana in the sixteenth century to Liguori and others in the eighteenth, are examined, with the result that these moralists are found much more often to countenance the doctrine in question than to condemn it. It will be worth while to cite a few examples.

Mariana entered the Company of the Jesuits at the age of eighteen in 1554, and in 1599 published his work *De rege et regis institutione* in three books. In 1610, Paul V. spoke severely of it; but it was never placed on the Index. Some Jesuits pretended to doubt whether Mariana was really the author of it. The peculiarity

of his teaching on the subject of tyrannicide is that he bases the right to put to death a prince who has become a tyrant *upon the sovereignty of the people*. It is a natural right inherent in that sovereignty. And here it should be noticed that in discussing this question Jesuit moralists distinguish two kinds of tyrants. There is the usurper, who without any authority makes himself a ruler by force. And there is the lawfully appointed prince, who rules in a tyrannical manner. The majority of Jesuits have taught that there are cases in which a usurper may be put to death by any citizen. Mariana transfers what others allow respecting the usurper to the case of princes who govern tyrannically.

A very interesting development of the common Jesuit doctrine, that it may be lawful for a private individual to kill a usurper, is found in the doctrine that the pope has the right to depose iniquitous princes, and especially such as persist in upholding heresy. When a sovereign has been deposed by the pope, if he resists the deposition and attempts to maintain his sovereignty, he becomes a tyrant. What kind of a tyrant? Not of the second kind, but of the first. He is not a rightful prince, who is ruling in a tyrannical manner; but one who, without any right to rule, persists in ruling. He is a usurper. The logical consequence is that, as such, it may become lawful for any citizen to put him to death. And from this consequence some leading Jesuit theologians do not shrink.

The favourite scriptural evidence for this conclusion is the action of the high priest Jehoiada, who first of all deposed Queen Athaliah, and then caused her to be slain. He did this by his official authority as high priest; and whatever jurisdiction the high priest had under the old covenant the pope has under the new. Suarez, who ranks highest as an authority among Jesuit theologians, says on this point: "A king who has been deposed by the pope on account of heresy, can no longer exercise authority lawfully; on the contrary, he may be slain by any private individual as a tyrant." He adds later on that the pope must have given a special commission to the private individual to act as executioner, or 'else have stated that it is lawful for anyone to do so. But a sovereign, deposed by the pope for heresy, *ipso facto* forfeits his life if he continues to rule. As to the possession of the deposed man's kingdom, if the pope says nothing, the lawful heir succeeds. But the pope can assign, and often has assigned, the dominions of deposed princes to other sovereigns; and that at once gives them the right to seize such dominions.¹

¹ *Defensio fidei catholicæ et apostolicæ adversus anglicanæ sectæ errores, cum responsione ad Apologiam pro juramento fidelitatis*.—Coimbra, 1613; Cologne, 1614.

Among the older handbooks of casuistry none had a greater circulation than the *Medulla theologiae moralis* of Busenbaum, which between 1645 and 1776 went through more than two hundred editions. It was considerably enlarged by Lacroix, and this enlargement also was frequently republished. It contains among other similar doctrines the following proposition :—

“An outlaw may be put to death only in the territory of the prince who has outlawed him, not in foreign territory. . . . On the other hand, one who has been outlawed by the pope may be put to death anywhere—as Filiuccius, Escobar, Diana, and Moya teach—because throughout the world the pope has at least indirect jurisdiction even in temporal matters, so far as this is necessary for the management of spiritual matters, as all Catholics teach and as Suarez proves in his treatise against the King of England” (Lib. iii. cap. 23).

One of the most extraordinary instances of belief in the doctrine that the pope can give leave to commit murder is found in a note at the end of the volume. In 1621 a bishop asked permission to poison certain nuns who had had intercourse with the devil. After having repented of this wickedness, they had been so persecuted by the evil one that they wished to be put out of their misery by death, and the bishop was ready to free them from their troubles in this way, provided the pope gave leave. The pope ordered the bishop to provide them with an intelligent confessor, who would bring them to a sounder condition, &c., &c.; but he does not for a moment suggest that he has not the power to grant any such permission.

In the second chapter, on “French Jesuits as Gallicans,” the following instructive incident is recorded :—The French Parliament on various occasions condemned the teaching of Jesuit theologians; and after the condemnation of Santarelli's book it summoned the Provincial Coton, the superiors of the three Jesuit houses in Paris, and three of the oldest Jesuit fathers to appear before it, March 14, 1626. On being asked whether they agreed with the contents of Santarelli's book, they replied that they disagreed, and were prepared to write against it. “Are you not aware that this vile doctrine has been approved by your general in Rome?” “Yes; but we who are here are not responsible for this unwisdom, and we censure it as strongly as we can.” “Well, then, answer these two points. Do you not believe that the king is omnipotent in his dominions? And do you think that a foreign power can interfere therein or ought to do so, or that the peace of the Gallican Church may be disturbed in the person of the king?” “No; we believe that the king is omnipotent in temporal matters.” “In temporal matters: speak openly, and tell us whether you believe that the pope can excommunicate the king, free his subjects from their oath

of allegiance, and deprive him of his realm." "Excommunicate the king, who is the eldest son of the Church, and assuredly will take care not to do anything that would compel the pope to do so!" "But your general, who has approved this book, holds the doctrine just stated to be infallible: are you of a different conviction?" "He who is at Rome cannot do otherwise than approve what the Roman Curia approves." "And your conviction?" "Is exactly the opposite." "And if you were in Rome, what would you do?" "We should act as those who are there." At which one or two members of Parliament exclaimed, "What! they have one conscience for Paris and another for Rome! Heaven preserve us from such father confessors!" The end of it was that, being in Paris, they acted on their Parisian conscience, and signed a declaration in which they repudiated the doctrine of Santarelli, and promised never to teach it.

Chapter III. illustrates the saying of the French theologian, Antoine Arnauld, that "the Jesuits never retract the slanders which they have once made current." In 1654 Jean Filleau of Poitiers published a book, entitled *Relation juridique de ce qui s'est passé à Poitiers touchant la nouvelle doctrine des Jansénistes*. This professed to give an account of a meeting at Bourghfontaine in the forest of Villers-Coterets, about fifty miles from Paris, in which seven persons framed a plot to destroy the Catholic religion, and set up Deism in its place; and as a means to this end they decided to propagate all the doctrines and practices which are characteristic of Jansenism! One of them, who was a priest, in 1622 or 1623, withdrew from the conspiracy, and told the whole secret to Filleau, giving him the initials of the other six. The whole story is manifestly pure invention, the object of which is to discredit Jansenism, which of course must be very dreadful stuff if it can be used as an instrument for overthrowing Christianity and substituting Deism. Yet the new *Freiburger Kirchenlexicon* has an article on Bourghfontaine, written in 1883 by the Jesuit R. Bauer, in which this cock-and-bull story is reproduced in such a way as to lead the reader to suppose, not that it is strictly historical—that would be a little too strong—but that there is some doubt as to whether all the details can be regarded as wholly true. Dr Reusch shows by various quotations that this is the way in which this outrageous invention has been treated by Jesuit writers from the time when it was first set in motion down to the present day. They do not dare to say that they believe it, which would expose them to damaging criticism. But they have not the frankness or the generosity to say that they disbelieve it; which would be throwing away a stick that might still be useful for the backs of Jansenists. Within the last twenty years we have heard of the Nag's Head

fable being used as a serious argument in order to win undergraduates as converts to the Church of Rome;¹ and the Bourgfontaine fable may even yet be of service for the discomfiture of those who oppose the Jesuits. It should be noticed that the name of the renegade who disclosed the alleged conspiracy was never stated, and that Filleau said not a word about the disclosure for thirty years. But the intrinsic silliness of the story is enough to condemn it. That seven sane persons should conspire to substitute Deism for Catholicism by propagating Jansenism is as probable as that seven evangelical clergymen should conspire to substitute a republic for the monarchy by propagating teetotalism.

The history of "the false Arnould," which is the subject of the fourth chapter, is evidence of similar tactics on the part of the Jesuits. In order to obtain their ends, and especially when the end is the discomfiture of theological opponents, they do not shrink from conduct which is thoroughly discreditable. We have again to do with French Jesuits working against the Jansenists in the seventeenth century. Douai at that time (since 1667) belonged to France, and its university had much declined. Of the professors some supported the Jesuits, while others were supposed to be Jansenists—*i.e.*, they did *not* support the Jesuits. Favoriti, secretary to Pope Innocent XI., defined a Jansenist to be "a man of special piety and virtue, who is an enemy of the Jesuits": and, in reference to the horror of Jansenism with which Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon had been inspired, the chancellor D'Aguesseau said that "Jansenist is a name that one gives to those whom one wishes to ruin at Court." It was in this sense that some of the Douai professors were Jansenists, and they walked into the trap which was set for them with the utmost simplicity.

In June 1690 a Jesuit delivered a speech in the university against the Jansenists, to which a young professor named De Ligny soon afterwards replied. A fortnight later he received a friendly letter, signed "Antoine A.," which he believed to have been written by Antoine Arnould. Delighted at receiving a letter from so distinguished a theologian he sent a cordial reply, and a long correspondence ensued, in which he was drawn on to express sympathy with views very much opposed to those of the Jesuits, and akin to such as were commonly condemned as Jansenist, and therefore heretical. Precisely the same device was tried with other persons at Douai, "whom it was desired to ruin at Court," and with equal success. In some cases this correspondence between "Antoine A." and his dupes was kept up for a year or more; and one wonders that suspicion was in no case aroused much earlier.

¹ The Nag's Head fable is to be found in a new work by Gasparri. *Tractatus Canonici de Sacra Ordinatione*, p. 279, given as sober history.

But none of the victims were personally acquainted with Arnauld ; and all of them were flattered by the thought that they had attracted his notice, and were in correspondence with him.

As soon as Arnauld heard of the use that had been made of his name, he published, July 1691, a protest. The Jesuits forthwith maintained that the letters were by the true Arnauld, and that the protest appeared to be written by some one who had assumed his name. Whereupon Arnauld wrote a second protest, which he supported by a third, and that by a fourth. The first two were addressed to the Bishop of Arras, Sèves de Rochechouart, who in 1675 had spoken out strongly, as he did again afterwards in 1703, against the immoral teaching of the Jesuits.¹ He commenced proceedings against Payen, the rector of the Jesuit College at Douai. Payen at first refused to appear, and then declared that he had had the originals of the letters, but had sent them to Paris to the king. Soon after he was translated to Liège, to be rector there, and the proceedings dropped. Arnauld's third protest, therefore, was addressed to the Bishop of Liège, who received it with expressions of friendliness, but did nothing. The fourth protest was addressed to the Jesuits themselves, after which he wrote to the king.

Louis XIV. handed the papers to the Archbishop of Paris, and told him to lay them before the Sorbonne, the professors of which reported, Dec. 26, 1691, that their purport was to revive the condemned doctrine of Jansenism. Whereupon the king deposed two of the Douai correspondents from their professorships, imprisoned two more, and banished three others. Of the dishonourable trick by which they had been entrapped into incriminating themselves, by expressing sympathy with views which were supposed to be heretical, Louis XIV. appears to have shown no disapprobation. On the contrary, he is said to have called it *un stratagème de guerre*.

Who wrote the letters signed "Antoine A." is not known with certainty ; but probably more than one person took part in the work. Some were written in very good French, and some were not. There is very good reason for believing that Le Tellier, who in 1709 became confessor to Louis XIV., had a hand in the former, and that Waudripont, afterwards rector at Tournai, was the writer of the latter. A Jesuit priest named Lallemand is said to have claimed to be the contriver and director of the deception. Respecting its merits we may accept the criticism of Leibnitz, who in a letter to the Landgraf Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels, says : " I wonder that so many respectable people, as there are among the Jesuits, can tolerate things so utterly at variance with the simplest principles of honour."

¹ See Döllinger and Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, pp. 66, 292.

The fifth chapter to a large extent consists of reports of miracles which have been attributed to Jesuits who have been canonized,—Ignatius Loyola, Aloysius of Gonzaga, Canisius, &c. These do not refer to miracles which these persons are supposed to have worked during their lifetime, but to such as have been wrought “at their intercession,” when their devotees have applied to them for help. One wonders where the sense of humour can have been in the case of a writer who seriously puts forth such things as historical facts, or where the religious sense can have been when such things are supposed to be edifying. But the Jesuits have seldom been fortunate in those who have written in support of their Society. The reputation which they enjoy for extraordinary astuteness and knowledge of the world is strangely at variance with facts. It was acquired in the days of their first ardour and activity, and has been sustained by considerable successes in later times. But these successes have been more than counterbalanced by frequent disasters and blunders, which, however, have made far less impression upon the popular imagination than their successes have done. They are like quack doctors, whose occasional cures are noised abroad, while their frequent failures are forgotten. Their morality has long since been generally discredited, but their cleverness is still believed to be immense. These *Beiträge* will help to produce a more accurate estimate of their abilities, without perhaps doing much to rehabilitate their character.

The book is written with Dr Reusch's accustomed clearness and fairness, and is a real contribution to what will always be a fascinating subject; for, although the doings of Jesuits are sometimes strangely short-sighted, they are seldom or never dull. The printing is as clear as the style, and we have noticed only one uncorrected misprint. In the last line of p. 191 the date 1592 is impossible: 1692 is probably meant.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

Lectures on the Bases of Religious Belief.

By Charles B. Upton, B.A., B.Sc., Professor of Philosophy in Manchester College. London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 364. Price, 10s. 6d.

THE Hibbert Lectures for 1893 form somewhat of a contrast to former Lectures on that foundation. They were historical, descriptive and anthropological, and dealt with the phases and forms which religious belief had assumed in the past. The present course, to use the words of the Lecturer, examines “what ground there is for maintaining that these various beliefs contain within

them some elements of permanent truth which sound culture in no way tends to undermine and efface, but simply to separate from the accidental and transient concomitants which in the earlier stages of human history, to a large extent, conceal and distort the essential and indestructible factors of religious experience." It is an important work which Professor Upton has undertaken. In fact, to do this well is one of the needs of our time. Many are working for this great end, and the number of treatises which deal with the subject in one or other of its aspects is immense. Professor Upton brings to his task many striking qualities. He has a wide knowledge of philosophy, and a firm grasp of philosophical principles. He can think clearly, and express his thoughts in lucid language. He has great ethical insight and high speculative power, and would seem to be fitted for the work he has to do.

Still, we have read the book with some measure of dissatisfaction. With many of his positions we can cordially concur. We are glad to read that Professor Upton affirms that there is "direct action of the Universal Spirit on the finite spirit in answer to prayer or aspiration." He indeed says that most Theists recognise this. When this is once admitted as true, it sweeps away many of the objections which many have taken to Theism. But it also seems to sweep away many of the positions taken up by Professor Upton himself. It would seem to admit the possibility of a Divine and special revelation, the existence of which Professor Upton practically denies. In truth, the Professor, with an imperious sweep of the hand, in the name of rational religion, tells us that "the Bible certainly does not bear the impress of being the unique composition of one Holy Spirit, but has all the marks of having been the work of many minds of varying degrees of scientific, philosophical and spiritual insight." In the chapter on "Culture and Religious Belief" Professor Upton, in the course of a few paragraphs, disposes of what he calls "dogmatic Religion," by which he means Christianity as professed by all except a very few. He has not seen that in the process he has swept away his own creed as well, the creed which he says "most Theists recognise." Why may not the Bible be the record of the "direct action of the Universal Spirit on the finite spirit in answer to prayer or aspiration"? At all events, the matter is not to be disposed of in the peremptory manner adopted by Professor Upton. Has he not mistaken the talk of a coterie for the universal opinion of cultivated mankind? May we ask also where Professor Upton got the information, which he often repeats in his volume, that "Jesus had ever spoken of God as the Father within Him"? He states this categorically more than once, and he gives no reference to any words of Jesus. We have sought for evidence of the statement, and we have not found it. On the contrary, we find

that Jesus can and does speak to the Father, prays to the Father, and ever recognises the Father as a Being not only within, but also without Him.

Again, Professor Upton says, "There is good reason to believe that he himself never dreamed that the Eternal was immanent or incarnate in him in any different sense to that in which He is immanent in any rational soul." We submit that a topic so great deserved more adequate treatment than it receives in saying—"there is good reason to believe." Nor is it easy to understand what Professor Upton means when he says, "the basal doctrine of Christianity is not a doctrine of a Trinity in Unity, but of a countless plurality of persons in one divine substance." Strauss, in his "dogmatic," has tried to translate the Christian doctrines regarding Christ into doctrines which substitute the human race for Christ, and, on the whole, he has done it better than Professor Upton has done. But the question is too large to be argued here. We say, however, that it deserves more adequate treatment than it has received from the hands of Professor Upton.

It is a very common practice now-a-days to exalt Theism in order to depreciate Christianity. Nothing is more common than to make Christianity a mere phase of natural religion. Lecturers, both Gifford and Hibbert, seem to like the practice, for it enables them to enrich their schemes of natural religion with all the ethical and spiritual wealth of the contents of the Christian Religion. On the whole, it is a question whether you can produce the fruit when you have cut down the tree. Apart from Christ, Christianity does not amount to much. Take the Risen Christ away, and what have you? Take away the Christ who can help and save and bless men to-day, and you have taken away the essential and distinctive characteristic of Christianity, and what remains is not worth fighting about.

What then is the form of Theism which Professor Upton advocates? It is peculiar to himself. "We thus come to regard the universe, with all its modes of matter, force, and consciousness, as the forms in which the Eternal God calls into existence, by a partial self-sundering, it would seem of His own essential being, this universe of centres of energy and personal selves, which some philosophers, such as Hegel, designate as the Son of God." "The lowest modes of Divine Creation, a self-differentiation, constituting those elementary principles which science describes as matter and force, form through their mechanical and invariable operation, the very foundation which is necessary as a theatre for the exercise of those higher modes of sensation and consciousness which reach their acme in the rational and self-determining man. There is good reason for thinking that in all cosmical life the Eternal Being surrenders

somewhat of His own essence and direct causality, that he may call into existence, contemplate and commune with those dependent images of Himself which form the objects of his thought and love." "If there is an Eternal Being whose essence includes those universal principles of reason, righteousness, and love, which disclose themselves in the higher forms of our own self-consciousness, then it is no more than reasonable to expect that this Absolute Being should *eternally* manifest His inner nature in an infinite cosmos of inter-related physical and psychical agencies, all of which continually depend for their existence and their intelligible unity on that self-determining Causality, whereby He in part differentiates His own substance into a world of dependent things and finite selves." "This differentiation of His Eternal Substance by which God calls into existence a physical and psychical cosmos is, as we have seen, in all probability a process of Divine Causality co-eternal with the Absolute Himself." These quotations are from different chapters, and we might have quoted many others. But these will suffice to indicate Professor Upton's view of what Creation is, and of what is the relation between God and the World. He tries hard to distinguish it from Pantheism, and he has many true and good remarks on sin, on freedom, remarks of which strong and emphatic approval may be expressed. Still it is difficult to see how Pantheism is to be avoided, if all beings are "modes of God's Eternal substance and Eternal Life."

If we are called on to make any affirmation as to what Creation is, and as to what the method of Creation is, are we constrained to think of it in this quantitative way? Why must we think of the Divine Being "as surrendering somewhat of His own essence and direct causality"? But difficulties accumulate as we seek to gather Professor Upton's meaning. First we are to conceive of a surrendering of essence to the cosmos, and secondly we are to conceive of this surrender as "co-eternal with Himself." In one case the surrender has a date, and in the other it is eternal. Is the cosmos eternal? We cannot say, on Professor Upton's theory; or rather, we have to answer yes and no. Is the Eternal Being less or more in virtue of his self-sundering? But in truth we are entangled by Professor Upton in a process in which quantity is everything and quality nothing. Finite being cannot begin except by a differentiation of Eternal substance! May not the Divine Causality act without a process of self-differentiation? It appears to us that Professor Upton is driven to this emanative theory of Creation, by the necessity he feels to provide some *other* for God, some object for God to care for, think of, and love. Hence the necessity for a cosmos co-eternal with Himself. But if the Godhead be social, if there are inter-relations within the life of God, then

God may be essentially love before the cosmos began to be. Christian thought does not start with the unity between God and the cosmos. It does not postulate a unity of being between God and the world, nor does it make the world to be a differentiation of the Divine Substance. The unity of God and the universe is not one substance, it is not quantitative but qualitative, it is not one yet accomplished, but it is a unity which has its goal in the future, when God has made a universe to which He can communicate Himself. The unity is thus ethical and spiritual, not quantitative and physical.

There are many true and beautiful things in these Lectures. The chapters on Agnosticism, on God "as Ground and Cause," and on "Absolute Idealism," are finely written, clearly thought, and altogether masterly as pieces of incisive criticism.

JAMES IVERACH.

Social Evolution.

By Benjamin Kidd. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. 348. Cash Price, 10s. net.

MR KIDD'S volume has been a great and immediate success. But is that success legitimate? On the literary side we gladly acknowledge that it is. We have here an arduous question treated with great energy and great dignity. The vigour of thought and wealth of illustration and high moral tone of the book seem to sustain the reader while they carry him on, as a swimmer is borne up in a swollen stream.

But that is not enough. For this volume is a whole, a construction, an argument. Indeed one secret of its attractiveness is the simplicity as well as skill with which the argument is constructed. In giving an account of the book, therefore, we must state, and attempt also to estimate, its argumentative framework. This is all the more necessary, because Mr Kidd himself, before he comes to the central part of his book, and in dealing with the presuppositions upon which it is based, shows a very inadequate sense of the strictness of reasoning which such questions exact from a thinker. Take this sentence for example (p. 59):—

"As man can only reach his highest development and employ his powers to the fullest extent in society, *it follows* that in the evolution we witness him undergoing through history, his development as an individual is necessarily of less importance than his development as a social creature."

It does not in the least follow. The conclusion may be true or false in itself (and great part of the book is built upon it), but it is

extremely rash to draw from it such premises. The social state may be a necessary condition of the individual man's reaching his highest development, and yet man as an individual may remain of enormously more importance than man as a social creature. Not only so. The fact that man requires society for his highest development is quite consistent with the individual development becoming steadily more, while the social development becomes steadily less, important. The latter, though a necessary condition of the former, might be a factor which in the future was certain to diminish, in order to make room for the other's equal increase.

But this is basement-storey and preliminary. The book itself is constructed on the well-known principle of building up a wall in order to throw it down again, or at least of magnifying an obstacle until it becomes so formidable that only the author and his new and original scheme can get round it. Accordingly, for the first half of the book Mr Kidd acts as the Devil's Advocate. And while in the latter part he exchanges his brief and appears as counsel for the other side, he retains to the close the very remarkable conviction that, looking at it as a question of reason, the Devil is right. This, certainly the most striking position of the book, is first announced in a chapter which bears the uncompromising heading, "There is no rational sanction for the conditions of progress." In the long process of world-development we have come, Mr Kidd points out, to a crisis. Had the brutes been endowed with reason, their reason would have led each of them to live to himself, and by no means for the progress or advancement of his species. "But now at last, science stands confronted with a creature differing from all that have gone before him. He is endowed with reason." And as to the brutes, if they had reason, "their own welfare must have appeared immeasurably more important than the future of the species," so it must now appear to the reason of man. The new factor born into the world "must, it would appear, have the effect of ultimately staying all further progress." The masses hold political power now; and "from the standpoint of reason," that is, of self-interest, it would seem that they should put an immediate end to the present conditions of social progress. Their interest is to draw a ring fence around them, to abolish competition, to suspend the rivalry of individuals, to organise on socialist principles the means of production, and above all to keep down the population to the point of comfort for all. In so doing they will no doubt be terminating what are and always have been the conditions of social progress. But they will be acting on the "unexaggerated teaching of sober reason." For there emerges now clearly into sight a fundamental principle: "It is, that in the development of our modern civilisation the interests of the individual and those of the social organism to

which he belongs are not identical." The "self-assertive reason of the individual" must therefore be permanently opposed to that competitive struggle and survival of the fittest which alone have advanced the race to higher and higher planes of being, and we are face to face with a conflict between each man's interest and that of the whole world.

This conclusion seems to Mr Kidd so clear that he holds it to the close of his volume, and constructs his remedial argument upon it. He sees that it will not do to leave the human race where he and reason have combined to place it. We must, in some way or other, get decent social conduct in the individual, and for such social conduct we must have a sanction. He finds it in religion. But religion is necessarily "an ultra-rational sanction," or, as he says, it may be put in other words, "a rational religion is a scientific impossibility." Yet religion is the chief impulse and almost the sole security we have for social or evolutionary progress. And on the other hand, "the most profoundly individualistic, anti-social, and anti-evolutionary of all human qualities is"—reason.

Now, is all this truth, or paradox? In answering the question we must deal with the author's central position, and must avoid the temptation to range, with the Duke of Argyll and Lord Farrar, over expository episodes, which are always luminous but not always lucid. But his central position raises the question, Is reason in man an anti-social and disintegrating quality? Reason has always been supposed to be otherwise. And, we think, most rightly. The famous and venerable name has taken on many shades of meaning in its stately progress through the philosophies and the ages. But under no connotation has Reason borne such a sense as to justify even for an hour this fundamental position. Professor Drummond has recently pointed out that Mr Kidd, in his too obsequious Darwinianism, has forgotten that even the lower creation, in its lowest forms, has had unselfish as well as selfish instincts and propensities. But take it that the world has been built up, as our author will have it, upon the selfish passion for eating—for eating others, if need be, and in all circumstances for eating in competition with others. "From this stress of nature," he holds, has arisen all our advance in the past—"every attribute of form, colour, instinct, strength, courage, nobility, and beauty in the teeming and wonderful world of life around us"—until reason at last comes in, to put an arrest upon it all. But what if it is precisely reason which has transformed the primitive and brutal passion into that cluster of ennobling attributes? It is so, name and thing. Indeed, there is no word in the language which by general consent so fully and adequately expresses the complex force which works this wondrous change. No doubt it does not work,

as is here supposed, merely upon the self-regarding instincts. It works also upon the others, which, like the passion of sex and the passion of maternity, are equally sincere and equally powerful, though they drive the individual outwards upon others. But even if we suppose that man originally had only instincts which are selfish (in the sense which Butler long ago exploded), it is reason which transforms that original and brutal selfishness into the long-thoughted, large-minded, much-pondering, and much-meditating Eudaimonism, of a being whose passion for higher happiness now soars above the bars of earth and the limits of time. In no case can reason *add* to the original selfishness of the animal. In its very lowest and poorest sense—of mere intellect, of large discourse looking before and after—it intellectualises the instinct already present, and gives it magnificent horizons and a boundless scope. In its highest and truest sense again (strangely overlooked throughout every page of this powerful book), it does more. It contributes to the original instincts (both selfish and unselfish), not merely intellect and wider earthly horizons, but *conscience*, and a heavenly horizon of the noble and the good which is simply infinite. And by thus adding to the animal world the great element and attraction of morality, reason disturbs and for ever overthrows the previous equipoise of selfish and unselfish instincts. Henceforward man can never be self-seeking (in the sense in which even the mother-tigress may fitly be so), without self-condemnation and self-contempt. In attaining reason he is introduced to a law which forever binds him over to altruism, and to that service of others or of Another which is the highest freedom. And this is what is said to be anti-social! The truth is the converse. If the advent of reason to man changes the whole situation, as is here urged, it does so not in the sense of giving more strength to the selfish instincts than was found in the brute, or weakening the social impulses. To say that it does the contrary, and gives the latter simply more strength, would be inadequate. It gives love not only strength, but sovereignty—though it is, I admit, a sovereignty *de jure*. Yet even in that former lowest sense, and as a mere matter of utilitarianism and intellectual perception, it was reason which taught man that his individual happiness is bound up with that of others; and the learning of this lesson is what we call civilisation. But at the very beginning of the process, and at the roots of all civilisation, reason begins to teach another lesson than that of happiness. "Who told thee that thou wast to be happy? Art thou a vulture, screaming for thy food? Seek blessedness, and happiness will follow." That, too, is the voice of reason, and it makes the difference between the vulture and the man, between the two ideals of a savage selfishness and a godlike altruism. And so through all the

stages of human life and culture, from the first man who found the advantage of barter, up to those who heard Kant's universal imperative "So live!" and remembered that of Christ—through it all and above it all, reason remains (to invert Mr Kidd's formula already quoted) "the most social, the most anti-selfish, and the most evolutionary of all human qualities."

We need not say that if Mr Kidd's fundamental position crumbles away to this extent, there is no room for those which he builds upon it. Religion as a sanction is no longer "ultra-rational," in the sense which our author's argument demands, viz. : anti-rational or opposed to the conclusions of reason. Nor is a rational religion "a scientific impossibility." For while he frequently confounds the Christian impulse with the charitable or altruistic impulse, and makes religion equivalent to ethics, he does not deny that such an impulse exists, and is indeed the great saving force. And if altruism exists, it is not *more* unreasoning, or less rational, than the simple selfishness of the savage. Take it that both were mere unreasoning instincts to begin with. Which takes on from reason the more magnificent expansion? Which comes nearer in its result to the supreme reason of the Divine?

Our objections, it will be seen, are mainly to the form of this rich and suggestive book. We do not concede that they are therefore merely formal. The volume is one more illustration of the tendency to find a "natural law in the spiritual world," to the exclusion of a "spiritual law in the natural world." And yet if, as evolutionists are apt to assure us, the two worlds are one, the latter is as legitimate a result—from perhaps as legitimate a procedure—as the former, and in certain higher problems it must be the more likely method to attain a solution. But these are not considerations which a man like Mr Kidd, with so many "windows of the soul all open to the sun," would be likely long to overlook. His book, admirable alike in its materials and in its motives, is apparently one more instance of rapid and premature crystallisation—crystallisation around a tempting paradox.

A. TAYLOR INNES.

Philosophy and Development of Religion.

Being the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh, 1894, by Otto Pfleiderer, D.D., Professor of Theology, University of Berlin. In Two Volumes. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1894. Pp. 330 and 356. Price 15s. nett.

THESE volumes have been eagerly expected, and will be read with keen interest. When delivered in Edinburgh, the Gifford Lectures

made a considerable impression, and called forth a short course of lectures in reply by Principal Rainy, and Professors Orr and Marcus Dods, which have been since published and widely read. The reply was made under the disadvantage of there being only newspaper reports of the lectures for his opponents to go upon; and while weighty and effective, it necessarily dealt with little more than the fundamental principle of Dr Pfleiderer's philosophy and criticism, the denial of the supernatural. Now that the lectures are given to the world, they will no doubt be subjected to a more detailed examination. The lecturer's position in theology is a well-defined one, and is well known; but here he has thrown his views into a form that is at once exact enough to satisfy the scientific student of theology, and so popular and attractive as to win a hearing for him and his opinions among many who are repelled from ordinary treatises on such a subject. Whatever may be thought of the author as a critic, no one will call in question his almost unrivalled gift of exposition. There is a warmth of religious feeling about these pages that is impressive, as well as a genuine appreciation of the place that belongs to Christ in the religious life of man, even while the doctrine of His Person is stripped by the author of those historic beliefs and intellectual conceptions in which the conviction of His superhuman worth has hitherto rooted itself.

The first volume treats of the Philosophy of Religion in general, and need not now be further referred to, as a succeeding number of this *Review* will contain a criticism, by a very competent hand, of the new edition of Dr Pfleiderer's "*Religions-Philosophie*," which covers the ground of the first series of these lectures. I content myself with a brief account of the second volume on the "*History and Origin of Christianity*." In the introductory chapter he prepares us for what is to follow. Holding by the main positions of Baur's criticism of the Gospels, he will not hear of a written record earlier than 70 A.D.; and he brings down the Gospel of Matthew to the middle of the next century, describing it "as a faithful mirror of the dogmatic and moral consciousness of the Catholic Church about the middle of the second century" (p. 35). In this way abundant time is allowed for the free transformation of the original reminiscences of the Gospel under the influence of the various motives that are supposed to have been at work. In this the lecturer sees a providential arrangement, for he attributes the value of the Gospels as "nutriment for the spiritual life of the Christian community," to the blending of the various elements and motives by which the historical has become idealised, and spiritual experiences have embodied themselves in narratives that contain no more than a poetic truth. But it may be doubted whether the spiritual life will continue to be nourished, at least in ordinary

persons, by ideal representations, to which nothing corresponds in the world of objective reality, and after the historic basis on which these have rested has been cut away by the hand of a remorseless criticism. For our difficulty about accepting the account he has given us of the origin of the Gospels is, that it wholly undermines their credibility as narratives of historic fact. We are left in a state of absolute uncertainty as to what is real and actual, as distinguished from that which has proceeded from dogmatic reflection, and from the process of unconscious fabrication of history that went on in the mind of the Church. After an instructive chapter on the "Preparation of Christianity," we have an "Account of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." It is an admirable chapter in many ways. The characteristic features of the teaching of Christ are well set forth; but there is one suggestive omission,—Dr Pfleiderer makes no mention of Christ's teaching regarding Himself and the unique relation in which He claimed to stand to God and men. We infer that he regards the words in which this claim is made as having been put into His mouth at a later period by the love and admiration of His followers. But the Gospel passages that contain these wonderful words of self-assertion come before us as equally historical with the others from which the author draws in his construction of the teaching of Christ; and it is arbitrariness to set aside the one class as unhistorical while the genuineness of the others is accepted. Besides, it is utterly unintelligible how His followers could afterwards speak of Him in the exalted language they used so freely if they had not received from Him originally words that pointed to His Divine origin and unique function, impressions of His Greatness, that rendered the words of faith they applied to Him the utterance of sober truth.

We find that we are right in the inference we have drawn from the silence of our author regarding the claim Christ made on His own behalf, when we pass on to the fourth lecture on the "Primitive Christian Community," in which the author relates the process by which the primitive believers came to believe in Christ as an exalted supernatural Person. This consisted, it would seem, of two stages: first, they convinced themselves that He who had been crucified was risen and living. This process of self-conviction took place in Galilee. The so-called appearances about the grave in Jerusalem are dismissed as belonging to a later form of the legend of His Resurrection. The mysterious visions happened in Galilee under the influence of the old associations in which the disciples found themselves, and they were inspired by their own longing, affectionate hearts. Once they had persuaded themselves that He was risen, they advanced by quick steps to the most exalted conceptions of their Master. This was the second stage. The glory of the Resurrec-

tion cast its reflection back on His earthly life, and "under such illumination that life obtained more and more supernatural colour and content" (p. 125). Thus are we to explain the creation of the narratives of the Transfiguration and the Baptism and other such supernatural elements in the evangelical record. Thus arose that *epic representation* of Christ that appealed to the imagination of the mass of the Christian communities, and that would be much "more sympathetically related to their souls than the dogmatic speculation about Christ that was now commencing" (p. 135). We see what an important part in this theory was played by faith (or illusion?) in the Christian beginnings. Faith created the *Risen* Christ, and then it created the *supernatural* Christ of the Gospels; and when we bear in mind the "large place ascribed to the dogmatic tendency that began to operate so soon on the tradition," and to transform the historical, we seem to be entirely at sea as to what of the narrative is left that we can reckon on as possessing a real historical value.

In the following three lectures (v. to vii.) we are called to witness the process by which dogmatic speculation, to be traced to the influence of the Jewish and Greek philosophy, effected the transformation of the historical Christ into the Christ of theology. In his lectures on Paul's theology, our author finds himself on familiar ground. Few expounders of Paulinism have done more or better than he in the elucidation of this subject. As is known to readers of his former works, he regards Paul's conception of Christianity as moulded by the Jewish theology both in its Alexandrian and Palestinian forms. The influence on Paul's apprehension of Christianity, of terms and modes of thought that are borrowed from these sources, is, I think, undoubted; and the fact must be taken into account more than is yet the case in our dogmatic systems. But Dr Pfeiderer, I think, exaggerates the extent of this influence. Take one instance. Paul, he says, teaches the doctrine of the heavenly pre-existence of Christ, and this doctrine is said by him to have been borrowed from, or to be a Christian rendering of, the doctrine of the heavenly man in Philo's writings (p. 162-4). It may be freely admitted that Paul's *language* is taken from that source. But with the apostle it is the *Risen* Christ who is spoken of as the second or heavenly man, and not, as with Philo, the ideal, existent prior to the earthly man. Paul sees realised in the *Risen* Spiritual Christ the full idea of humanity as the Son of God, in whose image believers are to be fashioned. He applies the term *heavenly man* to set forth a religious truth regarding the *Risen* Christ, and His relation to those who are one with Him, a totally different thing from the speculative use which Philo makes of it to denote a pre-existent ideal. Our author also traces the influences

of the Palestinian theology on Paul's doctrine of the atonement. What he says here is deserving of serious consideration. Our decision of the matter must depend on the value we are to attach to the author's account of the theology of the Jewish schools, as it bears on the subject. Till we know how far Weber's work on it is to be trusted, we are scarcely in a position to judge of Paul's dependence on alien modes of thought in his rationale of the work of Christ. Paul's doctrine of Atonement and Justification, as far as the Jewish juristic form of it is concerned, as well as the Hellenistic mythological form of his Christology, belong, Pfleiderer concludes, "to what is transitory in his teaching, which can no longer claim any binding authority over us" (p. 171.) The profound idea that lies hid under the Jewish idea of the atonement in Paul's writings is "that idea which, since the Gospel of Jesus, forms the kernel of Christian truth, the eternal law of the Divine order of salvation, 'Die and live again!'" (p. 172). Our author does justice to the important place this truth has in the theology of the apostle; but we fail to see what power this truth can have in the religious life of men, if the spiritual Christ is nothing more than a "product of religious speculation," if there is no living Christ to repeat in us, by His spirit, the process of dying and living again, by which man reaches his true life. Idealism will not help us here.

In the chapter on "Jewish and Christian Hellenism" the author unfolds the development of Christian ideas in the New Testament as affected by Greek philosophy, especially by the logos conception and other kindred ideas that come from the writings of Philo. The most important documents in the New Testament that exhibit this influence are the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Gospel of John. The entire framework of thought in the former, and its leading ideas are referred to Philo and the Alexandrian book of Wisdom; and as for the Gospel of John, "the whole religious view of the world in that Gospel is based upon Philo;" neither is it in any sense a historical writing, but a didactic treatise "which has invested its theological thoughts, drawn from Paul and Philo, in the form of a life of Jesus" (p. 239). "It was the Hellenistic theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Gospel of John that first took the step of elevating Christ above all that is creaturely into the Divine nature, and setting Him as the eternal mediator of all Divine Revelation in opposition to the world" (p. 240). In the following lecture on the "Christianity of the Alexandrian Fathers," the course of speculation passes under review that under the "established assumption that the Divine life is a personal God-Being in distinction to the Father-God, led to those insoluble difficulties which have been fixed in unthinkable formulæ by the decrees of the Councils of the Church, and which have been made a law of belief for

Christendom" (p. 283). The interest at stake in all the controversies of that period was a religious one. What the Church wished was unquestionably "the vindication of the central Christian truth, the union of God and man in the religious personality of Christ. But this new principle could only be expressed by the Church by the means and under the presuppositions of the dualistic way of thinking of that age. Instead of recognising the union of the Divine and the human in the religious personality of Christ as a spiritual fact of such a kind that it is similarly reproduced in the faith of the Christians, and consequently becomes an actually knowable object of our Christian experience, there was put in the front a Divine person wholly incomparable with our person who had come down from the heavenly heights, had united Himself in an unique and inconceivable manner with humanity, and after the episode of an earthly life, had returned again to a heavenly world" (p. 285). These extracts will suffice to show the extent of Dr Pfeiderer's divergence from orthodoxy in respect of his Christological views. Whether he has done justice to the New Testament writers in practically identifying their teachings on the Person of Christ with the later Church doctrine; whether these writers can fairly be regarded as having laid the lines along which the speculative thought of the following centuries travelled till it reached the decisions that are formulated in the ecclesiastical councils, or whether the doctrine of Christ and His apostles is capable of a re-statement in forms of thought reflecting more faithfully the religious significance of the Personality of Christ, while avoiding the intellectual difficulties, and even contradictions, in which the Church dogma is involved—are questions that are pertinent, that are raised by the perusal of these lectures, and that certainly call for an answer from theologians. I do not attempt to answer them. I only will add that it seems to me inconceivable that such an expenditure of thought and sanctified genius as history shows us was directed to this high theme could ever have taken place, on the truth of Dr Pfeiderer's supposition that there was nothing supernatural about the origin and nature of Jesus, that He was no other than an ordinary man. Was the Church all along mistaken, and under an illusion in ascribing to Him so sublime an origin, so unique a rank in the world of intelligences? Apart altogether from the claim Christ makes on His own behalf, the experience of what He proves Himself to be in the religious life of believers claims for Him a place and function in relation to God and man that no other can share with Him. Speculation may have stumbled in the effort it made to interpret that experience, and to express it in intellectual formulæ. But the fact remains, a religious good of infinite value has come to us by Christ, and that fact justifies faith in ascribing to Him a supreme

and absolute worth and the right to a worship and love of the soul of which God is the proper object.

The last two lectures are on the "Christianity of Augustine" and the "Christianity of Luther and Protestantism." They are full of instructive matter, which I must pass over.

In closing, I give an extract from the last paragraph of the book, which it is only fair to the author to quote, as we gather from it that the author has undertaken this criticism of orthodox theology in the interest of a reform of doctrine. "The church which carries back its origin to the Reformation, that product of the free activity of the personal consciousness, cannot renounce the right and dare not withdraw from the duty incumbent upon it to reform its faith ever from time to time, and to liberate itself from the fetters into which the theoretical thinking of past stages of culture has cast it. It may be a difficult task to recast the faith of the Reformation in harmony with the knowledge of our time; but it cannot be an insoluble one, for in the freedom of the conscience which is bound to God, and in the insisting on personal experience of saving truth, Protestantism already inherently contains the germs which only need further development and more rigorous logical treatment in detail to lead to such a new formation of our Christian faith as will stand in harmony with the secular knowledge of the present, and no longer exact from us any sacrifice of reason" (pp. 354-5).

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

The Psalms at Work.

Being the English Church Psalter, with a few short notes on the use of the Psalms, gathered together by Charles L. Marson, Curate of S. Mary's, Soho. London: Elliot Stock, 1894. 8vo, pp. 226. Price, 6s.

MR MARSON'S work on the Psalter is not a contribution either to scientific or to popular exegesis. It is founded upon the Prayer-Book version; and its aim is to exhibit the influence of the Psalms on the mind of Christendom. As the author himself expresses it, its purpose is to set forth the greatness and beauty of the Psalter, "not by the tedious Homily, but by that antiphonal method which makes a landscape seem doubly beautiful when it is reflected in a clear lake." He has brought to his task wide and varied reading in Literature and History, and his gatherings, as he terms them, are presented in a very graceful and attractive style. A High Churchman, he employs the ecclesiastical phraseology of his school, and he is careful to note with regard to every Psalm, its liturgical use in the

English, Latin, and Greek Communions. Some of the best notes in the volume are on the employment of the Psalms during the Middle Ages. Alone of the books of the Bible, the Psalms were familiarly known to men during that period—every man of religion carrying his Psalter—and their words of strong defiance and of tender trust were often upon men's lips. Some of the Psalms indeed may be regarded as historical documents of the Middle Ages, for they exercised an influence at least as great as that of its Law-Books or Charters. Psalm xxix., as Mr Marson notes, was sung at the baptism of Clovis, and of Ethelbert, and of other illustrious converts from Paganism. Psalm xx. was employed by the Byzantines as a battle-cry against the Infidels; and Psalm xcv. was the battle-song of the Knights Templar, for whom war was an act of worship. The first verse of Psalm cxliv. was a common inscription upon sword blades. Mr Marson has a useful note on those Psalms which are commonly called Vindictive. The word, he writes, has only lately acquired the meaning of studied malice. "Vindication," according to the teaching of St Thomas Aquinas, was opposed to savagery and cruelty on the one hand, and to carelessness about evil on the other.

The Penitential Psalms were not less used in the Middle Ages than the Battle Songs, for religious men alternated between fierce outbursts of anger and moods of deep penitence. Of the greatest of these Psalms, the 51st, Mr Marson writes:—"It has been *the* Psalm to many of the sternest and most active-minded men; for instance, St Bernard, who heard its cadences as the first prelude to his monastic life, and loved it best. Indeed, when Dante saw the heavenly rows of saints round God's throne, St Bernard pointed out Ruth to him as 'the ancestress of him who wrote the *Miserere*.' The same Dante heard it in Purgatory, chanted by the spirits of those who had delayed repentance till their violent death. Hardly any holy men died on a deathbed, or at a scaffold, or at a stake without breathing out the unworn passion of that great prayer."

Many of Mr Marson's notes are upon single verses which became associated with great moments in the history of nations or individuals. He recalls, for example, in connection with the words of Psalm lxxiii., *Thou dost set them in slippery places*, that Gregory the Great applied them to himself as a Pope immersed in the affairs of this world. It was the last clause of the first verse of Psalm lxxxii., *God is Judge among the gods*, that decided Constantine not to act as umpire among the clergy at the Council of Nicæa—the resolution was very imperfectly kept—because he regarded the gods as meaning the clergy. The first Papal Legates who came to England, to claim Papal Supremacy used the fourteenth verse of Psalm cv. *He reproveth kings for their sake*, as an instance of the superiority of

the ecclesiastical over the civil jurisdiction; while the following verse, *Touch not mine anointed*, was, as every one knows, the watchword of the Royalists during the civil wars of the Commonwealth. But Mr Marson reminds us that the application was not new, for the Bishop of Carlisle pointed it out to Henry IV. in a manful speech in behalf of Richard II., for which he was promptly consigned to the dungeons St Alban's Abbey.

Mr Marson's illustrations are by no means confined to instances of the influence of the Psalms on religious life within those Churches which he would recognise as portions of the Church Catholic. Many examples are derived from the Reformation period, and from the annals of Nonconformists. Calvin, Beza, and Richard Baxter are to be found side by side with Anselm and Laud. A writer on devotional literature becomes a religious liberal whether he will or not, for it is impossible when speaking of prayers and hymns, to give heed to those walls of partition which dogmatists and ecclesiastics have erected to separate Christians. Good men may and will differ about creed and polity, but they become one when they open their lips to sing and pray to God.

Another feature which deserves notice in this volume, is the frequent reference to the use made of the Psalms by artists and men of letters. As great poems they naturally appealed to poets, who often echo their words; but they also showed their power over artists, although to a less extent, for they do not so readily lend themselves to the pictorial art owing to their want of historical surroundings. Mr Marson writes of Psalm cl.: "It is, thanks to this Psalm above others, that the use of instrumental music has been continuously preserved in the Church, although some of the severer Fathers looked upon it with distrust. It is one of the Psalms in which not only Christian musicians but artists of all sorts delight. Fra Angelico, for instance, so often refers to it that we may call it his favourite Psalm. His well-known 'Angels of the Tabernacle,' the dances of the Blessed in the 'Day of Judgment,' and the musical instruments in the Uffizzi Madonna, Orcagna's 'Day of Judgment,' Raphael's 'St Cecilia,' and countless other pictures illustrate the same."

Mr Marson rarely leaves himself open to unfavourable criticism; for he writes as a scholar and with sobriety and good taste. Some of his illustrations are legendary rather than historical, but he usually gives some hint when he makes use of a doubtful source. He ought not, however, to have spoken of the apostasy of Origen, as he does twice; for the story rests upon no credible authority, and is almost certainly an invention of the enemies of the great Alexandrian. It is also a mistake, we think, to class Theodore of Mopsuestia with the mystics. No writer of the age was less mystical than Theodore,

who was, with Chrysostom, one of the leaders of the liberal and rational school of Antioch, which opposed the mystical interpretations of the Alexandrians with the weapons of grammar and logic.

JOHN GIBB.

Christianity and Evolution.

By James Iverach, M.A., D.D., Professor of Apologetics and Exegesis of the Gospels in the Free Church College, Aberdeen. "The Theological Educator" Series. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1894. Pp. 232. Price, 2s. 6d.

EVOLUTION, as Professor Iverach says, is in the air, and the idea permeates all departments of scientific study and research. Darwin indicates in his *Origin of Species* that his predecessors had already accumulated abundant evidence of the *fact* of evolution, but what was needed to give the hypothesis currency was an explanation of *how* the evolution of species was brought about. His merit lay in supplying this *desideratum* in his theory of Natural Selection. Undoubtedly it was the impression made by this theory, set forth so plausibly, and with such captivating abundance of illustration, in the work in question, which effectively turned the public judgment in favour of evolution; but the curious thing is that while the conviction of the *fact* of evolution has since grown and strengthened till it has become practically universal, it is precisely the sufficiency of this explanation of Darwin's which has come more and more into doubt. Not the least telling part of this book of Professor Iverach's—as of Dr Stirling's and many other works of criticism—is that in which he marshals the objections against the all-sufficiency of Natural Selection as an explanation of organic evolution, and shows how immensely exaggerated are the claims often set up for it. Beginning thus as a theory applicable to the organic world, evolution has now spread into all spheres of thought, and is believed to furnish the master-key for the right comprehension of each department of science, and of the cosmos as a whole. There need be no attempt to disparage the brilliancy or fruitfulness of many of these efforts to extend the range of the principle of evolution, nor is any tendency of this kind discernible in Professor Iverach's book. But it is impossible not to recognise—indeed the conflicts and disagreements of evolutionists among themselves force it on our notice—that the claims of the evolutionary philosophy are often stretched beyond all reasonable bounds, and that a great deal of vagueness and ambiguity lurks in the terms employed, as well as in the uses made of them. Evolution, too, has been confidently carried into the spheres of

psychology, of ethics, and of religion, in a way, and with a sweep-
ingness, which it may be contended the facts do not warrant, and
sound philosophy will not justify. All this, irrespective of the
bearings of the new theories on Christian theology, makes a careful
examination of evolutionary doctrines in their alleged scientific
bases, their leading assumptions, and their principal applications,
exceedingly desirable; and it is this task which Professor Iverach
has here so ably taken in hand. His work—though compressed
within 232 pages—is packed full of suggestive statements and
criticism. The reader is struck at once with the author's mastery
of the field, and of the literature connected with it; but while
there is ample quotation, the chief feature of the book is the firm
hold taken throughout of the principles involved, and the close
searching, persistent examination to which every doubtful assertion
is subjected. Whether in discussing the theory of beginnings in
"the primitive nebulosity"; or the bearings of the "nebular
hypothesis" on the theistic argument; or the adequacy of evolution
to explain the rational character of the relations involved in chemis-
try; or the supposed conflict of evolution with teleology; or the
relation of evolution to creation; or the theories of organic evolution
and the adequacy of Natural Selection; or the controversy between
Spencer and Weismann on heredity; or the evolutionary explana-
tion of man's mental, moral, and religious life; or the competency
of this theory to explain the ethical ideal of Christianity; or its
bearings on the doctrine of Revelation, as in its own way subject to
a law of evolution, yet involving supernatural factors, Professor
Iverach is equally at home. It may be observed that the outcome
of the book is to show that while evolution is a reality, its power
of explanation is limited, and that, so far as scientifically established,
it conflicts neither with theism, nor with the distinctive spiritual
nature of man, nor with supernatural Revelation. The theory only
becomes untenable when it claims to be all-embracing. Space
forbids us to quote, as we would gladly have done, some passages
which seemed to us specially fine and acute in their criticism, but
careful readers will speedily discover many such for themselves.

JAMES ORR.

The Spiritual World.

By the Rev. Alfred Cave, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
8vo, pp. 250. Price 5s.

HERE we have another book from Dr Cave's busy study. It binds
together a number of lectures of different quality, and addressed to
different kinds of hearers, and is divided into two parts, whereof

the first is argumentative, and the second may perhaps be called expository. It is with the former part that the student will feel himself chiefly concerned. In it the author sets himself to lay broad and solid foundations for Theology by demonstrating the reality of that great Spiritual World wherein religion has its home, and the phenomena of which furnish the subject-matter for the theologian.

And, first of all, he confronts the whole attack upon the citadels of faith which is made in the name of a metaphysic which confines our knowledge to that of the Subjective. He assaults the Kantianism of the Ritschlian school and refuses all their championship of religion, maintaining that unless the old Hamiltonian position is held, and we insist that in Perception—whether of things physical or spiritual—we know at once the perceiving Subject and the perceived Object, we have no grounds for certainty and lie at the mercy of the Agnostic argument. He does not counsel his reader to seek an escape from that argument along the Hegelian road, but he encourages him to look for safety in those Scottish positions which can scarcely be called philosophical at all, though they may be entitled to the sanctions of experience and common sense.

Dr Cave holds up as a warning the Ritschlians who have turned their backs upon metaphysics, and urges that the permanence of our faith in the Unseen is bound up with our philosophical soundness in the doctrine of Perception. But, as the argument proceeds, it becomes plain to the reader that the one point in which Dr Cave agrees with Scottish philosophy is in its appeal from the metaphysician to the robust convictions of "the man in the street." He passes by J. S. Mill's destructive examination of Hamilton's philosophy without attempting to answer it, and is apparently willing to be thought of as belonging to that Scottish school which Professor Veitch still leads. But in reality Dr Cave forsakes it and takes his stand with the Transcendentalist, who concedes the impossibility of maintaining that we have that immediate cognition of the external object for which Hamilton contended, and who seeks an escape from the extreme positions of Idealism in a faith that the phenomena that are given in consciousness are symbols of realities outside consciousness, which we can never reach or know in themselves. That Dr Cave walks by faith and not by cognition in his "Philosophy of Perception" is clear. Thus he says, on p. 61, "When I make so simple a statement as that 'this sky is blue,' or 'that water is clear,' my ultimate authority is really my faith in my perception."

Would it not be more satisfactory in all religious Apologetic if we frankly acknowledged that we really have not got a presentable

theory of perception, and that we must do as best we can without one? The Scotchman would perhaps be well enough in what he has to say about perception if only he would not think himself a metaphysician when he says it, and if he would be content modestly to urge that along with the subjective condition of consciousness he has an *insurmountable conviction* that there exists an objective cause of it; and if, further, he would own that this conviction transcends the evidence, when that evidence is tested in the court of pure Cognition.

Dr Cave seems to the present writer effectively to occupy this strong transcendental position. From it he forcibly urges that the evidence for the objective reality of spiritual things is as sound as that for the reality of physical. The great affirmations concerning the reality of the Non-ego, without which experience is a hopeless tangle, approve themselves to the widest and sanest intelligence, and the metaphysician will always have to reckon with them. And this less ambitious view of the subject leaves room, as Dr Cave's avowed philosophy hardly does, for the element of illusion which is so prominent in human experience.

It is difficult to see what advantage is gained by our author's division of perceptions into the *three* kinds—those of the external world, of the internal, and of the spiritual. Is not the old division of the universe into an Ego and a Non-ego adequate; and is not our knowledge of the spiritual things of God gained in the same way as our knowledge of the spirit that resides in our brother-man? In both cases we are led by signs, and by analogies with our own actions, to the conclusion. Moving forward then from his affirmation of the reality of spiritual things, Dr Cave contends in Lecture IV. that there is room for a real science of theology, and he deprecates as foolish the conflict between Religion and Science. And truly no scientific man would dispute the propriety of a *psychology of religion*; but Dr Cave expects him to recognise that the theologian is handling *facts* when he deals with "revelations" made by God, whether "general or specific." By the former he means man's religious intuitions, whilst as examples of the latter he names Old Testament prophecy, and the facts concerning the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. But it is plain that many scientific men will decline to regard as "foolish" their conflict with theologians on many of these points. They are quite ready for a scientific discussion of the contents of the Christian consciousness, but they are by no means prepared to admit as scientific the current Christian interpretation of those contents. They believe that neither science nor common-sense justifies the Christian in even his first step towards a theistic inference from them.

Dr Cave is on more solid ground when in his second lecture he

affirms and illustrates that deep conviction of the reality of the spiritual world which shines in its own light in the lives of spiritual men, and which in the past has confounded every philosophy that has opposed it. He speaks here of faith, and not any longer of perception, as the organ of the spiritual world, and he defines faith as *the confidence which we have in our spiritual perceptions*. In the third lecture he still occupies this ground, and cites the sacred books, the Christian consciousness, and the Church as witnesses to the reality of the spiritual world. He has given no philosophical exposition of this confidence, nor of the cogency of this testimony, but here he only fails where all fail; and his book still leaves us to repeat with our fathers those words of the writer to the Hebrews, which our author has Englished thus:—"Faith is our confidence in our spiritual hopes, our conviction of the realities unseen."

The second part of the book is much slighter, and the exposition has an amplitude which, though perhaps permissible in oral delivery, is a serious blemish in a book. Five of the seven addresses constitute the "Ancient Merchants' Lecture" for 1893, and bear the title, "The Gospel for To-day." They are conversational in tone, and make no tax on the hearer. The first two contend that Jesus laid all the emphasis of his preaching on the existence and nearness of the spiritual world. The third deals with the place that the doctrine of the atonement should take in the preacher's work. Our author, as his readers will expect, frankly accepts the whole genesis and early history of man as the Bible presents it, and then treats of the atonement as the organ of the development and redemption of this infantile and then rebellious creature. The next lecture gives counsel concerning the preacher's use of the Bible, and here, as ever, Dr Cave has all the courage of his opinions, and utters a blast of defiance to the onset of the Higher Critics. E. ARMITAGE.

Monuments of Early Christianity.

The Apology and Acts of Apollonius, &c., edited with a General Preface, Introductions, Notes, &c., by F. C. Conybeare, M.A., late Fellow of University College, Oxford. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1894. 8vo, pp. viii. 360. Price, 10s. 6d.

FOR some time past scholars, both classical and theological, have been made aware that a new worker was opening up a new source of information as to the long vanished past. The worker is Mr Conybeare, and the organon he uses is his fine mastery of the Armenian language, in which alone survives a large mass of ancient

literature derived from the Greek, often through the medium of the Syriac. In the present instance the quarry drawn upon—one containing materials of very different values—is the repertory of select martyrdoms published at the Armenian monastery of San Lazaro, in Venice, in the year 1874. Though parallel in most cases to similar Acta, whether in Latin, Greek, or Syriac, this collection, as a rule, seems to preserve the more original form of a type of literature notoriously liable to grow by constant re-adaptation to new environments of doctrine, feeling, and practice. Indeed, the colophon of the Armenian Acts of Athanagines puts this with charming frankness, when it states that its redactor “on paper made orthodox all that was said.”

Our editor explains at the outset that his object is “to give the reader, in a succession of vivid pictures or glimpses, an insight into the practical working of Christianity during the first three centuries of its history.” This hits off aptly enough his own attitude and interest in the matter, which are those of the cultured *littérateur* with an eye for the vivid and picturesque, rather than those of the exact historian whose passion is for the truth of proportion and discrimination. But it is very far from describing what the book actually contains. As he himself remarks, “the best fruits of Christianity were of course reaped not in these crises” of martyr-agony—reported, too, with the heightened colour given partly by admiring friendship and partly by a later love of embellishment—but rather in the patient, self-denying daily life of nameless thousands who have left no distinct trace behind, but who really gave its tone to the Christianity of their day. But further, as long as an author can without misgiving treat the “first three centuries,” seen even through their martyrdoms, as practically homogeneous, and equally fit to mould our conception of the genius of “early” Christianity, so long must his views be taken with reserve and subjected to severe scrutiny. On almost every page the reader is reminded of the maxim *Distinguite*. And whilst one cannot be too grateful to the editor for his services as a translator, one may express the wish that he had been more critical both of the Acta before him, and of his own conception of really primitive Christianity. In the former case the residuary nucleus of most of the Acta would certainly have been simpler than that which he suffers the reader to suppose; and in the latter, he would possibly have reached less original but more trustworthy views, both as to the Christianity of Christ and the apostles, and as to that of the “centre” of the Church prior to the close of the second century. Indeed, an imperfect sense of the developments going on in ante-Nicene Christianity, may go far to explain the comparative absence of criticism touching the strata implied in these stories.

Mr Conybeare is quite aware of the principle of development, especially in an ecclesiastical direction, as at work during the period; and he points out the important fact that the phrase, "the Catholic Church," which has caused some trouble to critics of the *Martyrium Polycarpi*, is totally absent from the form used by the Armenian translator. But none the less he does not seem to have worked himself thoroughly into a clear and consistent view of the successive stages of thought and practice through which the Church passed. The fact is, that we are all too apt to be unduly influenced by new evidence, precisely because it comes to us with the power of fresh insight. And just now the more "enthusiastic" and *outré* aspects of early Christian life and thought, whether in Apocalypses or Acta, are coming to light as never before. This brings with it a danger of unbalanced reaction in our reading of the true genius of Christianity and even of the early Church. But many questions have yet to be settled ere we are free to use our new light promiscuously. To what dates do such phenomena belong? How far do they represent the Christians as a whole, especially those standing in the line of responsible tradition, as opposed to those living under "hole and corner" conditions or amid non-Christian traditions too strong to give the Gospel of Christ a fair chance? When these problems have been sufficiently solved, we shall probably find that the literature through which we have hitherto been wont to judge the Church—the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, the early Catholic Fathers—gives us a truer idea of the tone and genius of early Christianity than pictures of the order translated by Mr Conybeare. At any rate, they are the work of more representative persons; and the presumption, spite of the strong "Anabaptist" element vouched for by Montanism and kindred phenomena, is that the new evidence, when sifted, will serve indeed to qualify our present impressions, but not to change them radically. But it would occupy too much space to apply these principles to the criticism of Mr Conybeare's Preface—full as this is of suggestion and food for thought, if also blemished by frequent half-truths and certain gratuitous *obiter dicta*. It is now our pleasanter task to convey some idea of the several pieces contained in this collection.

It was sound judgment to place the *Acts of Apollonius* in the forefront of the volume. Published originally in the *Guardian* of June 21, 1893, they at once attracted the notice and admiration of Professor Harnack, who styled them "the noblest Apology of Christianity which we possess from antiquity." Their essential historicity, apart from some expansion of thoughts into little lectures—*e.g.*, on the vanity of idolatry—is proved by the terse, life-like, and yet restrained character of the dialogue between the martyr and the

Prefect Perennis. They agree too with the epitome given by Eusebius (v. 21), except in the one point, the breaking of the informer's legs, where Eusebius' account had already been felt to be dubious.¹ This gem of the collection is most fully annotated by the editor, who here has had Harnack's monograph to draw upon. On the *Acts of Paul and Thekla*, which follow, three remarks must suffice. The Armenian practically confirms Professor Ramsay's recent criticism of the current form of the Acts, and his preference of the Syriac to the Greek text; Thekla was evidently a very favourite exemplar to later virgin martyrs, though the Greek Acta omit such references to a person who came to be regarded as of dubious orthodoxy; as even the Armenian contains the story of Thekla's burning, which Conybeare nevertheless rejects, he does not seem justified in insisting (against Ramsay) on its extreme doctrine of Virginité as historical and as a proper standard for the exegesis of Paul's attitude (*e.g.* in 1 Cor. vii. 25, *ff.*).

Passing now to the less-known martyrdoms, it will be best to arrange them, as far as may be, in their chronological order rather than in that which they hold in the present volume. The *Acts of Phocas* assign the death of this simple-minded "shepherd of a spiritual flock" to the reign of Trajan and the proconsulate of a certain Africanus, presumably one of Pliny's successors. They are cast in the form of a collective letter, like that containing Polycarp's martyrdom, only in this case addressed to a whole circle of Churches in Pontus-Bithynia, if not in other adjacent provinces likewise. As they stand they are certainly unprimitive. But an original nucleus seems probable; and this may possibly have ended with the trial before Africanus—that before Trajan being tacked on by means of a miracle, though parts of this dialogue, too, are not repugnant to general probability. With the former view the brief Latin form given in Ruinart, and in which Phocas appears as an agriculturalist (*hortulanus*), would seem best to accord: the character of the man in both is at least very similar. The *Acts of Thalelaeus* seem clearly to exemplify "the tendency there was to defer the death of a popular saint," so that he might appear to have suffered in the persecution of which

¹ Harnack seems inclined to accept this fate of the informer (presumably a slave) as a fact; seeing in it a hint that Commodus was already influenced by Marcia towards discouraging information against Christians. On this assumption he supposes that Perennis tried but failed to get from the Senate a decree exempting Apollonius (a Senator) from a capital penalty. Mr Hardy, in his recent *Christianity and the Roman Government* (p. 207), thinks that this is to antedate Marcia's interference; and explains the reference to the Senate more as a "show of deference," early in the reign, on the part of the "Vice-emperor" Perennis under the "somewhat exceptional circumstances." Such a position is strengthened if we read Tarruntenus (who assisted Perennis as Prefect till 183 A.D.) instead of Perennis. See Addenda, p. 353.

the recollection was uppermost in men's minds." If this principle, traceable also in the inconsistent datings involved in the *Acts of Eugenia*, be allowed, there is no difficulty in setting aside "Numerian" in the exordium, in favour of the name Hadrian, introduced quite incidentally in the body of the Acts. Our editor finds confirmation of this in the relations implied between Edessa and Aigai on the south-east coast of Cilicia, where the scene is laid. But yet another proof may be adduced. The hero says, "I am from Lebanon, and have believed in the Galilean, and am a friend of those of Jerusalem; . . . I am by profession a physician, and have become a deacon of John the Bishop." Now Eusebius (H.E. iv. 5) names a John seventh on the list of fifteen "bishops of the circumcision" prior to 135 A.D. But as Symeon, the second of these, is said to have been martyred late in Trajan's reign, there is no difficulty in making this John fall under Hadrian, hard though it be to bring his episcopate under the conventional type. Here, then, would seem to be a noteworthy coincidence with our Acts. And though these are clearly interpolated, yet there is the true ring about words like, "I believe in God that is Ruler of all, that He putteth not to shame those who trust in Him in Christ, and those who for His Name come to bear this testimony" (p. 245).

After these two we come to the reign of Commodus, which is the earliest date possible for the nucleus of the *Acts of Eugenia*, parts of which seem to belong to the time of Gallus at least (251-3), and to be due to a late recension of the story about 280 A.D. It presents several points of interest, especially in relation to the rise of monastic institutions in Lower Egypt; but on these we cannot now dwell. The *Acts of Polyeuctes* purport to refer to Melitene and to "the days of Decius and Valerian, in the East, during the first persecution." Unless this conjunction points simply to dominant influence on the part of Valerian, to whom the censorship was offered, even under Decius, we must accept Mr Conybeare's view that "such a confusion could not be contemporary." And indeed it is clear, both from the aggressive and harsh tone of the martyr, and from the frequent use of words like "mystery" and "ineffable" in relation to Christian faith, that our redaction is later than the third century. Still here again an earlier basis is not impossible. And much the same may be said of the *Martyrdom of Codrati* (Quadratus), also placed under Decius and Valerian. The place of suffering was Nicomedia, if we may follow the Menologion of Basil Porphyrogenitus and then assume that our Acts, which make the proconsul drag the martyr along with him on his progress through his province, have added to the original account. The correctness of the topography is hardly a final argument against such a view.

But in any case it is interesting to find Codratius citing Homer (*Il.* ii. 204) to point his moral and adorn his case.

Of the rest we may simply note in passing the martyrdoms of Demetrius at Thessalonica under Maximianus, of Theodore at Heraclea in Cappadocia under Licinius, and of Hiztibouzit in Persia under Chosrow I. about 574 A.D. This last illustrates the Persian fire-worship of the sixth century. But there are features about the *Acts of Callistratus*, referring probably to the age of Diocletian and to Rome as their scene, which merit some further notice, for they are typical at once of the growth of such *Acta* and of our editor's attitude. The *Acts* themselves are an excellent proof of how deeply we must distrust the form in which Simeon, the tenth-century Metaphrast, presents his narratives. And further, they contain explicit reference to the original nucleus of the story, possibly the official *Acta*, in the remark that "this history was written in the Roman tongue, and thus it is that the words were pronounced by those who knew the language and translated them (into Greek?) and gave them to us; and we, without alteration, sent them on to all places," &c. But our editor has made these *Acts* the peg on which to hang certain views as to delicate problems which seem to be ill-considered, to use no stronger term. First, indeed, he truly remarks that good results might be expected from a collection and comparison of all passages in trustworthy martyrdoms relating to the diffusion of New Testament Scriptures. But surely it is a hasty judgment as to such diffusion, to gather from a touch to the effect that the hero's ancestral faith went back to his great grandfather who had witnessed the Crucifixion and Resurrection, that "in many regions, down to even late in the third century, the Christian tenets passed on from father to son *not through books*, but by oral tradition"; or when he infers from a single dubious reference in Cyprian, that "the Synoptic Gospels were not known in Africa before the third century." To what purpose, too, is it to note that "Callistratus refers to the Gospel of John, but not to the Synoptics." Surely we here see a good scholar spoiling his reputation by going off his proper beat: and there is hardly a sentence in the next half page and more which does not stand in need of revision. When, too, we pass to other topics involving nice exegesis, similar feelings are awakened. Premising that *μάρτυς* seems to bear its secondary sense of "a Christian confessor who has shed his blood for the faith," in *Acts* xxii. 20; *Rev.* xvii. 6; *iii.* 14 (? *ii.* 13), and perhaps *Heb.* xii. 1, he quietly observes that, "perhaps the *Acts*, and *Revelation*, and *Hebrews* were not written till the end of the first century." Now, waving all doubts as to the sense here put on *μάρτυς*, surely the inference as to *Hebrews* at least is all too hasty. Then, again, we are assured that "dynamite and ex-

plosions apart, the Christians of this first age resembled the most extreme of the Russian nihilists, and it cannot be denied that the Roman government had as good grounds for trying to eradicate them as the Russian has for trying to make an end of nihilists." If for nihilists we read Stundists, there might be truth in the parallel; though, even so, it would need to be limited to certain circles to really hold. Something has already been said on the general causes of the lack of perspective seemingly implied in *dicta* like these; and a detailed criticism of the statements on which they are based, though easy to make, would occupy too much space.

But two *caveats* and we are done. Let no reader suppose that our author's "vigour and rigour" of judgment always reposes on the consensus of scientific historians; rather let him rest assured that there is an unusually large personal factor in many of his most striking equations. Nevertheless, let none doubt that there is, even in Mr Conybeare's estimate of "early" Christianity, an element to be reckoned with; while for his services as a translator on this as on former occasions, our heartiest appreciation is richly due.

VERNON BARTLET.

Vie de Jacob Vernet, Théologien, Genevois 1698-1789.

Par E. de Budé. Lausanne: Bridel et Cie. Pp. 304.

Price, F. 3.50.

THE life of Jacob Vernet could not be better summarised than in the short eulogium recorded after his death in the registers of the Venerable Company of the Pastors of Geneva, in these words:—"Vernet, a man of rare talents, fulfilled his diverse functions in a manner equally useful and honourable. As a pastor the churches which he served hold him in tender remembrance. As a preacher his sermons were equally edifying, instructive, and solid. As a writer he published a great many interesting works. At the age of ninety he published the tenth volume of his treatise on *The Truth of the Christian Religion*. In the discourses which he pronounced as Rector, he showed himself the worthy head of our Academy. As Professor of Belles-lettres, and subsequently of Theology, a great number of the members of this Company remember with feelings of tender respect that they were his disciples. Till the close of his long and noble career, he was a model of activity, zeal, moderation, prudence, and the closing years of his life seemed to bring new energy to his soul." His determination to embrace the pastorate was occasioned by a touching incident. Having accompanied Benedict Pictet to the bedside of an aged and dying woman,

his childish curiosity led him to remain in the adjoining room, in order to hear the pastor. "His words," says he, "and especially his prayer, overpowered my soul; the distressed countenance of the invalid, which became calm little by little, and assumed a celestial expression, impressed me indescribably, and I resolved to devote myself to that ministry the blessings of which are so visible upon those who are suffering."

After finishing his theological studies, Vernet passed nine years in Paris as private tutor, and returned to Geneva in 1729, when he was ordained. During the first part of his career he enjoyed the consideration of all who knew him, "being cherished by his people, happy in his family, consulted by foreign savants, and receiving flattering testimonies of esteem and encouragement." The latter part was sadly embittered by controversies which only a sense of duty could have made one who was essentially "an apostle of peace," undertake. "He desired peace for himself, for his church, for his country; hence his extreme tolerance and his repugnance to confessions of faith."

Vernet's theology, without being Socinian, can hardly be called evangelical. "It was," says M. de Budé, "a sort of synthesis of what his two masters, J. A. Turretine and Benedict Pictet, professed. He has the varied learning, the love of liberty in dogmatic matters which characterised the former, and the fervour, the piety, the unction, which made the essential merit, and, at the same time, the charm of the latter." If he did not preach the Gospel in all its fulness, he earnestly contended for the truth as far as he understood it, and this it was which brought him into collision with Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Encyclopædists.

At one time Voltaire, whom he had met in Paris, was on very friendly terms with him. But, after he had settled near Geneva, he published statements regarding Geneva and Calvin which were manifestly untrue. Vernet was appointed to refute these assertions, which were renewed by d'Alembert in the Encyclopædia at the instigation of Voltaire. Instead of answering Vernet's refutation, Voltaire published a vile libel, which he distributed all over Geneva, entitled *Christian Dialogues, or a Preservative against the Encyclopædia, by M. V. at Geneva*, as if to make it appear that Vernet was the author.

This pamphlet¹ begins with some serious pages; and then gradually changes its tone, till Vernet, who is the interlocutor, confesses that he does not believe in God, and declares that all his colleagues are hypocrites or immoral men who are doing their work for the sake of the stipend it brings them. The City Council ordered that all the copies of this libel which could be found should be seized.

¹ See *Voltaire et les Genevois*, p. 126, by M. Gaberel.

and burnt, and so liberally had Voltaire distributed it, that it made a huge bonfire !

After this the fury of Voltaire knew no bounds. He held up to scorn and ridicule as a "Tartuffe," a "sycophant," a "shamefaced Socinian," a "Presbyterian Jesuit," the man to whom he had at one time written "that he preferred his friendship to that of the King of Prussia." When he proposed settling in Geneva, Vernet had written to him a long letter expressing the hope that he would respect the religious principles of the Republic, to which he had replied : "Dear Sir,—What you write in regard to religion is very reasonable. . . . I detest intolerance and fanaticism. . . . I respect your religious laws. . . . I love and respect your Republic. . . . Be kind enough to communicate to your friends the feelings which attach me so tenderly to you." When Vernet was the butt of Voltaire's virulent attack, Rousseau took his part ; but afterwards when the Council ordered the *Émile* to be burnt, Vernet was appointed to refute this work and the *Contrat Social*. Rousseau was completely taken aback. He had expected a defence rather than a refutation from Vernet. From that time he counted him among his enemies. In his Confessions, he says : "Vernet, like the rest of this world, turned his back upon me after I had given him proofs of my attachment which ought to have touched him, if a theologian can be touched by anything."

Vernet also came in contact with Count Zinzendorf, who dedicated to him his book entitled *The Lamb of God*, notwithstanding the expression of Vernet's scruples about accepting this dedication.

This distinguished man died in 1789 at the age of ninety-one. "When he felt his end approaching, he said he was preparing to renew his youth elsewhere." He gently fell asleep repeating these words, "I know whom I have believed."

In publishing the present monograph M. de Budé has added another name to his gallery of Genevese theologians, which already comprised lives of Jean Diodati, François Turretin, Benedict Pictet, and J. A. Turretin.

K. DE FAYE.

Urchristenthum.

Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristenthums. Von Friedrich Spitta. Erster Band. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1893. 8vo, pp. i.-vii. 1-340. Price, M. 8.

PROFESSOR SPITTA'S best known critical work, *Die Apostelgeschichte : ihre Quellen, &c.*, was reviewed in these pages in April 1892 (p. 168); and what was there said of the author's character and method as a

New Testament critic applies equally to the present volume. This work, which announces itself as an *erster Band*—the first, let us hope, of an extended series—consists of four historical and critical essays,—on *The Second Roman Imprisonment of Paul*, *the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians*, on *Certain Misplacements in the Text of the Fourth Gospel*, and on *The Primitive Christian Traditions respecting the Lord's Supper*. Whether one concurs in the particular conclusions arrived at or not, it is a great gain to have the vexed questions of New Testament criticism and early Christian history discussed in full by a scholar so thorough and exact, so clear in exposition, so fertile in hypothesis and combination, and so open-minded and free from party-bias as Dr Spitta manifestly is. The volume is one which requires ample consideration and extended space for an adequate appreciation of its contents. It is closely reasoned and solidly written to an unusual degree; almost every sentence contains a material fact or distinct point of argument. We must content ourselves with a digest of the writer's treatment of the four topics he discusses, acting as reporter rather than reviewer, and renouncing the attempt to canvass in detail the positions which he advances.

I. DIE ZWEIMALIGE RÖMISCHE GEFANGENSCHAFT DES PAULUS (pp. 1-108).

On this question Dr Spitta's lengthened researches have brought him, as Credner and Lightfoot were brought, to the *affirmative* conclusion. He separates the problem entirely from that of the Pastoral Epistles, with which it has been commonly involved to the injury of both. Beginning with the data of the Acts, he finds Paul, up to Acts xxiii. 11, anticipating peril to his life in *Jerusalem* (so in Rom. xv. 30-32), but making his appeal with confidence to Rome; nowhere, either in the words of the apostle or his historian, writing after the events, is there apparent any shadow of the fatal issue which is ascribed, upon the opposite hypothesis, to this appeal. Dr Spitta accepts Schürer's proof that Festus succeeded Felix in 60 (not 61) A.D.; on which it follows that the *diēria* of Acts xxviii. 30 terminated in 63, a year before the Neronian persecution (p. 13).

Examining the Epistle to the Romans, he rebuts the scepticism of Lipsius, who attempted in the *Handcommentar*, so far following Baur, to excise the Spanish passages of chap. xv. Dr Spitta has a new and interesting theory of his own to propound in regard to Romans. He sees in it *two* epistles, addressed by Paul to the same Roman Church, and welded subsequently into "*ein grosses corpus doctrinæ*"—the second of which, including chaps. i. 7-12, xii. 1—xv. 7, xvi. 1-20, was written when Paul had been previously at Rome and was well acquainted with the Church,

when in fact he was on the point of revisiting the city in journeying farther west. If this analysis can be made out, we have proof positive of the apostle's release. But it must be understood that the case for the release does not depend on this construction of Romans.

The epistles of the (First) Imprisonment—all sent (including Philippians) from Cæsarea, as Professor Spitta maintains, and not from Rome—show that the apostle continued in the same confident mood respecting the issue of his trial which we found pervading the Acts. His thoughts about death in Philippians are traceable to “psychological” rather than external conditions; notwithstanding his “desire to depart,” the apostle “*knows* that he will abide” and be restored to the Churches (chap. i. 25; ii. 24). While Philippians and Colossians-Philemon intimate Paul's intention of revisiting his old mission-fields, Romans xv. (dating, as our author thinks, from a later period) shows that he had formed bold designs for extending his labours far west to Spain.

Whoever wrote the Pastoral Epistles, the personal and local notices of 2 Timothy rest upon a definite and confident tradition, that cannot in the least be accounted for as constructed out of the Acts and the other Pauline letters. These references, as Dr Spitta contends, point decisively to the author's belief in the second Roman captivity, and to the firm establishment of that belief in the earliest orthodox tradition. Two imprisonments are implied, “as dissimilar as 2 Timothy is to Philippians; and as similar as one imprisonment is apt to be to another” (p. 106). Incidentally, Dr Spitta notices the unfavourable light in which Timothy appears in 2 Timothy as compared with Philippians—a trait very unlike invention. The *πρώτη ἀπολογία* of 2 Tim. iv. 16-18 can only mean, as the Greek interpreters supposed, the apostle's defence on an earlier trial distinct from the present; and the clause *ἵνα . . . τὸ κήρυγμα πληροφορήθῃ καὶ ἀκούσῃ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* signifies, as plainly as words can, that Paul had by this time fulfilled the ambition of Romans xv. and had preached in Spain—an achievement without which it would have been impossible for him, or for others on his behalf, to suppose his Gentile mission complete (43-47). 1 Tim. i. 3 and Tit. i. 5 and iii. 12 also belong to a tradition of Pauline journeyings outside and independent of the narrative in Acts.

Coming now to post-canonical evidence: in 1 Clement v. 5, the *ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας* assumes knowledge of Paul's history from other sources than the New Testament; the expressions “made a herald both in the east and in the west” and, above all, *ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τ. δύσεως ἐλθὼν* cannot, without the greatest perverseness, be supposed to describe from the pen of a Roman writer a career of which Rome was the westward limit. Compare Lightfoot and

Harnack *ad loc.* In his notes our critic (57, 61) characterises as "unverständlich" and "ganz unbegreiflich" certain inferences of Weizsäcker, who deals at times very arbitrarily with his documents. Lipsius also contradicts himself in a way quite unusual in so careful a scholar, when he attributes (*Handcommentar*) the supposed Spanish "interpolations" of Romans xv. to the late "Petrus-sage," and yet elsewhere assumes the tradition of 1 Clement and the Muratorian Canon to be based on Romans xv. ! The fact is that "Clement assumes the Spanish journey of Paul as matter of common knowledge; and this view, generally current in his time, belonged to the traditions respecting the closing events of this apostle's history which prevailed on the spot where his labours and life terminated" (p. 59). The *Muratorian Canon*, which Dr Spitta accepts in the Greek form so brilliantly restored by Lightfoot, is explicit on the point of the Spanish voyage; and the author infers from the language and context of the reference that its derivation from Romans xv. 24 is improbable. It is a record of the primitive Roman tradition.

Turning to the *Acta Apocrypha*, Professor Spitta traces in their earliest fragmentary (Gnostic) forms a clear tradition of Paul's journey to Spain; and it is this extra-canonical tradition, and not the language of Romans xv., which lies behind the testimony of the Muratorian document. The later Catholic *Passio SS. Petri et Pauli*, in its original Greek form, introduces Paul coming to Rome ἀπὸ Σπανίων. "Surveying the extant apocryphal tradition, we are justified in saying that there scarcely can be a more groundless assertion than to affirm that the Apocrypha witness against a double imprisonment of Paul in Rome. The case is precisely the opposite. Notwithstanding the fact that the separate arrival of Peter and Paul at Rome is, for obvious reasons, transformed into a simultaneous arrival, the old tradition of Paul's Spanish journey maintains its ground" (79).¹ In the Ὑπόμνημα of Symeon Metaphrastes (seventh century), which, as Lipsius suggests, comes probably from a second century source, there are interesting particulars given of the Spanish mission.

Discussing the testimony of Dionysius of Corinth, Dr Spitta points out an obvious mistranslation of Baur, which still holds its ground in "critical" tradition, to the prejudice of the question (82). In pages 82-100 he runs through the evidence of the Fathers—Origen, Dositheus, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Jerome, Euthalius, Irenæus and Caius—reading it acutely and, as it seems to us, very fairly in favour of the Spanish voyage and second imprisonment. "Hilgenfeld," who takes the opposite side, "rightly observes that in the fourth century it was a usual assumption that

¹ In note 3, p. 73, "permansit" appears to be printed for "permisit."

Paul fulfilled his design of journeying to Spain." When he asserts that this belief first emerges "at the end of the second century" (p. 88), he shuts his eyes to the facts. Von Soden yet more strangely declares (in the *Handcommentar*) that this view appears "in Eusebius for the first time!" (108). All evidence subsequently discovered supports the judgment of Credner: "There cannot be found during the first four centuries a trace of the assumption that Paul did not travel westwards beyond Rome, or that his life ended at the point where the Acts of the Apostles concludes."

In the fifth century the stream of Roman tradition changed its course, and from the time of Pope Gelasius I. the recollections of Paul's activity in the west appear to have died out. This effacement Dr Spitta traces to the growing tendency of the Papal See to exalt Peter and monopolise apostolic renown in his behalf. This disposition finds characteristic expression in the words of a decree of Innocent I.: "cum manifestum sit in omnem Italiam, Gallias, Hispanias, Africam, Siciliam, et insulas interjacentes nullum instituisse ecclesias, nisi eos quos venerabilis apostolus Petrus aut ejus successores constituerint sacerdotes" (102). So Paul has been robbed of his Spanish province to pay Peter! The tradition assigning Spain to St James first appears in the seventh century.

Dr Spitta fills the interval between the two imprisonments by Paul's visitation to the east (as planned in Philippians, &c.), his mission to Spain by way of Rome, and his return again to the regions indicated in 2 Timothy.

II. DER ZWEITE BRIEF AN DIE THESSALONICHER (pp. 111-153).

Here Professor Spitta is not defending an old, but advancing a new hypothesis. Baur condemned both 1 and 2 Thessalonians as unauthentic, affirming them to be "so intimately related" that "whatever verdict criticism pronounces on the one will naturally determine our view of the other." Criticism has rehabilitated the first, but cannot abandon its prejudices against the second epistle. Holtzmann, however, declares in the third edition of his *Einleitung* (p. 216): "The question to-day is, not whether the second epistle should be thrust down into the post-apostolic age, but whether on the other hand it does not go back to the life-time of the apostle, and is not therefore genuine and written soon after 1 Thessalonians (about 54)." In face of this admission, we may safely regard the theory of Hilgenfeld and Pfleiderer, who refer 2 Thessalonians to the era of Trajan, as obsolete (p. 111).

Dr Spitta finds himself in a dilemma. He is not convinced either by the oppugners or defenders of the Pauline authorship. The former refuse to recognise the identity in substance of thought and language uniting the two epistles, and their common historical

horizon—the horizon of Paul's life-time; nor do they give any plausible reason for the invention and acceptance, either during that life-time or at a later date, of such a letter as the second. The latter overlook or minimise the inferiority of style and formality of expression in Epistle II. compared with I., and the cessation of the warm current of personal feeling that pervades the First, and marks it with the unmistakable Pauline ethos. Notwithstanding the fundamental resemblance, there are, it is indicated, certain differences of mental standpoint, as well as of personal tone, betraying a distinct personality. Dr Spitta's solution of the problem is that *Timothy* was the author of the second letter, which he wrote from Paul's side at Corinth, but out of his own mind, Paul adding his greeting at the end (iii. 17) and thus endorsing what his colleague had written. Both epistles are sent in the joint names of "Paulus and Silvanus and Timotheus"; and Dr Spitta asks what reason we have in such a case, apart from internal evidence, to assume that the first-named was the actual writer? Epistle I. bears the impress of Paul's hand and mind throughout; Epistle II. is wanting in that impress. To the recent visit of Timothy he ascribes the language of II. ii. 5, 6 ("being still with you"), which is inconsistent, as he argues, with I. v. 1, 2.

Many points of interest arise in Dr Spitta's discussion of the two letters. He will not have it that chapters ii. iii. of Epistle I. are apologetic; they are an irrepressible outburst of personal feeling. He thinks that I. iii. 5 refers to the despatch by Paul alone of a second emissary to Thessalonica, subsequently to the despatch of Timothy from Athens by Paul and Silas together (verse 1); and that this second messenger on his return brought the tidings of renewed persecution and agitation respecting the Parousia, which occasioned the writing of the second epistle. The author will see no traces in Epistle I. of excitement on the subject of the Parousia, not even in chap. v. 19-21, but only faults of despondency and moral laxity. The revelation of II. ii. 5-12 he believes to be based on some lost Jewish Apocalypse against Rome, of the Emperor Caligula's time, which Timothy has adapted (should we not rather say, *twisted*?) into a Christian Apocalypse against Judaism. "The apostasy" is the Israelite rebellion against the Messiah; "the mystery of iniquity" is the wickedness of Jewish enemies of the gospel (compare I. ii. 14-16); and "the man of sin" is some expected Pseudomessiah; "the withholder" is the Roman government (142-146), and the $\nu\nu$ of verse 6 is the moment marked by the news of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome (Acts xviii. 2). Dr Spitta thinks it out of the question that the conflict between Christianity and the Empire should have been anticipated in the reign of Claudius—an opinion which seems to us to do injustice to Paul's insight and

penetration. That Caligula's self-deification, with the words of Daniel vii. and xi. behind it, is the basis of the representation of II. ii. 4, we have been long convinced; but the process by which Professor Spitta converts the denunciation of Caligula into a fulmination against Paul's Jewish antagonists is not at all clear. We may describe it by the terms "überraschende Metamorphose," justly applied by himself to the Hilgenfeld-Pfleiderer hypothesis, by which τ. μυστήριον τ. ἀνομίας became second-century Gnosticism and τὸ κατέχον the Episcopate! (140).

III. UNORDNUNGEN IM TEXTE DES VIERTEN EVANGELIUMS (pp. 156-204).

The third essay in this volume is the most interesting to the New Testament student, and the easiest to follow. In three instances Dr Spitta thinks he can rectify the order of the received Johannine text; and he finds in the condition of the text of John vii. 53—viii. 11 circumstances which fall in with the theory he applies to other disarrangements.

(1) In the Trial and Denial of Jesus, chapter xviii. 12-28, the author proposes to read thus: verses 12, 13, 19-24, 14-18, 25b-28, omitting 25a as a repetition inserted by the redactor to link together pieces whose connection he had inadvertently broken. This restoration, it is contended, makes the narrative consistent with itself and with that of the Synoptics. Annas no longer appears to be called "high-priest"; Peter's denials are continuous, and, as in the other Gospels, accompany the second trial in the palace of Caiaphas (and before the Sanhedrin); and the statement of Matthew, that "*all* the disciples forsook Him and fled" (xxvi. 56), is in no way contradicted by John, when we understand that Peter and "that other disciple" reappeared after an interval at the door of *Caiaphas'* house, not at that of Annas to which Jesus was led immediately upon his apprehension. On this view, the first private examination of Jesus was conducted by Caiaphas, for convenience, at his father-in-law's house; and the result of the public trial is sufficiently indicated here by verse 14 (following 24), with its manifest allusion to chapter xi. (p. 162). In fine, Dr Spitta considers that the conclusions drawn by critics to the disadvantage of this section of the Fourth Gospel are nullified by the rectification of the text, a correction which commends itself to every reader so soon as pointed out (p. 168).¹

But how has the displacement arisen? The eye of the copyist from whom the primary text came, in passing from his exemplar to his copy, jumped from verse 13 to verse 24—in both of which the

¹ On page 166, line 20, "Caiphas" should, we presume, be "Pilatus."

words *Annas*, *Caiaphas*, and *high-priest* occur; he then wrote on through the story about Peter (which followed verse 24 in the original), and did not discover his mistake until he got into the middle of the denial at verse 18, from which point he went back to insert the omitted section (verses 19-24, which should have followed 13); then he resumed at verse 25 of his copy the tale of the denial, tying again the broken thread by his (inserted) first clause of verse 25—and not observing that he has left Peter “standing and warming himself” at one house and picked him up “standing and warming himself” in another (pp. 158-161).

(2) Dr Spitta discovers a more extensive displacement in chapters xiii.-xvii. He believes the true order to be: xiii. 1-31a, xv., xvi., xiii. 31b—xiv. 31, xvii.; he thinks it probable, moreover, that a Johannine account of the Lord's Supper has dropped out, or has been left out, between xiii. 31a and xv. (pp. 188-191).

With this reconstruction, only the prayer of chapter xvii., probably uttered standing, comes after the solemn conclusion of xiv. 25-31, with its emphatic “Rise, let us go hence!” The figure of the Vine in chapter xv. is derived immediately from the “cup” of the Supper, while the traitor's departure suggests the “cast-out branch” of verse 6; and the disciples' questions in xiii. 36—xiv. 22 follow, instead of preceding (as they do so strangely in the received order), the Lord's challenge in xvi. 5: “None of you asketh Me, Whither goest Thou?” A network of allusions connects chapter xv. with xiii., and xvii. directly with xiv.—not specifically with xv., xvi.: this is a strong point in the argument. The “glorification of the Son of man” in xiii. 31b is explained by the confession of the disciples in xvi. 30-33; the thought of the common dwelling in the Father's House (xiv. 2) carries us beyond the horizon of xvi. 16, 22; and xiv. 4-26 sums up Christ's revelation of the Father to His disciples, as xii. 44-50 gathered up His revelation to the world, and forms therefore the necessary climax to the discourse and the basis of the prayer of chapter xvii. The scheme is extremely plausible, and is worked out with the utmost care and ingenuity (pp. 169-181).

(3) Dr Spitta complains that the critics dismiss the *pericope adulteræ* in John vii., viii., without explaining its insertion or accounting for the documentary and contextual phenomena. The *πάλιν* of viii. 12, as in verse 21, implies a previous speech of Jesus wanting in chapter vii.; viii. 13 presumes a different situation from that of vii. 37. In fact, the scene and argument of chapter vii. are closed in verses 47-52; and the “I am the light of the world” of viii. 12 has nothing to do with the Feast of Tabernacles. In short, Professor Spitta believes a leaf or two of the Gospel to have been lost here; and that some of the early editors, aware of the fact, left a blank space, as indicated in Codd. L and Δ, while others filled up

the gap with the precious fragment of extra-Johannine tradition extant in the received text (p. 198).

(4) John vii. 15-24 is a paragraph, Dr Spitta argues, out of place where it stands, and precisely in place *at the end of chapter v.*, the discourse of which is by this addition brought to its proper conclusion, whereas the passage is irrelevant and disturbing to the context of chapter vii., which reads naturally and smoothly when the aberrant boulder is removed. Wendt, in his *Lehre Jesu*, and Bertling in the *Studien und Kritiken* (1880, pp. 351-353), have expressed similar opinions (pp. 199-203).

Now Dr Spitta has a theory which accounts for the three latter disturbances of the text all at once. He finds that each of the transposed passages is in length, as nearly as possible, a multiple of the same unit—that unit corresponding to the amount of writing probably contained in a single papyrus leaf. The matter of vii. 53—viii. 11, in its shortest form (Cod. D), is of the same extent, but possibly occupies the place of more than one lost leaf. John xiii. 31b—xiv. 31 would cover four leaves, and chapters xv. and xvi. six leaves of the same size; while the supposed missing account of the Lord's Supper, if it extended to the same length as in the other Gospels, would have filled another leaf. The leaves which made up the ancient papyrus rolls were sometimes inscribed before being pasted together, and such a "*liber nondum conglutinatus*" would be liable to exactly the sort of accidents which Dr Spitta thinks he has discovered. Or when the book had been inscribed on a complete roll, it would sometimes happen that its fastenings gave way, and leaves became detached—either singly or several of them together—and misplaced afterwards in repairing or in recopying the volume. In the case of chapter vii. 15-24, Dr Spitta imagines that the copyist, who had overlooked the loose leaf at its proper place, inserted it at vii. 14, where Jesus first reappears at Jerusalem; and that the four detached leaves containing xiii. 31b—xiv. 31 have been pushed up out of their order so as to maintain the continuity between the incidents relating to Judas and Peter previously observed in the narrative of Luke (pp. 182-6).

IV. DIE URCHRISTLICHEN TRADITIONEN ÜBER URSPRUNG UND SINN DES ABENDMAHLS (pp. 207-337).

The last of Dr Spitta's essays is the longest and most laboured, and, we must add, the most precarious of the four. It is written as a kind of recantation, "*eine scharfe Selbstkritik*," on the writer's part. To us it seems as though the pendulum of his judgment had swung back considerably beyond the point of equipoise. It is pleasant, however, to observe here, as in former parts of the volume, the impartiality and self-detachment of Professor Spitta, a quality

not over-common amongst critics, who are apt to cherish a too fond parental affection for the speculations of earlier years. It appears that previously, in a work published (unless we are mistaken) only so far back as 1890, he had taken the account of the Last Supper in Paul and the Synoptics together as his historical basis, and regarded the Holy Supper therefore as an actual institution of Jesus, who adapted the *πάσχα* to the use of His disciples, giving it a deeper sense and one personal to Himself. It was amongst the Gentile Christians, Dr Spitta had supposed, that this yearly memorial Supper was united with the Agapé, and thus came to be frequently repeated, and acquired a somewhat altered and broadened meaning.

Further research leads him now to discriminate between the representation of Mark and Matthew, and that of Paul and Luke. In the former account, when reduced to its primitive form, in which it reflects the pure tradition of the Jewish apostles, there is no reference to the sacrificial death, no direction to "do this in remembrance"; the Supper has no paschal or institutional character whatever; it was simply the last supper of the Lord with His disciples, during which, incidentally, He used the bread and cup as symbols of the spiritual and heavenly feast of His Messianic kingdom, without in the least intending that what He then did should be turned into a stated ritual observance. The original Eucharist had, therefore, as appears very strikingly in the *Didaché*, an eschatological meaning, like the feast-parables of Jesus and the words of John vi. 48-50, in accordance with the common Jewish conceptions based on Old Testament prophecy, and adopted in the imagery of the "marriage supper of the Lamb" in the Apocalypse. This primary reference of the Supper comes out in the introductory words of Luke xxii. 18, overlaid by the subsequent verses, and it even "bei Paulus klingt (!)" in the *ἄχρως οὐ ἐλθῆν* of 1 Cor. xi. 26 (p. 277).

Accordingly, the Eucharist originated in the Agapé of the first Church in Jerusalem (Acts ii. 42), which in its joyous, common evening meals reminded itself of the Last Supper of Jesus, and voluntarily repeated His act and words in the thanksgiving pronounced over the cup and the bread; water also, in the oldest Agapæ, frequently bore a sacred symbolical sense. Gradually the free and informal Eucharist of the Agapé grew into a prescribed rite, which in course of time overshadowed the meal that gave it birth, and, separating itself from the latter, finally superseded it. The fact that the death of Jesus synchronised with the slaying of the Paschal lamb strongly affected the Jewish-Christian mind; and this association soon began to be read into the tradition of the Last Supper, thus imparting to it more and more of a sacrificial character. The words of Exod. xii. 14 were especially influential in this direction. At this point Paul received the Eucharistic tradition, and in

communicating it to his churches gave it the incisive impress of his own mind, charging it with his developed theory of the atonement, and changing it from a joyful communion and foretaste of the Messianic triumph into a solemn, mystical commemoration of the dying Saviour. This transformation, so manifest in 1 Cor. xi., has given rise to the peculiar tradition of Luke, and has even coloured the Gospel of Matthew, as is manifest in the clause "for remission of sins" (xxvi. 28), foreign to the purer record of Mark. The *καὶνὴ διαθήκη* of Paul and Luke carries our thoughts away from the Davidic-Messianic covenant which Jesus had in mind in uttering the words of Mark xiv. 24 (speaking of "My blood of the covenant" in contrast with the Mosaic "blood of the covenant," Exod. xxiv. 8), to the "new covenant" of Jer. xxxi. 31 ff., and its promise of forgiveness. The *καταγγέλλετε* of 1 Cor. xi. 26 should be read imperatively, implying that the Corinthian Church had not hitherto seen the matter in the light in which the apostle now places it, that in fact he is giving a *new* character to the Agapé-Eucharist. The old and new views are imperfectly blended in Paul; in 1 Cor. x. he regards the Supper in its earlier acceptation. This original eschatological import of the Eucharist Dr Spitta traces through the later New Testament books. The demonstration raises a number of interesting side issues, on which it is impossible for us now to enter: for one thing, Dr Spitta is compelled to regard John vi. 51-59 as an intrusive gloss (pp. 216-221).

On the theory itself we will simply state the following observations, without attempting to develop them:—(1) No such opposition exists between the eschatological and the expiatory reference of the Lord's Supper—*i.e.*, between the sufferings of the Christ and the following glory, as Dr Spitta appears to assume. Not from Paul and Luke alone, but from the other Evangelists, with their tradition reduced to the limits the author himself would assign, it is evident that suffering and death were the appointed way to the Messianic kingdom, and that in the thought of Jesus and the logic of His teaching these two conceptions were inseparable. On every ground we should press against Dr Spitta the *Οὐχὶ . . . ἔδει*; of Luke xxiv. 26. (2) All arguments that eliminate the connection of the Last Supper with the vicarious death are wrecked upon the words of Mark xiv. 24 ("die urapostolische Form," p. 318), "My blood of the covenant, which is shed for many." The attempt made on pages 268-9 to explain away the sacrificial sense of this expression appears to us singularly slight and evasive. Granting the meal to be no *πάσχα* and the allusion to the Paschal Lamb to be out of place, words that spoke of "covenant-blood shed for many" could have only one reference amongst pious Jews. (3) We contest the imputation that St Paul was either so ill-informed in the

original tradition of Jesus, or so careless of exactitude in reporting it, that he could be capable of "transforming" the scene of the Lord's Supper and giving to it a radically unhistorical character. 1 Cor. xv. 1-11 evidences the fulness and vividness of the Palestinian tradition to which he had access, and the closeness of his inter-communion with the other apostles upon the points contained in it. (4) We agree with Dr Spitta that the festal nature of the Eucharist, its primitive significance as an act of communion with the glorified and returning Christ, has been grievously eclipsed, to the Church's loss and hurt. But no Christian can look forward to that kingdom without grateful and sorrowful remembrance of the death by which it was won; nor could the Lord Jesus look forward to it otherwise than through the darkness and shame of His approaching death. Dr Spitta knows how near together lie the springs of tears and of joy, how penitence and sorrow rise into the hope of glory. It is this union of remembrance and anticipation, this blending of the vision of the dying and the triumphant Saviour, that gives to the Last Supper its unique and profoundly affecting significance.

Half the essay on the Last Supper is occupied with a preliminary discussion (211-266) upon the "Time and Occasion," in which Professor Spitta argues very ably and, as we think, demonstratively, for the 14th Nisan as the day of the crucifixion. We are not sure that he is right in denying that our Lord on the 13th Nisan anticipated, in any sense, the paschal Supper; he makes it appear very probable that the prescribed forms of the *πάσχα* were not observed, and that Jesus rather followed the common order of a Jewish meal. He thinks that the paragraph of Mark (xiv. 12-16) relating the preparations of the disciples is an interpolation, and that all other indications in the text of Mark, with this removed, agree with those of John in assuming a Supper previous to, and not identical with, the regular Pascha.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

The Historical Geography of the Holy Land.

G. A. Smith, D.D. *Hodder & Stoughton*, 1894. 8vo. pp. xxiv. 692. Price 15s.

THIS work belongs to the increasing literature which results from the survey and exploration of Palestine. It does not contain much that is new in geography, but it represents the influence, on a scholar and critic who has himself travelled, more widely than most visitors, over the country, of the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and of the younger societies which have sprung from the

original English enterprise. All explorers should welcome a book from the standpoint of Dr Smith, marked as it is with moderation and freedom from prejudice, especially when combining critical knowledge with the free admission that critical opinions require to be controlled by the results of increasing knowledge of Oriental antiquities. Dr Smith seems to think that, like the German Society, the English should have concerned itself with critical questions; yet he himself shows (pp. x. 108) how little connection there is between the study of topography and that of the dates of books concerned. The Palestine Exploration Fund has always restricted itself to the collection of facts, leaving to others to form conclusions; and their work consequently is accepted by writers as far apart as Dr Smith and Dr Cunningham Geikie. The only critical paper that they have admitted is one, written in 1876, in which I have suggested that internal evidence shows that the topographical chapters of the Book of Joshua must belong to a late period.¹ That they have been wise in adhering to this course is perhaps shown by the fact that the views of the present extreme critical school differ, not only in detail, but in principle, from those that prevailed when Colenso wrote a quarter of a century ago; and that these again are already discounted by more moderate writers. The latest authorities on monumental study have, on the other hand, only repeated and confirmed the opinions and conclusions of Sir Henry Rawlinson; published forty years ago. Monumental study is no "by-path," but rather the highway to the discovery of the truth.

The Society in question does not deserve the insinuation (p. xiii.) that it has increased its identifications for the sake of satisfying subscribers. This portion of its work was due to ten years of labour, and it has always set its face against the frauds and sensations of the day, from the time of the Shapira forgeries down to that of the "Garden Tomb." It is not clear whether Dr Smith has consulted the Survey Memoirs, or whether he quotes them only second-hand: out of six citations two are correct and give the page, one is a mere allusion, and three are incorrect as to the volume, and give no page reference. In these Memoirs Dr Smith would recognise that I have always given the reasons for identification, and distinguished the various degrees of reliability. On the maps the sites generally agreed to are distinguished from the doubtful ones which are queried. The onus of proving that an identification is "rash" must lie with those who have considered this evidence. There is of course much doubt as to the more obscure sites. The Bible topography includes about 600 names, and in about 450 cases sites have been suggested. Dr Smith, whose work is of a general

¹ Survey Memoirs, "Special Papers," p. 219.

geographical character, does not treat exhaustively of this subject; but out of about 230 places he agrees in some 215 cases with the Survey Maps, and disputes about 15 sites. This is a most satisfactory result to explorers, and his objections are always fairly urged and deserving of attention. Among the sites which I have added as results of the Survey, he favours many of the most important, including Abelmeholah, Baal Shalisha, Bezek, Debir, Gibbethon, Hachilah, Kypros, Lachish, Nehalial, Osha, The City of Salt, Timnath Heres, the Land of Tob, &c. I cannot, however, claim Jogbehah (p. 585) which was, I think, first suggested by Vandevelde. He also accepts the identifications which I have proposed for the topography of the Crusades, in the case of the rivers of the Sharon Plain, and the sites of Petra Incisa and Sinjil, which were, I believe, previously unknown.

It is not possible in a short notice to refer to the critical views of the author, or to his impressions due to visiting the land. His information is usually taken from standard authorities, which were available for the most part in 1876-1883, when I used them in writing the Survey Memoirs, though some have since become more generally available by being translated into English. If therefore the following paragraphs are mainly devoted to criticisms of detail, it is not due to any desire to depreciate an interesting and scholarly work, which may be useful to many, and which is excellent in tone; but rather for the sake of suggesting to the author points which he might wish to strengthen, or to reconsider, in a later edition.

It may be remarked in passing that the Arabic requires a few minor corrections. *Anezeḥ* (p. 8) should be '*Anazeh*'; and *Feshkah* (p. 564) *Feshkhah*. For *Sahra* (p. 644) read *Sahrat*, and for '*Akrabbah* (p. 324) '*Akrabeh*. *Huwa* is not Arabic for "brotherhood" (*Khurwah*); and *Ahwat* should be *Akhwat* "brothers," and cannot mean "sister" (*Akht*). But it is evident that these are mere slips. The word *Lejja* in North Syrian speech means (as it may be interesting to note) "basalt," thus answering to the old name Trachonitis. In spite of the great care taken, there are also one or two printer's errors in the Arabic, which require attention. This is inevitable in such work.

Turning to consider the controversial sites, as to which Dr Smith writes with knowledge and with fairness, it may be remarked that light has recently been thrown on the situation of Gath by the Tell el Amarna letters.¹ The site lay on the border of a province bounded by Sunasu (*Sanasin*), Burku (*Burka*), and Kharabu (*El Khurāb*), which agrees with the Tell es Sâfi site, now generally adopted, and which Dr Smith is also somewhat inclined to accept (p. 196). The situation in the Valley of Elah also agrees with the

¹ No. 154 Berlin Collection. *Giti Rimuna*—Gath Rimmon.

Old Testament account.¹ The same correspondence also seems to confirm the identification of Makkedah (*see* p. 211) at *El Mughâr*, almost the only site in the plains where caves exist in a cliff.

As regards the identification of the Castle of Mirabel at the Castle of Râs el 'Ain (*see* p. 214), the fact that the Turks fled north-west "towards" (not "to") Mirabel (*De Vinsauf* iv. 36) does not appear to be a great objection. Saladin's irregulars generally scattered in various directions, and during the great battle of Assur some actually fled west to the shore cliffs, across the line of King Richard's march. Among other minor points it seems doubtful whether Gibeah ha Elohim should be placed at Ramallah (p. 250), and Beit Rima can hardly be Ramathaim (p. 254), for the word comes from another root, and the site was called Beth Rima in the second century A.D. The "nest of the Kenite" (p. 278) may very likely be doubtful, but it appears to me fairly certain that the ruin *Yukin* represents the town *Ha Kin* mentioned in Joshua xv. 57. In the Negeb, 'Ain Kadis may quite possibly be the Kadesh on the way to Egypt, which Hagar is said to have reached, but great confusion in the topography arises from the attempt to identify this site with Kadesh Barnea (or "of the desert of wandering"), a site which the Talmudists and the Onomasticon agree in placing near Petra, which agrees with my suggested identification of Hezron at *Jebel Hadhireh*. Hagar is not said to have gone to Kadesh Barnea, and the name Kadesh is common.

It is difficult to understand why Dr Smith says (p. 353) that there is no ruin called *Kurûwa* near the Sartabeh. I found remains so called of a considerable town, and a Hebrew or Samaritan inscription on one of the tombs. The site is not impossibly that of Archelais.² It is also hard to understand why he should place Tirzah at *Tallûza* (p. 355). The two names have not a single letter in common.

The question of Megiddo is still controversial, but the following points are to be considered in favour of my suggested site at *Mujedda'*, which was certainly an important town: (1) the site agrees with the topography of the "Travels of a Mohar," in which it is noticed as if near Jordan; (2) the word *Bikath* usually applies (both in Hebrew and in Arabic) to a broad valley between mountains, rather than to a plain like that of Esdraelon; (3) the notice of Taanach (Judg. v. 19) in connection with the waters of Megiddo may fairly be balanced by the notice of Endor (Psalm lxxxiii. 9) as the site of the battle. Against the Lejjûn site it may also be urged (1) that no ancient writer ever places Megiddo at Lejjûn or at Legio—it is only selected as a large place near Taanach; (2) there is no ancient site called *Mukutta'* at all. The

¹ 1 Samuel xvii. 52.

² Survey Memoirs II. p., 395.

modern name of the Kishon, five miles north of Legio, is *Nahr el Mukutta'*, applying, not to the western affluent, but to that which flows from Tabor. The name cannot be ancient in this case, and it does not point to the site at Legio. Excavations at Mujeddá might perhaps settle this question, since it is possible to reconcile all the Old Testament notices with this situation, excepting perhaps the single passage in the Song of Deborah, if Taanach is there to be taken as a proper name of a town.

Beth Shearim (p. 425) I have proposed to place at *Sha'rah*, on the Tabor plateau, shewing a gradual removal of the seat of the Sanhedrin eastwards from Shaphram to Tiberias. As regards Tarichea (p. 452), Sir Charles Wilson, in his latest map, has, like Dr Guthe, come round to the opinion that it was at the south end of the Sea of Galilee. This city seems to be the *Tarkaar* (or *Tarkaal*) of the "Travels of a Mohar," which he passed on his way from the Lake to the Jordan, before reaching Megiddo; and in this case the name is really not of Greek but of native origin. As regards Rakkath (p. 454), the Talmudists believed it to be the ancient name of Tiberias itself.

It is highly satisfactory to find that Dr Smith supports the Minieh site for Capernaum (p. 456), and discards the Byzantine tradition, which has no authority in face of the various difficulties which it raises. *Tell Hum* may, I think, be very well identified with the Caphar Ahim of the Talmud. As regards Baal Gad (p. 474), it seems to me probable that the true site is at *'Ain Judeideh* on the north-west slope of Hermon.

Dr Smith leaves the question of Bethabara unsettled (p. 496). The identification with the ford of 'Abárah may be uncertain, but the following considerations should be remembered: (1) that the name is unique, and is not borne by any other Jordan ford, nor does it again occur in the 10,000 Arab names recovered in Western Palestine; (2) that the Gospel narration (John i. 28, ii. 1) requires that Bethabara should be as near as possible to Cana of Galilee, which agrees with the site which I have proposed. The site near Jericho, which Christian tradition has indicated since the fourth century, is so far away as to have led to adverse criticism on the part of critical writers on the Gospel.

The only other site of importance that requires notice is Mahanaim (p. 586), which I propose to place at the ruin *Mahmeh* in Gilead. Dr Smith says that the region "is not likely to have contained so important a town," from which conclusion, after visiting the spot, I beg to differ. The locality is well watered, and contains several important ruins. He also says that Mahanaim was on the border of Gad (Josh. xiii. 26), but the passage in question speaks only of the border of Debir.

With regard to questions not purely geographical, a few points may be noticed, which require at least further explanation. Dr Smith asserts (p. 5) that only one language was spoken in Palestine. The language used by the writers of the Tell el Amarna tablets resembles Assyrian, and is as remote from Hebrew as German is from English. Whatever be thought of the language of two of the letters which scholars have pronounced to be non-Semitic, it is not now possible to regard Hebrew, Moabite, or Phœnician as mere dialects of Canaanite. The writers of these letters all bear Semitic names, and appear to have written in the native language. In later times the Aramean and the language of Ashdod are specially distinguished in the Old Testament from Hebrew. As regards the date of these letters Dr Smith wavers (pp. 5, 184) between the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries B.C. The dates determined by Dr Brugsch rest on several astronomical calculations, and according to these the letters must have been penned about 1480 to 1440 B.C. The later dates of Mahler have not won general acceptance.

Dr Smith asserts (p. 7) that the population of Palestine came from Arabia, but does not give any cogent reason. According to the Old Testament the Hebrews and the Canaanites alike came from Mesopotamia, and Phœnician tradition points to the mouth of the Euphrates as the original seat. It is certainly in Chaldea and in Palestine that we find the earliest evidence (2000 to 1500 B.C.) of Semitic civilisation in written documents. The inscriptions of North Arabia are fixed by palæographic considerations as not older than about 400 B.C., and the oldest dated Yemenite texts belong to the third century B.C. The Arabic language is, moreover, much nearer to Babylonian than to Hebrew; and Arabia is clearly a country ill-fitted to be the cradle of a civilised race. The early cradles are found as a rule in the basin of some great river, and no such rivers occur in the Arabian deserts. Tradition and science are alike opposed to the theory of an Arabian origin for the Semitic races and no contrary evidence appears to exist.

Dr Smith's account of the modern Jewish colonies (p. 20) is not quite up to date. There are a good many more than he notices. He appears also to have a prejudice against the Crusaders (p. 17), for the early Frankish kings and nobles were famed for their courtesy and justice, even according to the evidence of Moslems. It was no small achievement to conquer the whole of Syria and part of Aram, and to hold these kingdoms for a century, and after that for another century to hold all the more valuable plains: to carry Frank customs into Armenia; and to build up a system of law and of free trade, such as these conquerors established. But the most remarkable results of the Crusades were the birth of the Renaissance in Europe, and the revolt from the authority of Rome, which led in time to the

Reformation. It is fairly certain that the Crusading Barons held Gilead (see p. 528), in the 12th century, when they built the castles of Salt, Rubud, and Tibneh. They also held part of the Jaulân ; and Bashan was (on account of Damascus) the only region never subdued.

The view that Tarshish was in Spain, and Elishah in Italy (p. 26), cannot be said to be generally accepted. The former is mentioned with places in Asia Minor, and is very probably the later Tarsus. If Elishah be (as I believe) the *Alasiya* of the Tell el Amarna tablets, it is certain that it was not far distant from the country of the Hittites.

It is usual to state (see p. 30) that the Hebrews alone of the Ancients had Monotheistic ideas. Yet Monotheism seems very clearly expressed in Egyptian hymns as old as Moses, and recent discoveries in Assyria have shown that the Assyrians also at least as early as 900 B.C., adored *Yahu*, or Jehovah, and regarded the various divine names as only titles of a single deity.

Dr Smith is no doubt right (p. 40) in identifying the Melchites with the Roman Catholic Greeks, but the term is much older, and dates from the time of the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.), when certain Syrians adhered to the "Royal" or Melchite party.

It seems hardly correct (p. 47) to speak of a continuous "trench" from the Lebanon Valley to the Gulf of 'Akabah. A very high water-shed on Hermon divides the Orontes, which flows north, from the Jordan which flows south ; and another high water-shed divides the Dead Sea from the Gulf of 'Akabah. The sequence of the valleys north and south is, however, a remarkable feature, due, in the case of the Jordan Valley at least, to an enormous fault in the strata.

A thunderstorm in Palestine in harvest time (p. 65) is not as "miraculous" as would appear. It is no doubt rare, but I remember experiencing one in 1873. If by 'Ain Sina (p. 78) Dr Smith means 'Ain Sinia, he will find that this place does not depend on a well, but has a good spring to the north-east.¹ There are very few places in Palestine called *'Ain* where springs do not occur. It is not clear (p. 121) what Dr Smith means by the note "Ebal is 2300 feet": the height above the Mediterranean is 3077 feet. Bolerin (p. 128) is perhaps a printer's error for Batrûn, as there is no place of the former name on the Phœnician coast. I also doubt whether Phœnician masonry has been found at Tantûrah (p. 129), though there is a tomb hard by which may be Phœnician. The remains at this site are mainly of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. I also doubt if it was the Merla of De Vinsauf (p. 130) which seems to have been further south.

¹ Survey Memoirs II., p. 291.

St George at Lydda (p. 163) cannot have been built by Richard Lion Heart, which Dr Smith agrees in discrediting. The style is that of the earlier period, and it is thought to have been erected some forty years earlier. King Richard built forts, but is not recorded to have built churches, and the Norman churches in Palestine must have taken much more than a single year to build.

It is true that the Philistines are not mentioned by name in the Tell el Amarna tablets (pp. 172-3), but the King of Ascalon bears a name compounded with that of Dagon, and may probably have been a Philistine. Dagon (*Da-gan*) was adored in Chaldea, and his name is supposed to be non-Semitic. The Philistines (*Pu-les-ta*) are first noticed on the monuments about 1200 B.C. No doubt the population of this region was much mixed, but the general impression from monumental evidence is that the "uncircumcised" Philistines were non-Semitic. They are represented on Egyptian bas-reliefs as a beardless people, wearing a peculiar head-dress, and they seem more probably, like the Hittites, to have been a tribe of the Mongolic population to which the Akkadians certainly belonged, as witnessed by their language. Dr Smith remarks that most of the Philistine names in the Old Testament seem to be non-Semitic. There is no evidence that Obed Edom was a Philistine, and Abimelech may have been a Semitic ruler of a non-Semitic people.

It is hardly correct to speak of the reign of Mineptah II. as the "accepted" date of the Exodus (p. 216), except among tourists and writers who have not studied the monuments themselves. It is an old theory of Bunsen's, popularised by Dr Brugsch, but never accepted by Sir G. Wilkinson. It is not based on any monumental notices, since the Hebrews are not noticed in any Egyptian text, but on Bunsen's understanding of the legends of Manetho, who lived in the third century B.C. The theory is quite irreconcilable with any of the chronological data furnished in the Bible (Judges xi. 26 ; 1 Kings vi. 1 ; Acts xiii. 20), and it has always been criticised by scholars. Quite recently Mr Le Page Renouf has stated that the Egyptian records throw no light on the date of the Exodus. It is known that in the time of Mineptah II. Semitic tribes were actually entering Egypt, and that this king was attacked, during a period of great weakness, by the nations of the north. On these grounds his reign is very unlikely to have coincided with an exodus. On the other hand it is known that Thothmes IV. (the "tamer of the Syrian shepherds") actually expelled the Asiatics from Egypt. His reign preceded that of Amenophis III., during which the great revolts of Canaanites, Amorites, Hittites, and Habiri broke out, when the Egyptian troops were withdrawn. It seems, therefore, not improbable that the

Habiri (or 'Abiri) were the Hebrews (a view held also in Germany by Dr Zimmern), and this date would be reconcilable with the chronology of the Old Testament. The identification is strengthened by the notice of Seir in connection with the Habiri, and by the path of their advance to Jerusalem, Ajalon, Gezer, Lachish, Ascalon, and Keilah, which coincides exactly with that of Joshua's first campaign, as described in the narrative of the Book of Joshua. The destruction of the Canaanite rulers by the Habiri is mentioned several times in the Tell el Amarna letters, as being very complete; and it is evident that they were an invading nation, who are only noticed in the south and never in the north of Palestine.

Dr Smith does not describe the "Roman remains" at Beit Jibrin (p. 232), and, except perhaps the Columbaria, I did not find any there. The texts in the caves at this site are in several cases clearly Moslem, and among others the name of Saladin has been recognised. Although they are usually called Cufic (p. 243), it seems doubtful if they are older than the twelfth century, and very improbable that they are as early as the Byzantine age.

It also seems doubtful whether the Idumeans were ever really Judaised (p. 240), and incorrect to speak of Herod as a Hebrew (p. 624). They certainly retained pagan names in the time of the latter. It seems also improbable that Sanballat the Horonite was named from Beth Horon. According to the Samaritan Book of Joshua, Israel assembled in the Haurân before approaching Shechem under Sanballat, and this may be the real explanation. According to the same work Sanballat was a Levite.

Dr Smith seems (p. 265) to confuse Khân el Ahmar ("the red Khan") with Khân Hathrûrah at Tala't ed Dumm further north, which is the old traditional "inn of the good Samaritan." According to Jerome Aulon was a Hebrew word (p. 489), *i.e.* *Elon* or "plain," and not Greek at all. There seems no reason to suppose (p. 618) that Siah "began with a Nabatean building." The temple appears to be all of one date, and the Aramaic text is part of a bilingual, with a Greek translation. Nor is it necessary to regard Aumo (p. 629), to whom the above temple was consecrated in the time of Herod the Great, as a "deity of lower rank." He is very well known as an Arab sun-god, noticed in the Sabeian texts of Yemen; and this is one among many indications of the migrations from Arabia, which were taking place about this period.

It will, I hope, be recognised that these remarks are not captious, or intended for any purpose other than the advancement of knowledge. An exhaustive account of the Holy Land has never yet been written, but Dr Smith's volume contains much that will be valuable towards such a description, and is among the most scholarly yet published.

C. R. CONDER.

A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel.

*By the Rev. Alex. Arthur. Edinburgh : Norman Macleod. Post
8vo, 251 pages. Price 3s.*

THIS commentary, though certainly not "critical" in the usual acceptation of the term, contains much criticism of the views maintained regarding the Book of Daniel by some preceding commentators. The writer's opinion of his own achievements is thus given in his preface:—"I suppose also I am the first to refute Porphyry and modern rationalism; the refutation is so simple and conclusive that if it had ever been observed, it could hardly have been lost." That he is a man of strong convictions is abundantly evident; that he is likely to convince others, however, is not quite so apparent, in spite of the following pronouncement on page 11:—"I have not merely silenced Mr Fuller's rash insinuation, but I have refuted the equal rashness of Spinoza, Hobbes, and Sir Isaac Newton, about the authorship, quoted in my prospectus, of two or more authors to the book; and all the rubbish of German rationalism about eight, nine, or ten authors." Notwithstanding forcible language, the style decidedly lacks lucidity; the book, however, is anything but dull reading.

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American Society of Church History.

*Report and Papers of the Fifth Annual Meeting. New York
and London : Putnam's, pp. lxxxii. 143.*

THE American Society of Church History reports a gratifying increase both in membership and in interest in its work. The Report is followed by a bibliography of works of interest to the student of church history published in 1892. This is very carefully compiled by the Secretary, and provides not only a catalogue, but also, by means of cross-references, a guide to new works on special topics, which will be found very useful. The first of five papers contributed by members is by the lamented Dr Philip Schaff, on St Thomas of Canterbury. Had he lived to complete his great work on church history, it would doubtless have formed one of the chapters of a subsequent volume. It does not produce any new facts or suggestions, but it provides a useful list and estimate of the available sources and materials, and a studiously impartial, on the whole appreciative, judgment of the Archbishop. An article on the services of the Mathers in the religious development of New England brings before us again

the interesting figures of Richard, Increase, and Cotton Mather, to whom New England owed respectively the shaping, the defence, and the history of its Congregational polity. It is curious to observe the Scottish defender of Presbytery described as "Prof. Samuel Rutherford," with a note to explain that he was Professor at St Andrews, and Commissioner to the Westminster Assembly. Are the letters of the minister of Anwoth not part of the literary heritage of America?

The most valuable contribution here is one from Dr H. C. Lea on "The Absolution Formula of the Templars." The problem is how did it happen that among the accusations brought against the Templars by Clement V. in 1308, there was one to the effect that the officers of the Order absolved their brethren from their sins, arrogating to themselves one of the cherished privileges of the priesthood. The answer is that the charge was true, admitted in fact by the Master, and that in the practice of the Order we have a survival from an earlier and less sacerdotal stage, an important testimony to the comparative lateness of the doctrines of sacramental confession and absolution. The Rule of the Templars, derived through the Cistercians from the Benedictines, provided for weekly confession by each member, in the presence of his fellow-members assembled in chapter. Nothing is said as to absolution, which followed according to the theory of the time, *ipso facto*, upon confession and penance. This capitular confession, which was in fact confession before laymen, continued to prevail within the Order long after the development of the sacerdotal theory had put absolution into the power of the priest alone. This was only arrived at after a long period of development. Even the forgery of the twelfth century which passed current under the name of St Augustine, and exercised so great an influence on the development of the sacramental theory of penance, allows that confession to a layman is efficacious, "*Tanta itaque vis confessionis est ut si deest sacerdos confiteatur proximo.*" Down to the thirteenth century the formula of absolution was universally deprecatory. It was not, in fact, until about 1240 that the absolute indicative form, *Ego te absolvo* was introduced. The Church did not formally adopt this formula before the Council of Florence in 1439, and the Council of Trent first pronounced it to be the sole essential part of the sacrament. This interesting question is worked out by Dr Lea with his accustomed thoroughness and mastery of the authorities. Other articles on Holland and Religious Freedom, and the Italian Renaissance of To-day, are lighter metal.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

For Heart and Life.

*By Rev. J. A. Kerr Bain, M.A. Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace.
Pp. 390. Price, 5s.*

THESE sermons have all the sobriety of thought and the thoroughness of treatment which readers of Mr Kerr Bain's valuable volumes on the "Pilgrim's Progress" have been taught to expect in his work. That sermons so able were prepared for a small country congregation is a tribute to the author's devotedness as well as to his powers as a preacher. There is no straining after effect either in the subjects chosen or in the method of treatment. The divisions are mostly simple and natural, and if there is on the whole an absence of anything very outstanding or striking, there is strength everywhere, with here and there passages of keen insight and tender beauty. Those who buy sermons for devotional use and for use during enforced absence from church should get this volume, so scriptural, practical and evangelical.

WILLIAM MUIR.

The Daughter of Leontius.

By J. D. Craig Houston, B.D. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Large crown 8vo, pp. 380. Price, 6s.

WE have here a chapter in the romance of history attractively told. It does not look like sober history to read of the daughter of an obscure teacher becoming the wife of a mighty emperor, or to read of great court ladies taking an active part in the fierce discussion of obscure questions regarding the union of the human and the divine in the Person of our Lord. Yet it is all to be found here along with much more of the same sort.

The daughter of Leontius was Athenais or, as she is better known, Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius II. Her romantic career is known only to students, and to them mostly through incidental references in such writers as Hefele, Kurtz, and Gibbon, but in this volume all that is known of her is brought together. Her great gifts, her conversion, her marriage, her eloquence, beauty and learning, her state pilgrimage to the East, her disgrace and exile, her strenuous advocacy of monophysitism, her return to the Catholic faith, her family sorrows and her death, are all told here. As a story, however, there are far too many digressions in the book, and the alternative title, "Phases of Byzantine Life Social and Religious in the Fifth Century after Christ," is the more correct. As to the value of the book there can be no doubt. Every student of the period will

find much in it that is new. Even Mr Gladstone has found something new in the second chapter, in the fact that there were pagan statues in the Sophia Cathedral at Constantinople. The general reader will get a most valuable view of the environment of the Church in the fifth century, and of the insidious influence of the paganism which, far from being conquered as was supposed, was everywhere working woe. The growth of monasticism and asceticism, the appearance of relic worship and mariolatry, the creed-making work of the four great councils, the violence, intolerance and unscrupulousness of the period, and the work of the barbarians everywhere encroaching on the Empire of the West and the Empire of the East alike, are all told here in the most interesting way.

WILLIAM MUIR.

Fallen Angels.

By One of Them. London: Gay & Bird. Demy 8vo, pp. xviii. 230. Price, 6s.

THIS is another attempt to discover "a rational explanation why the earth, that is the Lord's, with the fulness thereof, should be full of rapine, violence, cruelty, suffering, and misery." The problem is the oldest men have had to face, but the solution here offered is novel enough, at least so far as modern thought is concerned. It is "that human beings are angels, and dwelt originally in purity and light as emanations from the Divine; but that, having fallen, we are being graciously led back to heaven by gradations of instructions." The arguments adduced in favour of this proposition are very varied. They are more interesting than convincing, however, and do not hang well together. Some of them, too, are trivial, as when it is suggested that Paul's injunction to put off "the old man" in some way supports the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, or when such phrases in hymns as "O God, *our* help in *ages past*," and "Grant us thy peace upon our *homeward* way," are quoted as favouring the belief that the present home of the angels was our former home and is destined to be our future home.

The extent to which literature, of all ages and departments, has been laid under requisition is most extraordinary. In one short chapter, not much more than a page in length, there are quotations from writers so diverse as Thomas à Kempis, Gregory of Nyssa, General Gordon, Sharon Turner, Professor Drummond and Lewis Morris. It is claimed for this theory that it lends a majesty to our race in its past, present and future, and casts light on the divine dealings with us, and on the mission of Jesus. Not only so, but it

is said to have important bearings on the place of the lower animals in the universe and to get rid of the difficulties which gather round the doctrine of eternal punishment. On the whole, however, it is impossible to say that this anonymous Fallen Angel, who asserts that we are all fallen angels on our way back to our home, gives a sufficient or satisfactory answer to his own concluding question, *Cui bono?*

WILLIAM MUIR.

Die Apostelgeschichte. Textkritische Untersuchungen und Textherstellung.

Von D. Bernhard Weiss (Texte und Untersuchungen. IX. Band, Heft 3-4). Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. 313. Price, M. 10.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken, Jahrgang, 1894, Erstes Heft: Die zwiefache Textüberlieferung in der Apostelgeschichte.

Von Prof. Dr. Fr. Blass in Halle.

Die Johannes-Apokalypse. Textkritische Untersuchungen und Textherstellung.

Von D. Bernhard Weiss. (Texte und Untersuchungen. Band VII. Heft 1). Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. vi. 225. Price, M. 7.

THE interest of Dr Weiss' book on the Acts is twofold.

It has an exegetical interest. Dr Weiss accompanies the text with a commentary, the object of which is partly to justify, on exegetical grounds, his textual decisions, partly to indicate the passages where an analysis of the language points necessarily (to use his own word) to the working up of older material. The examination of the language by means of parallels from the book itself and from the Gospel of St Luke, is carefully worked out, and the notes are as a rule sensible and useful. Those, however, on some of the most important points, are exceedingly brief. Thus, on the passage relating to the insurrection of Theudas (v. 36) Dr Weiss remarks curtly, "Here at all events there is an obvious error, for the rising of Theudas took place later than this discussion" (in the Sanhedrin). See also the note on xvi. 10. The very difficult and delicate subject of *Quellenkritik* needs comprehensive treatment, and cannot satisfactorily be dealt with in detached notes. Dr Weiss, however, by his examination of the language has made a contribution to the investigation of the question.

The chief importance, however, of the book lies in its treatment of the textual problems of the Acts. Dr Weiss works, as indeed any scientific critic must now do, on genealogical lines. He en-

deavours to determine the relation of the primary MSS. of the Acts by a comparison of their readings in a large number of passages. This investigation falls under three main heads—viz., (1) variation in words; (2) additions and omissions; (3) change in the order of words. It may be said roughly to be that kind of detailed examination of readings which lies behind much of Dr Hort's Introduction. His theory is as follows. The primary MSS. must be divided into four groups: (1) Three Codices of the ninth century, viz., HLP. Of the 630 variants in these MSS. (of which 290 are common to all three) at least 390 are intentional emendations. (2) Two Codices of the sixth century—viz., Codex Bezae (D) and Codex Laudianus (E). The extraordinary and characteristic aberrations from the common text found in these MSS. are grafted on to an already emended text, closely related to that exemplified in the first group. There are, according to Dr Weiss, 440 variants common to the two groups. (3) Three Codices which are representatives of "the older text"—viz., \aleph AC. This group also, however, has a distinct connection with the two former groups, and consequently with "the emended text." With the first group (HLP) \aleph has 23, A 42, C (about a third of the Book being wanting in this MS.) 27 mistakes in common. With the second group (DE) the agreement of \aleph AC is still more frequent, \aleph having 36, A 49, C 42 mistakes in common with it. Thus the turning point of the theory is "the *emended* text." Of the MSS. already considered \aleph is the least influenced thereby. (4) The Vatican MS. (B) holds a unique position. It is true that B resembles the group \aleph AC, in that it exhibits a number of arbitrary, often meaningless, mistakes and an especially numerous crop of clerical errors. But Dr Weiss gives it as his verdict that among the peculiar readings of B we find no single one which *must* be regarded as an intentional emendation, and 48 which are to be reckoned as original readings. B has only 37 errors in common with the three other groups and 970 right readings, while the other groups have about 75 right readings in places where representatives of them agree against B. The great importance of B for the text of the Acts is thus beyond dispute, though care must be taken not to overlook its characteristic errors.

The text which is the outcome of this theory closely resembles that of Drs Westcott and Hort. A collation of the two texts in two or three chapters showed but few and unimportant differences. It must not, however, be concluded that the German scholar is always at one with the English editors, however his general results confirm theirs. If I am not mistaken, the subjective element, which is, of course, necessary in that preliminary review of readings by which a provisional grouping of authorities is obtained, plays too prominent

a part in Dr Weiss' final decisions. Two examples will illustrate this criticism. (a) In xi. 20, Dr Weiss reads *ἐλάλουν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας* with \aleph^c AD*. The rival reading *πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνιστάς* has the support of BD²EHLP (\aleph^* reading *εὐαγγελιστάς* through an anticipation of the following word). The great intrinsic difficulty of the latter reading might perhaps excuse an editor for placing the former reading in the text; but it should be marked as doubtful. (b) In xv. 23, Dr Weiss reads *οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῖς . . . ἀδελφοῖς*. On the passage so read Dr Weiss founds an important argument. "The mention of the *ἀδελφοί*," he says, "in the salutation after the Apostles and Presbyters betrays the hand of the compiler, for according to ver. 6 they (*i.e.*, the brethren) were not present at the assembly." But Dr Weiss, as he himself allows, inserts the words *καὶ οἱ* before *ἀδελφοί* "in defiance of all editors," holding that the two words must have once had a place in the oldest text and have fallen out. "All editors," however, hold an impregnable position behind a defence so strong as the following combination of MSS., \aleph^* ABCD. Dr Weiss' insertion of *καὶ οἱ* is absolutely arbitrary. But if this insertion cannot be sustained, there is nothing, so far as the opening clause is concerned, which forbids our thinking that we have the exact words of the Apostolic letter. The conjecture may be hazarded that, as the Christian Church would be regarded by a Jew (*cf.* James ii. 2) as an association of synagogues, we have in this opening clause a formula used in communications between the elders of different synagogues (*cf.* Acts xxii. 5, xxviii. 21). We may compare 2 Macc. i. 1 (*τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον Ἰουδαίοις χαίρειν. οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰουδαῖοι . . . εἰρήνην ἀγαθὴν*). But, however this may be, as in 2 Macc., so here the point seems to be that the writers and the recipients of the letter are joined in the bond of brotherhood—"The apostles and the elders, brethren to the brethren in Antioch," &c. In this passage, then, Dr Weiss seems to be at fault both in his textual criticism and in his exegesis.

It argues no want of gratitude to Dr Weiss, or want of appreciation of his careful and useful work, if we say that his treatment of the relations between the groups of MSS. is too much dominated by a love of somewhat mechanical statistics. A critic who deals with the relations between different types of text needs a faculty of imagination, inspired and controlled by a knowledge of textual facts. Again, it is remarkable that in his theory Dr Weiss takes no account of, indeed he never refers to, the versions. Here we have the explanation of what I will venture to call the disappointing character of Dr Weiss' work considered as a whole. He makes no attempt to reach the goal to which it is of the first importance that textual criticism should now strive to attain.

The origin of the "Western" text is the question of all questions which must be grappled with before further advance in the textual criticism of the New Testament can be made. For its investigation the Acts affords a specially advantageous ground. Here the phenomena which are characteristic of the "Western" text are present even in an exaggerated form. Here the cross lights of harmonising influences which bewilder the student of the text of the Gospels are absent. Here the textual authorities are sufficient, yet are not perplexing by their very abundance. Here, lastly, I would venture to add that we have a clue in the occurrence of the same glosses in Codd. DE, but in different forms. The riddle challenges an answer; but Dr Weiss has not heeded the call.

Dr Blass of Halle, in his dissertation in the *Studien u. Kritiken*, referred to at the head of this article, has taken up the gauntlet which Dr Weiss has passed by. I will briefly state his theory in my own words, and then indicate some of the considerations which I believe to be fatal to it.

The Acts exists in two recensions. There is the common text. There is also the so-called "Western" text, which, as compared with the common text, is remarkable for numerous and sometimes lengthy additions. Which of these two recensions is the earlier? Not the common text. For no conceivable reason can be suggested why a copyist should engraft on to a narrative, already full and complete, additions which frequently have no special point. On the other hand, when we write out a fair copy of a composition of our own, we observe in ourselves a tendency to shorten what we have already written. Now St Luke was a poor man, and would have to do his copying out for himself. Naturally, when he transcribed his original draft for Theophilus, he omitted here and there a short paragraph or a clause. Passages from the original draft, which St Luke omitted in his "published" work, are found in Codd. DE, in the Philoxenian Syriac, in the old Latin MSS. and Patristic quotations, and in the Latin Vulgate. Thus, what appears to be an interpolated text is a genuine relic of the Apostolic age; indeed, in one sense, a more genuine form of the Book of the Acts than the common text. Naturally, Dr Blass places in the forefront of his argument the reading of Codex Bezae in Acts xi. 28 (*ἦν δὲ πολλὴ ἀγαλλίασις, συνεστραμμένων δὲ ἡμῶν ἔφη κ.τ.λ.*). It bears, he thinks, upon its face the stamp of genuineness. "The Antiochene Luke, by the word *ἡμῶν*, indicates his presence at that assembly. Would a scribe have introduced such a change?" Equal stress does he lay on the reading of the same MS. in xii. 10 (*κατέβησαν τοὺς ἑπτὰ βαθμοὺς καὶ κ.τ.λ.*). "Here the originality of β [*i.e.*, the so-called interpolations of the "Western" text] is

once for all quite obvious." These are specimens of a large number of additions found in the "Western" text, which are examined by Dr Blass in support of his theory.

Such is the theory of Dr Blass, stated briefly, but, as I hope, fairly. No doubt it is an attractive one. There must be a fascination about a theory which, as it were, opens the door of an Apostolic *scriptorium*, and gives us a glimpse of one of the Evangelists at his work. Nor ought it to be set aside on the ground of *a priori* improbability. The question is, Does it satisfy the conditions of the problem which it is intended to solve? I cannot but think that this question must be answered with a decided negative.

The objections which, as it seems to me, are fatal to Dr Blass' theory are as follows:—(1) Perhaps the first thing which strikes anyone who examines the passages in the "Western" text, to which Dr Blass calls attention, is the deplorable style of St Luke's original draft. Let anyone look at the longer interpolations of Cod. D, *e.g.*, xi. 2, xiii. 27; and, making all allowance for transcriptional degeneration, he must, I think, pronounce the style, structure of sentences, &c., as alien to that of St Luke. The fact that in these passages we note Lucan words finds an easy explanation in the supposition that an interpolator based his gloss on genuine passages of the Acts. (2) The interpolations cannot be considered apart from the remarkable text of Cod. D, in which they are embedded. The theory which offers a satisfactory explanation of the interpolations must also explain the eccentricities of the surrounding text. (3) The theory of Dr Blass does not account for the fact that the interpolations are found in different forms. (4) It neglects the indications afforded by the interpolations themselves (to say nothing of the text of which they form a part) that they are artificial additions. To mention but one point. The long interpolation as to St Peter's movements in xi. 2 is a mosaic of passages culled from the Pauline history. (5) We cannot separate the "Western" text of the Acts from the "Western" text of the Gospels. Dr Blass indeed says that the divergences from the common text in the Bezan text of the Gospels differ from the divergences found in the Bezan text of the Acts. That this is an erroneous assertion will, I believe, be clear to anyone who will collate with the common text first a few chapters of the Bezan text of the Acts and then a few chapters of the Gospels in the same MS. If the theory of Dr Blass as to the Acts is true, we must suppose that Codex Bezae preserves for us relics of the original drafts of the four Gospels. In other words, we are obliged to assume (i.) that the writers of the Gospels, as well as the author of the Acts, made rough drafts of their writings; (ii.) that these rough

drafts had a larger number of common characteristics than the corresponding books in their final shape; (iii.) that these drafts were all preserved; (iv.) that an enterprising editor of the Apostolic writings in the second century was able to collect together these very interesting relics of the Evangelists.

The theory which regards the characteristic peculiarities of the "Western" text as mainly the outcome of the use of Bilingual MSS. is far less romantic than that of Dr Blass. It views the additions which appear to him Apostolic as editorial accretions, largely as the result of assimilation of the text to passages in other parts of Scripture. But this, I venture to think, is the theory which now demands the consideration of workers who can approach it from different points of view.

The work of Dr Weiss on the Apocalypse is some two years older than his volume on the Acts considered above. In the earlier work he makes a first trial of the principles which in the later book he applies to another part of the New Testament. The investigation of the textual questions occupies a larger, the commentary a smaller, space in the former book than in the latter.

Dr Weiss holds that there are two groups of authorities for the text of the Apocalypse—(1) representatives of the later text, *i.e.*, "the emended text"—*viz.*, Codd. PQ; (2) representatives of the earlier text—*viz.*, Codd. SAC. Of the three latter MSS. Dr Weiss regards Cod. A as without doubt the most important representative of the older text. When unsupported by other authorities it presents the true reading some *sixty* times, this being the case with Cod. C only *four* times, with Cod. S only *eight* times.

The space given to the discussion of the text of the Acts precludes anything more than the merest indication of the lines followed in Dr Weiss' full and careful work on the Apocalypse.

F. H. CHASE.

Die Wahl Gregors VII.

Von Carl Mirbt. Marburg: Elwert. 4to, pp. 56. Price, M. 2.

THE question examined by Dr Mirbt is whether the election of Hildebrand to the papal chair was canonically valid. It is a question whose interest is academic and scientific rather than practical; but it acquired an accidental importance through the struggle between Gregory and Henry IV. No sooner had this struggle begun than the king, in his letter to the Romans, attacked Gregory

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as *invasor ecclesiae*; the bishops accused the pope of having seized the government of the Church *contra jus et fas*; and four years later (1080) Egilbert denies the pope's authority, on the ground that he *invasit sedem apostolicam*. In subsequent years, and in the hands of later writers, the grounds of attack on the election are expanded and defined. It had been carried through by a tumultuary concourse; it lacked the *assensus* of the German Emperor; it was forced on by the unscrupulous machinations of Hildebrand. Even menaces and bribery were freely employed, and all this although Hildebrand had been absolutely debarred from seeking or accepting the papacy by an oath which he had given to the king.

The documentary evidence for or against these various assertions is copious and involved. Dr Mirbt has thoroughly examined the whole. He maintains that we must take, as the criterion of validity, the electoral law of 1059, and, as the most trustworthy evidence of what actually took place, the letters of Gregory himself, written immediately after his elevation. If these premises be accepted, then the election of Gregory was vitiated from the outset; the tumultuary character of the proceedings, and the exclusion of the cardinals as an electoral body, are established on the evidence of Gregory himself, and this presented so radical a rejection of the fundamental paragraphs of the electoral law that the whole procedure is thereby branded as illegal.

It may be asked why the neglect of the law of 1059 was overlooked by the German court? Dr Mirbt replies that it was because that law had never been accepted, and had no official existence for the emperor, whose concern was about the manner not of the election, but of the institution of the Pope.

On the other hand, Dr Mirbt disproves the charges of corruption, of intimidation, and even of unscrupulous ambition on the part of Gregory, and if the *assensus regius* was wanting before the election, it was granted before the consecration. Hildebrand was fortunate in not finding himself opposed by a rival pope; otherwise the irregularities which undoubtedly attached to his election would have been more serious weapons in the hands of his enemies. It is probably true that he was pope *de facto* before he was pope *de jure*. It is possible that on a strict interpretation of the law he was never validly elected, but his success was the truest seal of his election, and in this case, as in so many others, the event has justified the means.

C. A. SCOTT.

Notices.

Two sumptuous publications issued by the Council of the *Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies* are before us, which are a pleasure to look at and handle. One of these is a series of Supplementary papers on *Excavations at Megalopolis*.¹ The other is a second and smaller collection of similar Supplementary papers on *Ecclesiastical Sites in Isauria (Cilicia Trachea)*.² The plates and drawings in these splendid volumes are of the best quality, and most instructive. The preparation of the second volume is due to a visit made in 1890 by Professor Ramsay of Aberdeen and Messrs Hogarth and Headlam to the territory of Isauria. The sites dealt with are of considerable ecclesiastical interest, and are most carefully described. One of these is Kojia Kalessi, examined by Laborde in 1826. It presents among other things some carvings which are pronounced to be certainly Christian, but which "show a very marked resemblance to pre-Christian designs." Another is Kestel, or Da Bazar, where the ruins, though considerable, are of less moment. And there are brief notes by Professor Ramsay on other ecclesiastical remains, which indicate what has yet to be done in the exploration of Asia Minor. The larger volume gives the results of excavations conducted by the British School at Athens between March 1890 and October 1891, at the city which was founded as a centre for a Pan-Arkadian Confederacy, after the battle of Leuctra was fought and the reaction rose against the Spartan power. The essays contributed by the several members of the party of excavation appear to give an exhaustive account of the place and the work. Little of importance seems to have been obtained in the way of inscriptions, ornaments, or works of art. But there is much that is of interest in the remains of public buildings—the vast Theatre, the Scanotheca, the Stoa of Philip, the Sanctuary of Zeus Soter. These are most fully and carefully described. Above all, a very complete view is given us of the Thersilion or Assembly Hall, with its various points of interest and its curious arrangements.

A pamphlet by P. Odilo Rottmanner, *Der Augustinismus, eine dogmengeschichtliche Studie*,³ gives the results of an independent examination of those of Augustine's writings which deal with the questions of Predestination and Grace. The main lines of Augus-

¹ Supplementary Papers, No. 1. By Ernest Arthur Gardner, William Loring, G. C. Richards, W. J. Woodhouse, with an Architectural Description by Robert Weir Schultz. London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. vii. 141. Price, 25s.

² Supplementary Papers, No. 2. By Arthur C. Headlam, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. 31. Price, 5s.

³ München: Lentner. Pp. 30. Price, M. 0.80.

tine's teaching are forcibly presented, and the conclusion is reached that on these subjects his doctrine was not uniform, but rose to its full strength and absoluteness only in the latest period of his career.

A great boon is conferred on students of Syriac by the publication of a new *Syriac Lexicon*,¹ prepared by hands so competent as those of Dr Brockelmann. A manual dictionary of that important tongue has long been a felt want, and judging by the first part of this new Lexicon, which is now before us, we should say that that want is to be splendidly supplied. The work is handsome in form, admirably printed, convenient in size and arrangement, and moderate in price. It is not projected on the scale of Dr Payne Smith's exhaustive *Thesaurus*, which is unfinished and, magnificent as it is, must be found too costly for ordinary scholars. But it is vastly superior to anything else within reach. What students have had to trust to hitherto has been the reprint of the relative section of the seventeenth century *Lexicon Heptaglotton* of Edmund Castle; the Dictionary of Father Cardahi, issued in 1887, being a Syriac-Arabic Dictionary, meeting the need only of a limited class. In Dr Brockelmann's Lexicon we have at last a Syriac Dictionary up to date, remarkably complete though studying brevity and compactness. The words are arranged according to roots; the vocalisation is indicated by the Greek system of the Jacobites; the aids of etymology and comparative philology are used with discretion, and the meanings are wisely given in Latin, with occasional English renderings. The works of the best scholars, Lagarde and others, are laid under contribution. Words taken from the Assyrian language are to be explained by Professor Jensen of Marburg, and the Preface is to be written by Professor Nöldeke. Nothing is spared to ensure that the book shall serve all the purposes of a reliable, adequate, and convenient Dictionary. It is certain to take its place at once as the best of its kind.

We owe to Dr Gumlich of Berlin² a volume on the Creeds, which will be found of great use by students as an introduction to the chief Symbolical books of the Churches. The volume is small, but surprisingly complete. The first portion gives a history of the great Creeds, from the Apostolicum down to the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Westminster Standards. Then follows a statement

¹ *Lexicon Syriacum*. Auctore Carolo Brockelmann. Praefatus est Th. Nöldeke. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Berlin: Reuther u. Reichard. Crown 4to. Part I., pp. 80. Price, 4s. net.

² *Christian Creeds and Confessions. A Short Account of the Symbolical books of the Churches and Sects of Christendom, and of the Doctrines dependent on them.* By G. A. Gumlich, D.D., Professor of Theology. Translated from the German by L. A. Wheatley. London: F. Norgate & Co. Fcap. 8vo, pp. iv. 136. Price, 3s. 6d.

of the doctrines of the Creeds, which amounts to a compendious *Symbolik*. The last section of the book deals with the most important of the sects and the peculiarities of their dogmatic positions. There is an astonishing mass of matter, carefully digested and clearly stated, within the modest limits of the book. The account of the sects, for example, covers not only the Nestorians and others of the Ancient Church, those of the Roman Catholic and Greek Churches, and those which arose from the Reformation movement, but the Friends, Moravians, Baptists, Methodists, Anti-Unionists, Swedenborgians, Irvingites, Darbyites, and others. Generally speaking, too, the statements made on the many subjects dealt with are both accurate in fact and unprejudiced in spirit.

In his volume on *The Second Book of Kings*,¹ Archdeacon Farrar expands the narrative in the same large and forceful way in which he has already dealt with that of the *First Book of Kings*. The volume has all the well-known qualities of the gifted and industrious author's style. It is a book that we might read right through without flagging. The familiar stories of Naaman, the Shunammite, Hezekiah's sickness, and others, are told in a manner which makes them almost new. The characters of kings like Manasseh and Josiah are powerfully depicted. In addition to the ordinary expository matter, there are interesting papers on the Kings of Assyria and some of their Inscriptions, on the Inscriptions in the Tunnel of the Pool of Siloam, and on the Dates of the Kings of Israel and Judah as given by Kittel and other modern critics. There is a brief re-assertion also of the very doubtful position which the Archdeacon took up in the *Expositor* for October 1893, on the question whether there was a golden calf at Dan. The value of the book is further increased by a considerable number of footnotes on readings and passages of difficulty, and by a concise and scholarly discussion of the question of the Book of the Law which Hilkiah found in the Temple. There is less, too, of the rhetorical diffuseness into which the Archdeacon's eloquence is apt to carry him.

Dr Maclaren's second volume² covers the series of Psalms extending from the 39th to the 89th. These include some which lie specially close to Dr Maclaren's genius, and give opportunity for the exercise of the best gifts of the expositor and preacher. The volume is as attractive as the first, and shows throughout the same high qualities of penetration and spiritual sympathy. It is not a

¹ The *Expositor's Bible*. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Crown 8vo, pp. xvi. 496. Price, 7s. 6d.

² The Psalms, by Alexander Maclaren, D.D. Vol. II. (*Expositor's Library*). London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 503. Price, 7s. 6d.

book that has cost the writer little, neither is its matter merely of sermonic value. Its pages give abundant evidence of care, critical study, and acquaintance with the best that our most competent scholars have contributed to the exposition of these Psalms. Fine points, such as the use of the preposition "from" instead of "in," when the author of Psalm xlii. (verse 6) designates his locality, and the emendations of scholars like Graetz and Bickell, are noted with appreciation. The interpretation is objective, and far removed from the vices of allegorising or spiritualising. Dr Maclaren has also been at pains to study the critical questions, and has his own mind on most of them. He touches on the problem of the Davidic authorship of the fifty-first Psalm, for example, and admits it to be hopeless to explain verse 18 as David's prayer. He looks at the question whether the speaker in certain Psalms is the individual or the personified nation, and points out the difficulties attaching to the latter supposition in the case of such Psalms as the 51st. He refers the 46th to the destruction of Sennacherib's host rather than to Jehoshaphat's deliverance. The significance of Psalms like the 73rd in relation to the Old Testament view of the future is carefully stated. Few things of real moment in the interpretation of this section of the Psalter are overlooked.

Mr Bartlet's contribution to the series of *Present Day Primers*¹ is one of real merit. It is much more than a compilation. Not a few of the sections are the result of an independent study of the sources. A careful sketch of the period up to A.D. 70 prepares the way for a series of studies of the position of the Church during the Empire,—its extension and its persecutions, its rites, its literature, and the changes or developments through which its ordinances, its officials, its thought, its type of life, passed during the generations between the sub-apostolic age and the definite formation of Latin Christianity. These studies are brief, but remarkably vivid, distinct, impartial, and informing. The volume will be of great value to ministers, teachers, and general readers, who desire a compact and trustworthy manual which will introduce them to a most fruitful line of study.

To Dr Louis Thomas we are indebted for an important contribution to the literature of the Sabbath question. His volume, *Le Jour du Seigneur*,² is an elaborate and most painstaking study of the subject in its Biblical, historical, and doctrinal aspects. The

¹ Early Church History. A sketch of the first four centuries. By J. Vernon Bartlet, M.A. London: The Religious Tract Society. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 160. Price, 1s.

² Étude de dogmatique chretienne et d'histoire. 2 vols. Lausanne: Georges Bridel & C^{ie}. 8vo, pp. 328, 220; Appendices and Contents, pp. 53. Price, F. 8.

first volume, which is also the larger of the two, is devoted entirely to the history of the Primitive Sabbath. The second volume deals with the Sabbath in ancient Israel and in Judaism, the Lord's Day, and the general conclusions deducible from the investigation. There are also considerable Appendices to both volumes, treating of the septenary number, the weeks of the Hindoos, Germans, ancient Irish, and others, the Saturnalia of the Romans, the various Jewish Festivals, the views of Luther, Calvin, and Beza, Constantine's law, the findings of the Councils of Nicaea and Laodicea, and other topics connected with the main subject.

The volume, therefore, is of rich and varied contents. Great attention is given to the question of the existence and use of analogous days of rest among the leading peoples of the ancient world, and a mass of interesting and carefully arranged matter is given on the Egyptian week, the Chaldean Sabbath, the ideas and usages of the Arabs, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Chinese, Peruvians, and African negroes. The history of the Sabbath in the Mosaic institutions during the period between Moses and Nehemiah, and in Pharisaism, is also given at length, and the position of the Lord's Day in the New Testament and in early Christian literature on to Clement and Origen is carefully stated. No pains have been spared to master the literature of the subject. Even the *Gospel according to Peter* is brought under review, and the ideas of recent critics, Halévy, Westphal, Montet, Gautier, and others, on the Pentateuch and the Mosaic Sabbath are noticed.

We cannot express concurrence with M. Thomas in all that he affirms, either in his main conclusions or in the opinions which he gives on particular points. He commits himself to statements on the existence of a Primitive Sabbath which few will now be found prepared to accept. His discussion of the Biblical witness to a primeval Sabbath of Divine appointment, and his investigation of the purpose and history of the Mosaic institution, are lacking in adequate grasp of recent Pentateuchal criticism. The critical reconstruction of the Pentateuchal books and the Levitical Law has this at least in its favour, that it relieves the original Mosaic institution of the harder and more restrictive elements, and explains in an intelligible way how these things came in at a later stage under the pressure of circumstances, which gave them a reasonableness otherwise not readily apparent. But this is not recognised by M. Thomas. The account which he gives, too, of the ancient Ethnic religions in the matter of days of sacred rest is in various points very vulnerable. On the subject of the Assyro-Chaldean Sabbath he contests, on grounds which few will regard as satisfactory, the view of Schrader and our more competent scholars that it was a *dies ater*; and the points of difference between the

Babylonian *Sabbatu* and the Sabbath of Israel are not sufficiently regarded. The idea that in the case of the Egyptians, alongside the official week of ten days, there may have been a popular or sacerdotal week of seven days, which was of more ancient date, is purely conjectural; and the statement on the existence of a Sabbath among the Chinese is misleading.

But apart from these and other positions on which it is impossible to agree with M. Thomas, the book is one of much interest, which none will read without instruction. Its great value lies in the mass of facts bearing on the origin, history, and use of the Sabbatic ordinance, which it brings before the reader. These have been gathered from many sources with the utmost diligence, and they are arranged with a skill which makes them doubly useful to the student.

The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press deserve the thanks of all students of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament for their generous help in publishing the late Prebendary Scrivener's last contribution¹ to that branch of sacred scholarship. The Introduction is a pathetic statement by the lamented author himself on the burdens, efforts, and mercies of his old age. The book itself gives an account of sixty-three manuscripts of the Greek New Testament and kindred documents. These include fifteen Lectionaries, certain palimpsest and other fragments of the Septuagint, and collations of the earliest printed editions of the Greek New Testament. But the importance of the collection lies in the fact that twenty of these documents contain the Gospels in whole or in part, five the Acts and Catholic Epistles, five the Pauline Epistles, and four the Apocalypse. Each is described with the author's well-known carefulness, and its critical worth is estimated. This is followed by a long series of collations. In a postscript Prebendary Scrivener puts on record the fact that at the close of his life he saw no cause to modify the critical principles on which he had proceeded all through his career. He sums up his convictions in these words: "That the true text of the New Testament can best and most safely be gathered from a comprehensive acquaintance with every source of information yet open to us, whether they be manuscripts of the original text, Versions, or Fathers, rather than from a partial representation of three or four authorities which, though in date the most ancient, and akin in character, cannot be made even tolerably to agree together." This, with a good deal else in the volume, is aimed of course, at the opposite critical school, and it has to be said of Dr Scrivener that his polemic was a reasonable thing as com-

¹ *Adversaria Sacra. With a Short Explanatory Introduction.* By Frederick H. A. Scrivener, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D. Cambridge University Press, 8vo, pp., ci., 170. Price, 10s.

pared with that of the late Dean Burgon with whom he went a certain way but not the whole length. But the first part of the above statement is only what would be said with equal strength by those of the other school, and the latter part is a misapprehension of Messrs Westcott and Hort's principles, which is curious in the case of an expert like Dr Scrivener.

No dissent from Dr Scrivener, however, on the subject of critical procedure, can affect the regard in which all hold his work as a collector and a collator, and this volume is to be valued for its own sake and for his. The manuscripts, though of subordinate importance and late date, have many points of interest, and all justice is done to these by Dr Scrivener. For some of them he claims high importance. This is especially the case with *Evang. 556*, brought to England in 1870 from Janina for the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. This is held to form one of a few cursives which, being taken from a much more ancient original, have a value as instruments of criticism much beyond what their date would imply.

Mr Denney's exposition of *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*¹ has qualities which will give it a distinct and honourable position in the series to which it belongs. It is a worthy successor to his previous volume on *1 and 2 Thessalonians*. In some respects it gives greater scope for the exercise of his gifts of sobriety, sound sense, and lucidity. The Introduction gives a well-balanced statement of the questions regarding the number of Epistles written to Corinth and the number of visits paid by Paul to the Church there. Mr Denney argues with much force in favour of the most immediate connection between the First Epistle and the Second. The letter referred to in 2 Cor. ii. 4, viii. 8, 12, is taken to be our present First Epistle, and the need is denied of supposing an intermediate visit and an intermediate letter. We agree with Mr Denney in his remarks upon the groundlessness of the theory which identifies the intermediate letter with the last four chapters of the present Second Epistle. But more can be said, we think, for the idea that another visit was made and another letter sent by Paul. The carefulness and sanity of Mr Denney's exegesis are conspicuous in such passages as the opening paragraph of Chapter V. The difficulties of this section, and the strained interpretations which have been given it, make it a test passage. Mr Denney deals with it in a most reasonable and convincing way, rejecting the construction put upon it by Sabatier and Schmiedel as if it marked a revolution in Paul's ideas of the future, and showing that the first impression which the verses make on the reader's mind is the one which is finally justified scientifically.

¹ By James Denney, B.D. (*The Expositor's Bible*). London: Hodder & Stoughton, cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 387. Price, 7s. 6d.

The remarkable contribution made by Dr Peter Bayne to the Jubilee literature of the Free Church appears in its second edition.¹ It is a book which deserves to run through many editions. Nothing to match it has been produced on the subject since Hanna's classical *Life of Thomas Chalmers*. Not only in point of style, but in grasp of the questions at issue in the controversy which ended in the formation of the Free Church, and in just and sympathetic judgment of the great actors in that passage of Scottish history, it is far and away the ablest book we have had in recent years. This new issue is of very moderate price and attractive form. It has also a new Preface, with some of Dr Bayne's best touches. It is sure to have a wide and appreciative audience.

Under the title of *The Supernatural in Christianity*,² three Lectures are published, which were delivered in Edinburgh in reply to Professor Pfleiderer. The book is prefaced by a statement by Professor Charteris. The first Lecture, which was meant as an Introduction to the series, is by Principal Rainy, and deals with the *Issues at Stake*. It is remarkable for its courteous treatment of the Gifford Lecturer, its broad generalisations, and its large grasp of principles. The second Lecture, which is by Professor Orr, deals with the question—*Can Professor Pfleiderer's view justify itself?* It is a penetrating criticism of the German Professor's Anti-Supernaturalism and of his whole theory of religion. The last Lecture is by Professor Marcus Dods. It has for its subject the *Trustworthiness of the Gospels*, and refutes in an incisive manner the belated Baurian construction of the New Testament books on which Professor Pfleiderer proceeds. The Lectures are each in its own way of marked ability; especially in view of the short notice given to the Lecturers. They make it very clear that there is another side to much that is put forth with great confidence by the advocates of a reduced Christianity.

Two volumes have reached us of the "Life Indeed" Series, edited by the Rev. W. L. Watkinson. One of these is by the Rev. T. F. Lockyer, B.A., and has the title *The Inspirations of the Christian Life*.³ It contains thirty-two sermons grouped round these topics—Great Realities, Our Assurance of Faith, The Christian Commission, Great Ideals, Our Earnest of Victory, and The Christian Hope. They are short pointed discourses, carefully written, simple in their diction, and practical in their

¹ The Free Church of Scotland, its Origin, Founders, and Testimony. By Peter Bayne, LL.D. Second Edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xvi. 346. Price, 3s. 6d.

² Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 111. Price, 2s.

³ London: C. H. Kelly. Cr. 8vo, pp. 251. Price, 3s. 6d.

aim. The other¹ is by the author of the attractive volumes *The Imperfect Angel* and *The Lesson of a Dilemma*. The subject is the Holy Spirit. The fourteen discourses in which Mr Selby follows out this great theme are well thought out and finely finished expositions of Scripture teaching. They begin with studies of the revelation and office of the Spirit under the Old Dispensation and in the Son of Man. They pass from that to the work of the Spirit in the sense of sin, the new birth, prayer, knowledge, and responsibility. They are strong, reverent, weighty discourses, in every way worthy of the author both in style and in thought. Some of them—e.g., those on *Assurance and the Larger Hope*, and *The Inward Intercessor*—are of a very high order. Mr Selby sees the need of doctrinal preaching, and in this instructive volume shows us how to give it in all the majesty of Scripture truth and in modern terms.

The volume on *Vision and Duty*² is a notable contribution to the series which is appearing under the title of *Preachers of the Age*. The opening discourse on *The Revealing Name* at once arrests attention, and it is followed by others not less striking. They are but a dozen in all, but are all on great themes nobly handled. Beyond most sermons of recent date which have come under our notice, these are characterised by manly strength both in ideas and in expression. They are eloquent, but with an eloquence in which the first thing is the weight of the thought, and in which there is nothing tawdry, artificial, or luscious. They speak out with a direct, impressive power which carries conviction with it, and makes it impossible not to attend to their message. The discourse on *National Religion* lifts the subject at once out of the groove in which it is apt to settle. Those on *Vicarious Lives*, *The Christ of History and Eternity*, *Blighting and Redeeming Vision*, if read once will be read again. The author has won a place in the front rank of English preachers, and it is enough to look into this volume to appreciate his right to such a position.

Some years ago the late Dr Milligan contributed a series of papers on the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians to the *Expositor* and the *Monthly Interpreter*. These are now issued in book form.³ The subject of the Resurrection was much in Dr Milligan's mind. It was for a length of time the centre of his studies, and in this volume we have some of his best thoughts upon it. To no part of

¹ The Holy Spirit and Christian Privilege. By Thomas G. Selby. London : C. H. Kelly. Cr. 8vo, pp. 272. Price, 3s. 6d.

² A Series of Discourses, by Charles A. Berry. London : Sampson Low, Marston & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 232. Price, 3s. 6d.

³ The Resurrection of the Dead. An Exposition of 1 Corinthians xv. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 246. Price, 4s. 6d.

the New Testament did he give more attention than to Paul's great chapter, the argument of which is expounded here with great care. The difficulties in the exegesis are examined as exhaustively as the limits allow, and always with the discernment which comes by prolonged and reverent consideration. The doctrinal and ethical importance of Paul's teaching in this chapter also receives admirable treatment here. The statements on the dogma of a double Resurrection, the exegesis of verses 22, 28, 34, and the discussion of the grammar in the clause "we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed," may be specially noticed. The volume will help to keep green the memory of one who did much good work both as a theologian and as a student of the New Testament.

Canon Vaughan gives us his thoughts on *Questions of the Day, Social, National, and Religious*.¹ The book is made up of a number of addresses delivered in St Martin's Church, Leicester, on special occasions between 1870 and 1890. They make a series of short, sensible disquisitions on such topics as Politics, the Health of Towns, Capital and Labour, Co-operation, Trade Unionism, War, the Religion of the Masses, the Morality of Business. Subjects of a somewhat different kind, such as the Policy of Disestablishment, and that of Religious Equality, are also discussed in a reasonable spirit, with a frank disposition to appreciate opposing views.

Mr A. Scott Matheson² writes on Social Problems in the spirit of one who believes that the ultimate remedy for the evils of society is the moral remedy of the Gospel, and therefore desires to see the Church address herself to their consideration in sympathy and with steadfast purpose. He has himself thought much upon these questions, and has something to say that deserves the Church's notice. After a preliminary statement on the two types of Political Economy which have come into contrast in our day, he deals with the land question, the labour question, the liquor question, the problems of poverty, housing, sweating, the co-operative movement, and other pressing difficulties of the time. He has no novel specific to offer, neither does he make any startling or revolutionary proposal. But he shows a keen sense of the urgency of these problems, and a large knowledge of the circumstances which go to form them. He offers many just remarks on the Church's duty in relation to them, and writes in a hopeful strain with regard to the issue. His chapter on the co-operative movement is of special value, both for its information and for the view which it takes of the contribution which that movement may offer to the solution of certain troubles,

¹ By David James Vaughan, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 241. Price, 5s.

² The Church and Social Problems. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 375. Price, 5s.

if it is relieved of some drawbacks which have hitherto checked its full success.

The Bishop of Durham also gives his mind on current social questions.¹ Anything which comes from one occupying his position in scholarship and in the Church carries weight with it, and the volume now before us is written with a purpose which gives it a double claim upon our attention. Its object is to show how the Gospel, in its central fact, applies to the difficulties, sorrows, and duties of life, and furnishes the solution of its problems and confusions. The topics discussed include such as these—the Social Obligations of the National Church, the Family, the Christian Idea of Alms-giving, Socialism, Co-operation. The book neither gives nor professes to suggest any adjustment of the pressing problems of nineteenth century life on the side of economical science. It looks at all these questions from the side of religion, and in the light of the Incarnation as a revelation of God's Fatherhood and men's brotherhood. It aims at showing that the message of the Incarnation attests itself by its power to "meet each new want of man as it arises," and has ever widening applications to the varying phases of modern life. On this it has much to say that is both devout and to purpose. The scope of the book is best indicated in the chapter on *The Incarnation a Revelation of Human Duties*. There it is admirably argued that in proportion as the Christian spirit, acknowledging the widest issues of God's approach to man in Christ, takes possession of society, the idea of the brotherhood of men, classes, and nations must cease to seem visionary and unpractical, and will become the instrument of directing us to a harmonious, social and national life.

The volume on *Jesus and Modern Life*,² by M. J. Savage, consists of a series of chapters on Christ's teaching on God, Man, the Kingdom, Prayer, Wealth, Poverty, and kindred subjects. It closes with three chapters on the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus and the Christ-Ideals, Christianity and the Religion of Jesus. It proceeds upon the supposition that the writers of the evangelic narratives in many cases misunderstood and misreported our Lord. It aims, therefore, first at getting behind the Gospels to His actual teaching, and then at appraising the elements of vital and permanent value in that teaching. The book is an honest, but we must add unsuccessful, and at times somewhat rough and unsympathetic attempt to expound and appreciate the words and authority of Jesus from a somewhat bald Unitarian position.

¹ *The Incarnation and Common Life*. By Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 428. Price, 9s.

² With an Introduction by Professor Crawford H. Toy. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis. Cr. 8vo, pp. 229. Price, \$1.00.

Mr Joseph Henry Crooker¹ discusses the questions of the existence of errors in the Bible, the claims which the Bible makes for itself, and the authority which belongs to it. There are some bold assertions ventured in the book, as for example that there is no historical evidence for the re-appearance of Jesus after His Passion. The conclusion reached is that the "New Bible is the old Bible viewed in the light of all recent discoveries, taken as a religious classic rather than as a supernatural revelation, to be used, not as a rigid rule, but as a book of human experience to impart to us hope and holiness."

A handsome volume published by Messrs Longmans with the title *Manchester College, Oxford*,² gives an interesting account of the proceedings in connection with the opening of the new buildings, which are now the seat of that institution. The ancestry and history of the College are given from the year 1670, when the *Northern Academy* was established by Richard Frankland in Rathmell, with the seminaries of various forms planted from time to time in Manchester, Whitehaven, Bolton, Kendal, Warrington, and London, until its location in Oxford in 1889. The Principal's Address is largely an appreciation, both sympathetic and critical, of the Puritan Movement. Dr Martineau's speech turns on the question of freedom in theological teaching and learning, and states with his usual felicity of style his well-known views on that subject.

Mr Robinson's *The Church Catechism Explained*³ is a volume prepared by request of the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press. It begins with a short account of the history and structure of the document, and then gives succinct explanations of the General Teaching of the Catechism, the Creed, the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Sacraments. The exposition of the Decalogue is particularly well done. The book is very suitable for those for whom it is specially intended, namely, young persons looking to the Local Examinations, and Candidates for Confirmation.

Another volume of *The Biblical Illustrator*⁴ comes to hand. It deals with the books of Leviticus and Numbers, on which it furnishes a great and varied mass of explanatory, illustrative, and hortatory matter for the judicious use of the preacher.

The Vicar of Margate publishes a volume of Sermons on the Old

¹ The New Bible and its New Uses. Boston: George H. Ellis. Pp. 286. Price, \$1.00.

² 8vo, pp. 160. Price, 5s. net.

³ By the Rev. Arthur W. Robinson, M.A., Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Wakefield. Cambridge University Press. Ex. fcap. 8vo, pp. x. 171. Price, 2s.

⁴ Edited by Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 243. Price, 7s. 6d.

Testament,¹ its Inspiration, its importance as the record of a progressive revelation, the functions of the Law, the Prophets, the Hagiographa, and kindred topics. The discourses abstain from pronouncing on current critical discussions, but give a simple and well-considered statement of what the Old Testament is, and what claims it has upon our reverence.

The *Centenary History of the South Place Society*² contains four discourses by Mr Moncure D. Conway, M.A., which give a good deal of information regarding the Rev. Elhanan Winchester (the founder of the Society, and forerunner of Channing, Emerson, and Theodore Parker), Mr Fox of Norwich, and others who followed him. Most interesting are the particulars about Eliza Flower, and Sarah Flower Adams, a hitherto unpublished poem by the latter and a facsimile of her "Nearer my God to Thee."

Between October 20, 1861, and July 27, 1862, the late Frederick Denison Maurice preached a course of Sermons on the Book of Acts, in St Peter's, Vere Street. These appear to have been intended by their author for publication, but have not hitherto been given to the public. They have all been recovered, with the exception of one which seems to have dealt with the incident of Ananias and Sapphira, and are now issued under the editorship of Mr John M. Ludlow, with the help of Colonel Maurice.³ They are worth having, bearing as they do on every page the impress of the large and reverent mind, the speculative and practical genius, to which a former generation owed so much. Those on the Ethiopian Eunuch, the place of Antioch in the history of the Church, and Paul's discourse on Athens, are amongst the most telling.

*Lombard Street in Lent*⁴ is the title given to a course of sermons on social questions, delivered during the present year in the Church of St Edmund, Lombard Street. The discourses are introduced by an appropriate Preface by the Bishop of Durham, the President of the Christian Social Union. They deal with the most practical questions—Wages, Women's Work, Speculation, Betting and Gambling, Marriage Law, Recreation, and the like. The preachers include Canon Scott Holland, Archdeacon Farrar, Professor Cunningham, Archdeacon Wilson, Prebendary Eyton, Professor Shuttleworth, and others. Among the most notable discourses are two by Mr Otley

¹ Our Inheritance in the Old Testament. Sermons by the Rev. William Bellairs, M.A. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 190. Price, 3s. 6d.

² London: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 186.

³ The Acts of the Apostles: A Course of Sermons. By the late Frederick Denison Maurice. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 348. Price, 3s. 6d.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 206. Price, 3s. 6d.

on the *Ethics of Property*, two by Mr Carter on *Commercial Morality*, and two by Dean Stubbs on *The Imperial Christ and His Democratic Creed*. But strong sense and plain speech characterise the volume as a whole.

The acceptability of Mr Fr. H. Reginald Buckler's *The Perfection of Man by Charity*¹ is shown by the second edition which it has already reached. The general purpose of this devout treatise is to show that "the whole work of our perfection is reduced to the development of the one central virtue of Love, namely, the habit of Divine Charity, as being the spring of our actions, and the soul of the virtues in the supernatural order."

Two volumes of the Quarterly Series issued by Messrs Burns & Oates have come to hand. One of these is *The Life of St Francis Borgia*,² which was undertaken at the instance of the late Father John Morris. It gives an interesting account of the history of the Spanish house of the Borgias, and the career of Francis at Court, and afterwards as a member of the Society of Jesus, as Commissary-General, Vicar-General, and finally General. The other is a well-written *Life of the Blessed Antony Baldinucci*,³ the Florentine, whose missionary career belongs to the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

The Babylonian and Oriental Record,⁴ edited by Professor Terrien de Lacouperie, with the assistance of Messrs Pinches, Capper, St Chad Boscawen, and Professor C. de Harlez, fills an important place as a magazine of the antiquities of the East. Recent numbers have continued the valuable series of papers by Professor de Lacouperie on the *Origin of the Early Chinese Civilisation and its Western Sources*, and Professor de Harlez on *The Familiar Sayings of Kong-Fu-Tze*. Among other papers of interest we may notice one by Mr W. St Chad Boscawen on a *Hymn to Gilgames*, which furnishes another proof of the solar character of the hero of the Chaldean Epic, and a second by Mr Alfred G. Bryant on *The Great Pyramid and the Book of the Dead*, which gives an exhaustive criticism of Mr Marsham Adams' article on "The Mystery of Ancient Egypt," which appeared in the December number of the *New Review*.

The *Revue de Theologie et des Questions Religieuses*,⁵ published under the direction of MM. J. Monod, Bruston, Wabnitz, Doumergue, Leenhardt, H. Bois, and H. Meyer, is in its third year, and con-

¹ London: Burns & Oates. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 352.

² By A. M. Clarke. Cr. 8vo, pp. 464. Price, 6s. 6d.

³ By Francis Goldie. Cr. 8vo, pp. 388.

⁴ London: D. Nutt, and Luzac & Co; Paris: Leroux. Yearly Subscription, 12s. 6d.

⁵ Granié, Montauban.

tinues to be conducted with much success. In addition to various excellent reviews of recent contributions to theology (including Dr Fairbairn's *Christ in Modern Theology*, and Dr Stalker's *Imago Christi*), the number of 1 Mai concludes M. P. Fargues' paper on the Evolution of English Theology from the Reformation till our day, and gives a good article by M. H. Bois which examines certain metaphysical and moral objections to the pre-existence of Jesus Christ.

The *International Journal of Ethics*,¹ now largely in American hands, is being conducted with much spirit by its managing editor, S. Burns Weston, of Philadelphia, with the aid of a large Editorial Committee. The latter includes representative names from England and America, and such Continental thinkers as Giacomo Barzellotti of Naples, Alfred Fouillée of Paris, G. von Gizycki of Berlin, Harald Höffding of Copenhagen, and Fr. Jodl of Prague. The April number contains an excellent variety of articles, among which are one by President Andrews of Brown University on *The Combination of Capital*, and one by Frederick Harrison and Felix Adler on the *Relation of Ethical Culture to Religion and Philosophy*.

The handsome magazine which under the name of *The Biblical World*,² continues the useful work of *The Old and New Testament Student*, has abundance of good matter in its recent numbers. The series of papers by President Harper on the book of Genesis would of themselves make this year's issue of great value. The editorial summaries, the *Notes and Opinions*, and the digests of important articles in other journals, are models of their kind. Among other very readable papers there are several bearing on the proper use and estimate of criticism. The April number, for example, has two which deserve consideration, one by Professor Batten on *The Attitude of the Christian towards the Higher Criticism*, and another by Professor Cheyne on *The Bearing of Criticism on Edification*. The latter takes an interesting concrete instance from 1 Sam. xxii. 22-23.

The April number of the *Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review*³ is one of the best we have seen. It contains a number of articles ably written and of general interest. The one most likely to arrest attention has the title, *The Problem of "Jonah."* The writer, J. D. T., understanding the book to be a "powerful plea for the Doctrine of the Universal Love of God," examines the question of the literary form in which that plea is conveyed, and concludes that the book must be taken as "a moral romance, or as an allegory, or as a mingling of the two." He decides in favour of the allegorical

¹ Philadelphia: 118 S. Twelfth Street; London: Swan Sonnenschein.

² The University Press, Chicago; London: Luzac & Co.

³ London: James B. Knapp.

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view, and endeavours to show that one great recommendation of this is that we can then "match the moral unity of the book by an artistic unity equally striking." Under the head of *Current Literature*, we find notices of a considerable number of recent publications, including careful reviews of Professor Sanday's Bampton Lectures and Mr Millar's translation of Weizsäcker's *The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church*.

The recent numbers of the monthly Journal, *Die Katholische Bewegung in unseren Tagen*,¹ edited by G. M. Schuler, deal mainly with questions of interest to Roman Catholic readers,—the Pope's Jubilee, the Papal Encyclical on the Study of Holy Scripture, Cardinal Vaughan and the German Catholics of London, and others. There are also some of a different order, among which we may specially refer to a series on Origen and his doctrine.

The *Thinker*² continues to carry out its programme with success. Its contents are remarkably varied, but its feature is the account which it gives from month to month of current American and Continental Thought. In the April number we have very useful summaries of important papers by Professor Ley on *The Second Part of Isaiah*, the late Professor von Frank of Erlangen on *Natural Theology*, Professor Sabatier on *St Paul and the Fear of Death*, and others.

With the April number of this year *Biblia*³ commences its seventh volume. It has established itself as a useful journal of Oriental research and the American organ of the Egypt and Palestine Exploration Funds. The present number contains, among other things, papers by Dr J. H. Fradenburgh on *Scarabaei*, the Rev. J. Hunt Cooke on *Chapter lxiv. of the Book of the Dead*, W. G. Hogarth on *Queen Hatasu*, and communications on an *Ancient Hebrew Scroll*, and on the question raised by Stade and others whether the Hebrews ever were in Egypt.

Another part of Steinmeyer's *Studies on the Gospels*⁴ is to hand. It embraces our Lord's farewell discourse, taking it in its three sections, and giving also some useful observations of an introductory nature on the reason for Christ's departure, and on the form of the address. The great truths taught by our Lord on the topics of the *Father's House*, the *Vine and the Branches*, and the *Spirit and the World*, are expounded in a way which combines the edifying with the scientific. The exegesis, though sometimes at fault in scientific precision, is generally successful in representing the spirit of our Lord's teaching, and in expressing its message.

¹ Würzburg: Woerl.

² London: Nisbet & Co.

³ Meriden, Conn.

⁴ *Die Scheiderede Jesu an den Kreis der Seinen*. Von F. L. Steinmeyer: Berlin: Wiegand und Grieben. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 124. Price 2 M.

Preachers will find much that is suggestive and profitable in the book.

Weizsäcker's translation of the New Testament¹ has deservedly won its way into extensive acceptance. Its merits are widely recognised; in particular, its admirable precision. In this new issue it has been thoroughly revised, and will be found, in many ways, most useful and reliable.

Mr J. T. L. Maggs contributes to the series of *Books for Bible Students* an *Introduction to the Study of Hebrew*.² It gives the main points of Hebrew grammar, and a good collection of exercises and reading lessons. The author's object is to strike the *via media* between minuteness and meagreness, and to give what will be useful not only for teaching in class but for private study. In this he has been largely successful. The book is admirably printed, and the matter is well arranged. Everything is done to carry the student easily along, step by step, and to avoid the mistake of bewildering him with details at the start.

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² London: C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 190. Price, 5s.

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The Natural History of the Christian Religion : being a Study of the Doctrine of Jesus as Developed from Judaism, and Converted into Dogma.

By William Mackintosh, M.A., D.D. Glasgow : James Maclehose & Sons. 8vo, pp. xvi. 607. Price, 10s. net.

THE subject of this book is well described in its title. The theme is the Natural History of the Christian Religion, where by natural is meant anti-supernatural or evolutionary. Accordingly the subtitle runs : being a Study of the Doctrine of Jesus as Developed from Judaism, and Converted into Dogma.

From this general view follow the postulates of the inquiry. Nor is any other name than postulate possible, for these underlying principles are directly assumed, and are nowhere argued. They are three in number.

Let it be granted, first, asks Dr Mackintosh, that the supernatural may be everywhere ignored. "In accordance with the demands of modern science, the supernatural element is rejected" (p. 5). The aim being to trace the historical genesis of Christianity along purely natural lines, "Christianity . . . must be accounted for by the way of natural development, not by the way of the supernatural." Even as regards the teaching of Jesus, when the question enters as to "how the ideas of Jesus arise and evolve themselves in His mind . . . was it, as some will say, by supernatural illumination?" That it was not is "the alternative which this volume has been written to establish" (pp. 6, 7).

Let it be granted, secondly, asks Dr Mackintosh, that the connection of Christianity with miracle of every kind be dissolved. Christianity is to be treated "as in no sense miraculous" (p. 4). Even concerning the life of Jesus, our author "holds the significance of that life as a medium of divine revelation to be independent of a miraculous element" (p. 17). "The principle or hypothesis," it is said elsewhere, on which the whole inquiry is conducted, "is that nothing miraculous has ever occurred, whether in the secular or in the religious history of mankind" (p. 87).

Let it be granted, thirdly, asks Dr Mackintosh, that there is nowhere within human knowledge a transcendent action of Deity. Divine interference of every kind must be denied. By a stretch of the evolutionary principle he believes "it possible to account for the superinduction of organic existence upon the inorganic, or for the awakening of consciousness in the unconscious forms of existence." No

three

influx of creative energy should be necessary to explain "the formation of the world, the dawn of life, of consciousness, and of reason or of conscience." "The anti-supernaturalist denies *in toto* any such thing as a transcendent activity of the divine power; and while he maintains that the divine action is wholly immanent in the things themselves, he also denies the possibility of any immanent activity outside of, apart from, or supplementary to that aboriginal, omnipresent, and ever-working immanence which takes shape and form in the nature, purpose, and constitution of the universe. . . . At no point is it permissible to call in the idea of an exceptional exercise of divine power, whether immanent or transcendent, supplementary to that which is eternally operative" (pp. 34, 35).

From such premises it is evident to any one who will take the trouble to think, or who is fairly familiar with the course of doctrinal discussion during the last hundred and fifty years, what general results will follow.

The results of such postulates are both negative and positive. Amongst the negative results of such a general attitude will be the following:—The dogma of the Incarnation of Jesus will be discarded. The sinlessness of Jesus in the moral realm and his infallibility in the intellectual sphere will be denied. The narratives in the Synoptic Gospels, which represent Jesus as exercising at will miraculous powers over nature, animate or inanimate, must necessarily be explained away. The evidence for the bodily resurrection of Jesus will be regarded as having no detail that is trustworthy. Like all predictions, the supposed predictions of Jesus will be said to be *vaticinia post eventum*. And all these consequences of the initial standpoint appear clearly in Dr Mackintosh's book.

And such a *Weltanschauung*, as everybody who has read at all in recent apologetic literature also knows, has a series of positive results. Our Lord Jesus Christ becomes a great religious teacher; or, if you will, a remarkable, the most remarkable, religious genius, the Shakespeare of religion. The Synoptic Gospels are largely mythical. From these Gospels, by the aid of conjecture, of logical obedience to certain rationalistic principles of inquiry, and perhaps of a personal sense of congruity or incongruity, an outline at least can be constructed of the life and teaching of Jesus. The life of Jesus is that of the High Priest and bright Exemplar of the absolute form of natural religion. The teaching of Jesus radiates from the central idea of the Kingdom of a Divine Father. That teaching is explicable as the outcome of a purely natural development, carrying on the stages of previous Jewish thought to a slightly higher level. The miraculous narratives of the Gospels, to-day incredible, are the outcome of a transformation wrought by the

mysticising tendency of loving disciples. Paul is the founder of Christian dogma. Dogma is an aberration from the method of Jesus. The fourth Gospel is very largely speculative and mythical, expressly attempting to find a basis in thought and fact for the Catholic tendencies of Paul and of Gentile Christianity (as contrasted with the narrower trend of Jewish Christianity). The Apocalypse is a Jewish degradation of profounder Christian conceptions. The course of Christian history has been a discipleship of Paul rather than of Jesus. All these positive consequences as well of the initial standpoint, also appear clearly in Dr Mackintosh's book, as might have been anticipated. As to the use of conjecture, he distinctly says, "as we do not unreservedly accept the synoptic, or, let us say, the canonical data for the genesis of Christianity, it follows of course that in this inquiry we must proceed to some extent by the way of conjecture, which may be defined as an inference from the known to the unknown" (p. 48). Indeed, Dr Mackintosh states that his endeavour throughout has been "to explain the genesis of our religion by reference to certain simple and well-recognised principles of human nature, or to analogous facts, *taken in conjunction with what we conceive to be the critical deposit of the canonical record*" (the italics are the reviewer's). And with respect to the growth of dogma, he says in so many words (p. 55), "As for the dogma of the early Church, we shall see that it was no true development of the thought of Jesus, but mainly a sensuous representation or plastic metamorphosis of it, dictated by pious feeling and imagination; a view of the dogma which, in fact, explains its tenacious possession of the mind of Christendom, and the power of its appeal to this day to the common heart" (*sic*).

Nevertheless, let it be frankly stated that there is originality in Dr Mackintosh's presentation. His book shows much hard and earnest work. For the most part, the spirit towards opponents is admirable, although a few sentences have been allowed to remain which are offences against the law of the highest charity. Everywhere there is a consistency and thoroughness in applying and elaborating his first principles which is worthy of all praise. A tenacious and resolute grip on the truth we desire to teach always lays the reader under obligations, whether he accepts the teaching or not. To render disproof easy is almost as great a benefit to confer as facile proof, and Dr Mackintosh has a right to say that, "conducted without faltering or reserve, the discussion may have one of two results—either it may discredit the supernatural theory of Christianity, or it may go far, in the way of a *reductio ad absurdum*, to demonstrate the untenableness of the anti-supernatural theory." There is, too, a reverent tone and a religious spirit everywhere,—there is an evident wish to guide the perplexed and to

reassure the despairing, which are as rare as they are desirable in writings of this class. Compare this volume, for instance, even with Strauss's *Streitschriften* or Martineau's *Seat of Authority in Religion*, and its superiority in reverence and earnestness and scholarship is very manifest.

And, as has been said, there is originality in the book. There is some originality in plan, and much originality in detail. As to the general plan, "there are three propositions," Dr Mackintosh says, "the truth of which will be made to appear in the following pages; first, that Judaism and Christianity denote the successive stages of one long evolution of religious thought and sentiment: . . . secondly, that the phases of this long evolution in its decisive moments have been largely recorded in the form of myth and dogma, so that a miraculous aspect has been imparted to the evolution which in itself went on naturally and rationally, or according to the laws of our spiritual and social nature: and, thirdly, that the myth and dogma have mingled as important factors in the evolution itself (pp. 4, 5). In the sweep of this plan some originality appears. The filling out of the plan demands chapters on the "Theory of Anti-supernaturalism," "Jesus simply a Teacher," "Rise and Growth in Israel of Idea of Kingdom of God," "Transformation of this Idea by Jesus," "Pharisaic Idea of Righteousness and of the Religious Relation," "Evangelic Idea as Taught by Jesus," "How far the Doctrine of Jesus was Original," "That Jesus claimed to be the Messiah," "His Journey to Jerusalem and Death," "The Christophanies," "Mythical Transformation of Evangelic Tradition," "Relation of Myth to Dogma," "Conversion of St Paul," "His Doctrine of Atonement by the Death of Jesus," "Pauline Dogma as Involved in that of Atonement," "Conflict between Jewish and Gentile Christianity," "Post-Pauline and Gnostic Period," "The Fourth Gospel," "Conclusion." An appendix follows on the "Application of the Theory of Anti-supernaturalism to the Christian Dogma."

The most notable contents of the book, to which the student of apologetics may turn as the more important and original contentions of Dr Mackintosh, are—the points he makes concerning the teaching of Jesus (chap. iii.), which he calls *autosoteric* (a peculiarly awkward term, seeing that it has no relation to *esoteric* or *exoteric*); the attempt to explain by natural means the Christophanies, or appearances of the Risen Lord (chap. xi.); the endeavour to show the mythical transformation of evangelic tradition (chap. xii.); and what is called the Heterosoteric doctrine of Paul (chap. xv.).

What Dr Mackintosh means by *autosoteric* is this. According to the teaching of Jesus, he says, religion is a very simple matter; it is a belief in God as our heavenly Father, a confidence in His

forgiveness of the sins that are past, and an endeavour in this confidence to live the life of Jesus. This is a saving of oneself, so to speak. "We repeat, therefore," to use his own words, "that the doctrine of Jesus is autosoteric. The one great and special lesson which He enforced was the duty of self-abnegation, of self-extrication from evil,—the pursuit, that is, of the ideal life, stimulated and sustained by the conviction of the divine forgiveness of our lapses and shortcomings" (p. 153). "In consideration of the honesty and sincerity of the individual, God, who looks to the heart and the intention, takes the will for the deed, which is what is meant by divine forgiveness." There is a truth here, but not the whole truth. Has Dr Mackintosh tried his Gospel where there has been any profound sense of sin?

Paul's doctrine, on the contrary, is called *heterosoteric*, because it is a doctrine of being saved by another—by the atoning sacrifice of Jesus. "Profoundly sensible of his obligation to Jesus," writes our author, "the apostle yet mistook the nature of that obligation. He conceived of Jesus, not as the originator of a great idea, but as the generator of a dynamic force in the life of man, as the source of a dæmonic rather than of a moral influence in the souls of believers" (p. 375). "One way or another, the Apostle was aware of his dependence on Jesus, but he mistook or exaggerated the nature of his dependence, and explained his whole experience as the effect of an atonement, or, speaking generally, as the pouring in of a life from outside" (p. 376). Therefore Dr Mackintosh can speak of "the sudden somersault or transition in the mind of Paul from the purely spiritual and autosoteric views of Jesus back to the dogmatic and heterosoteric Jewish point of view" (p. 386).

Such inquiries as those of Dr Mackintosh must be expected, and must be met; they are the outcome of certain apparent first principles of which our age is enamoured. They have their German parallels in the writings of Wendt, and Baldensperger, and Grau upon the Self-consciousness of Jesus. It is by no means difficult to meet them, but the battle is more likely to be decisive when it is joined on first principles.

Upon a few prejudices of Dr Mackintosh's it would be a duty to speak, but for the limitation of space. Why should orthodoxy be called stagnant? Is it only in Christian doctrine that an evolution which observes a strict law of continuity is to be censured? And why is orthodoxy to be regarded as necessarily against all freedom of thought and discussion? Is there not as much unwillingness to receive new views in the circles of physical science as in the ranks of Christian doctrine? And is it not eminently desirable that every new view should run the gauntlet before it is received into the halls of honour? And is not Dr

Mackintosh's expressed disbelief in the value of the study and exegesis of Scripture a somewhat curious survival in these days of ardent study of the Science of Biblical Theology? And how comes it that the idea of infallibility seems a sort of red rag to him? Are we not all, even himself, anxious for one sort of infallibility if we can but get it—the infallibility of truth?

But the present reviewer prefers to grapple with Dr Mackintosh just upon those postulates which he assumes without proof. Are these postulates true? Can they for a moment be admitted by anyone who is concerned for solid standing-ground and firm footing? Will those postulates commend themselves to any philosophical mind which is determined to think carefully, rigorously, and consecutively? One consideration alone will show them to be inadequate, the consideration as to the nature of religion, or, as Dr Mackintosh prefers to say, the nature of the religious relation.

Now, what is the nature of the religious relation? What is the satisfactory explanation of what is called the religious sense? Whilst Dr Mackintosh is manifestly interested in the religious relations of men, it does not appear that he anywhere analyses that religious relation itself, unless the Hegelianism of pp. 54, 55 is to be regarded as such an analysis. It may be wholly without intention that this omission occurs, but the omission is vital. For the analysis of the religious relation declares the insufficiency of the postulates upon which he ventures to build his entire inquiry.

What, then, is the religious relation? The question is fundamental; and it is being more clearly recognised than ever to-day that it is fundamental. Great systems of thought have been built upon wrong answers to this question; and the answers once proved erroneous, the systems have come tumbling about the ears of their makers or of their pupils. That man sustains religious relations, all are agreed. That he has connections of a spiritual as well as of a physical kind all are coming to allow. But what exactly is this religious relation?

Many answers, in the philosophical research of the last hundred years, have been returned to the query. But from the point of view in hand, these answers may be all classed under a very few heads, indeed, under a couple of heads. Many theories of the religious relation *attribute the genesis of that relation to man*, to his madness or his fear, to his fraud, to his selfishness, to his self-projection, to his worship of his ancestors, to his sense of dependence, to his sense of need, whether of welfare, or of fuller life, or of some ideal, to his sense of the infinite, to his moral sense, to his intellectual qualities, to his heart. But many theories of the religious relation *attribute its genesis to God*. And the whole trend of the Philosophy of Religion is towards the Divine origination of religion.

Partial views, as of a primeval revelation, the favourite view of the seventeenth century theologians, or as of an innate idea of God, the influential opinion of Descartes, or as of a double revelation in the heart of man and in nature, the prominent conception of Lord Herbert of Cherbury and the Deists, such partial views of the origination of religion in God have had their day, and have ceased to be. But a long line of thinkers, of great note and acumen, have declared more and more clearly for the origination of religion in God. Here stand men like Herder, Jacobi, Franz von Baader, Krause, D. W. Simon, Dorner (father and son), Frank, Biedermann, Kaehler, Heman, Gloatz, De la Saussaye, Pfeiderer, Harris, Kellogg, Knight. To all these, whatever be their minor opinions, the religious relation is primarily a religious intuition, where some revelation made by God is the object seen, and man is the subject seeing. As Franz von Baader has put it :—"It is the radical error of the rationalistic Philosophy and Theology that it thinks it can know God without God, or know about God without Him, from human reason alone. . . . By God Himself we are enabled to know God."

Now, if this view be correct, if religion results from a direct and immediate connection between the spirit of man and the Spirit of God,—and to this result the whole history of the Philosophy of Religion seems to point,—what becomes of Dr Mackintosh's postulates? In religion we have a natural relation, because it is a relation of man; but in religion we have a supernatural relation, because it is a relation of God to man. In religion we have a natural relation; but in religion we have a miraculous relation, since in religion God Himself expressly intervenes in human life. In religion we have the action of an Immanent Deity, because God reveals Himself within man; but in religion we have the action of a Transcendent Deity, because it is God who freely and deliberately reveals Himself. In Religion, that is to say, we have that higher unity, in which the world-long antinomies of natural and supernatural, natural and miraculous, immanence and transcendence, are unified. Moreover, if religion be primarily God's approach to man, to insist on the natural and deny the supernatural, to accentuate the natural and deny the miraculous, to emphasise the Divine Immanence and deny the Divine Transcendence, so far from showing respect for religion, is to be irreligious.

Further, if the religious relation originate in God,—be, in fact, a sort of incarnation,—then all that the orthodox mean by prophecy, and inspiration, and the gift of the Holy Ghost, are Aspects of Religion, which the elementary religious relation renders intelligible. Nay, by the analysis of the religious relation, light is thrown upon, and credibility brought to, the crowning orthodox dogma of the Incarnation. In the religious relation, indeed,—a basis in which

experience, philosophy, science, and theology, seem tending to agreement,—there is given a foundation of an entire system of thought, which cannot, of course, be unfolded here, but which is much more in harmony with the evolution of Christian doctrine than Dr Mackintosh's.

ALFRED CAVE.

Paul Sabatier : Life of S. Francis of Assisi.

Translated by Louise Houghton. London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1894. 8vo, pp. 478. Price, 9s. net.

WHY was the Reformation, the only effective protest against the corruption of the Roman Church, postponed until the sixteenth century? Why, when it did come, did it come from the North? When and how did the South, once the radiating point of knowledge and intellectual impulse, abdicate its hegemony, and the Roman leave it to the Teuton to enfranchise Europe? Questions such as these press the more urgently for solution the more closely we study the preceding centuries. All the materials for a spiritual revolution were present in Italy of the twelfth or thirteenth century, indignation deep and strong against the corruptions of the Church, widespread antagonism against its sacramental and hierarchical system, an enthusiasm for a purer Gospel as deep and self-sacrificing as any that marked the German Reformation. In the cities just emerging into freedom there was a strong spirit of liberty and liberalism. Nor were men wanting who only lacked success to set them beside Luther or Calvin. What saved the Church, then, from a disaster even more irretrievable than that which befell it three centuries later?

It is only when we get below the surface, which has been rolled so smooth by ecclesiastical history, that we discover how precarious was the position of the Church, and even of the Christian faith in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Manichæan heresy had been suppressed but never eradicated. Reinforced of late by immigrants from the East, Bogomiles, Paulicians and the like, it had gained new strength and new boldness. Under the new name of *Catharist*, the old poison of Gnostic dualism was eating away the faith of the people. Certain modifications in their teaching, the recognition of the whole New Testament, and a plausible theory of the pre-existence of souls, softened the antithesis to Catholic doctrine. Criticism of the Church, which was only too ready to hand, together with a fictitious austerity on the part of the preachers, opened the way for their doctrine; and so vigorously and successfully did they push their propaganda, that at the close

of the twelfth century, Italy was honeycombed with sects, which it would be straining language as well as charity to describe as Christian. The evidence of William of Newbridge is sufficiently distinct; "in Gaul, Spain, Italy, and Germany those infected with this plague were as many as the sands of the sea."

Not less hostile to the Roman conceptions of Christianity, though more true to the faith of the Primitive Church, were the followers and the successors of Arnold of Brescia and Waldez of Lyons, men who had derived from some unknown source, or rediscovered for themselves, the religion of Christ in its uncorrupted form. The Roman Curia had been wiser to have made a place for these evangelical preachers within her borders. That he treated Francis differently from Waldez, when he came on the same errand, shows that Innocent III. had not failed to learn the lesson. But meanwhile the Waldensians were abroad in the land, their consciousness of opposition to the Church sharpened by her hostility, wandering gossellers, finding ready access to the hearts of the people.

These were only the more obvious of the forces which were at work in active opposition to the Roman Church. Its own weakness is best seen in their presence and success. The meaning of this continuous and ever-widening stream of heresy, whether real or only branded as such, is surely this, that the Church failed to satisfy either by its doctrine or its worship the conscience of the people. The Christian life, and especially the life of the clergy, was so universally below the popular standard, that devoutness in its simplest form wielded almost unlimited authority, and criticism clad in the rudest eloquence swept away the last remains of allegiance to Rome.

That the Church of Rome at this period escaped reformation or overthrow is one of the marvels of history; and of all the single causes to which its escape might be attributed, none was more effective than that which moved among men under the name of Francis of Assisi. Not without reason do the Italian painters represent Francis and Dominic propping a falling Church. Not without reason does Dante describe Francis as *una Rota della Biga*, one of the two wheels of the chariot in which Roman Christianity safely passed its peril.

Francis was a mediator, a temporary and unconscious mediator between the two opposing forms of Christianity. He incarnated within the Roman Church the ideal which was floating before the mind of his generation, that ideal which had been described, hailed, and all but realised outside the Church. What the Church contributed was simply a platform on which that ideal could be displayed. In his person men saw reconciled the antithesis between a hierarchi- |||

cal and an individualist Christianity. Those outside the Church, to whom salvation was the fruit of direct and individual contact with the Spirit of Christ, sanctification the effect of immediate personal communion, saw in Francis one who held these views with passionate intensity, and at the same time revered and obeyed Pope, Prelate, and Priest, who incarnated the opposing idea of official intermediaries between man and God. Those within the Church, on the other hand, who had been content heretofore with a salvation mechanically dispensed and mechanically appropriated, were roused and startled by the example and the appeals of a man whose life was a speaking evidence of direct contact with God.

In the new biography of S. Francis now before us, M. Sabatier has gained a well-deserved triumph. The brilliant success of his work, the enthusiasm with which it has been received, is not without interest in itself. It is a repetition of the same phenomena which attended the publication of Didon's "Life of Christ," and of Lasserre's translation of the New Testament. They seem to testify to a famine of religious nourishment—an appetite whose existence has been almost forgotten, and sometimes denied, for genuine religious facts, for the record of indubitable spiritual experience. M. Sabatier writes sympathetically, with the sympathy of an artist perhaps, rather than that of a disciple. He shows a delicate discrimination in handling the miraculous element in his subject. Whatever was true for S. Francis is sufficiently true for him. It becomes part of the material to be collated. In the matter of authorities, he represents a re-action, and a successful one, against the results of Higher Criticism applied to the sources. It had been only too easy to show the presence of "tendency" in each of the contemporary biographers. Even before the Saint had reached his death-bed, it was clear that his life would be dismembered in the interests of two contending parties. As each party in succession got the upper hand, it took care to re-edit the life of the Founder, and did not hesitate to obliterate such records as reflected opposing views. After the final triumph of the hierarchical party, the "Life of S. Bonaventure" became the only authorised one, and the real S. Francis was changed into a lay figure, draped round with gaudy miracles, under which it was useless to look for an explanation of the genesis of the order or of the ideas of the man. Modern criticism made short work of the bulk of this material, and found itself with little more than the first biography of Thomas of Celano, and the narrative of the Three Companions, neither of them free from tendency. The critics, however, had neglected the warning of their own proverb, "Man muss nicht das Kind mit dem Bade ausschütteln," *Scotticé*, "When ye skail the bath dinna coup the bairn." And M. Sabatier, returning to an investigation of the sources with a

loving no less than critical eye, has recovered a great deal that had been too hastily thrown away. Having gathered from the simplest and earliest sources material for a firm outline of Francis' life, aims, and character, and using that as a guide, he finds in the rejected material fragments of thought and traits of character which he offers as part of the real Francis, because they fit.

The result is a re-vivification of a character which we can admire as a saint and sympathise with as a man. We are enabled to understand, if not wholly yet better than before, the secret of his success. And we perceive also his failure, we appreciate its cause. What gives to this biography, as it gave to the life, a kind of tragic unity, is the steady approach visible to the spectator, invisible to the Protagonist, of this inevitable failure. The Até of the inevitable is as plain to see overshadowing Francis as it was to those who watched Oedipus at Colonus.

The book owes much of its charm, as the author owes much of his power, to the fact that he has studied his subject on the scene of its development. Herein his book differs from what has hitherto been the most popular biography of Francis in English. It is steeped in the mystic atmosphere of Italy. He knows the "woman-country loved of earth's male lands" as a lover. It is not all and always one and the same land to him. He knows its changing moods, its passion, and its indolent quiescence. He has felt the distinctive character of its various parts. Umbria is more than a geographical expression to him. It has a character, almost a personality, of its own, which reflects itself in its people, its painters, and its saints. So with the Casentino, the Romagna. M. Sabatier makes us feel that the Saint as he travels is changing skies. He knows also the life of the people, that life in which S. Francis found his sphere and his opportunity.

Sympathy such as this with Nature, and with the manifold Nature of Italy, is essential in a true biographer of S. Francis. He cannot be understood in the study. He was mentally and spiritually a child of this Nature. His pellucid mind, into which no streams of alien thought or learning poured disturbance, reflected these skies, that sunshine, that dædal life of Nature in central Italy, which stretches from the vine and the oleander to the pine tree and the gentian. His life was like a picture by Claude, with a temple and a few figures on a small scale, the rest God's earth and God's sky.

It is altogether a worthy biography that M. Sabatier has produced, written out of a full knowledge of the facts, and with an insight into character, a sympathy for the inner life of S. Francis, an appreciation at the same time of his child-like gaiety and grace which give the book a great charm. The translation is good and

readable, and will give English readers something, though not all, of the flavour of the original.¹

The main events and characteristics of S. Francis' life are well established and familiar. It is in the filling in of the details in the estimate and explanation of his influence that the skill of the biographer finds scope. Two and twenty years of childhood and youth were devoted to the joys of physical life. Francis was immersed in the gaiety and frivolity of a southern city, the leader of a band of reckless boon-companions. There follow other two and twenty years devoted with yet greater intensity to the joys of spiritual life. Francis had become the leader of an enthusiastic band of Missionaries of the Gospel. The gaiety remains, the sensitiveness to light and colour, to joy and love, the fascination which charms men to his side. Francesco Bernardino and Francis of Assisi are the same man. But they live in two different worlds. As gaily as the one led his companions out for a frolic, so gaily did the other head his band of friars on a preaching expedition. The sunny, affectionate disposition which drew to him the hearts of the young nobles of Assisi, knit to him the souls of Bernard, Leo, and Egidius. Towards the end of both periods of his life he passed into cold shadows. Such a temperament would be naturally exposed to severe depression, and before his death, as well as before his conversion, the heart of Francis was tortured by grief, by disappointment, and foreboding of the future. His conversion was not the laying aside of any part of his being, it was a new direction given to all his energies. With the same vehemence with which he had enjoyed wealth he now stripped himself of all earthly possessions. As he had given himself without reserve to the pursuit of pleasure, so now he flung himself into the preaching of the Gospel—without reserve.

How are we to explain this *volte face*? It cannot be explained. Already, in his conversion, Francis ranges himself with Paul and Augustine: in its apparent suddenness, its completeness, its reality, and its mystery. The most painstaking researches, the most acute psychological analysis, only bring us a few steps nearer to the impenetrable secret, the place, the moment, the crisis in which life was changed by a vision of Christ. But there were predisposing causes? No doubt. Disgust, *ennui*, disappointment; a heart that was tender to the sorrows of the poor and the sufferings of the

¹ Many of M. Sabatier's epigrammatic phrases have lost their point, and some of them their truth. On p. 243, "Men of loving hearts seldom have a perfectly clear intelligence," is an unsatisfactory rendering of "Les hommes qui ont le cœur très aimant ne sauraient avoir l'intelligence tout à fait claire"; p. 247, "squarely argues" for "accuse bien nettement." We have noticed mistakes or misprints on pp. 154, 210, 226, 404 (1219 for 1262).

afflicted, and possibly some other cause which will never be discovered. The turning point in his outward life was that unexpected and unexplained return from Spoleto, and abandonment of a military career, on which M. Sabatier has no new light to shed. From that point Francis was a seeker. It was only a question of time when he would find. With almost breathless interest we watch him through the intervening weeks. Ever and anon there lodges in his heart a new word from Scripture, or perchance some pilgrim-borne echo from Joachim of Fiore, or from S. Hildegard in Germany. He himself was unconscious of any human influence. "Nemo mihi ostendebat quod deberem facere, sed ipse altissimus revelavit mihi quod deberem vivere secundum formam sancti Evangelii." Impressions embraced in solitude, imprinted by meditation on the hill-slopes of Subasio, were kindled into conviction by worship in the tottering shrine of S. Damian.

"One day Francis was praying before the poor altar: 'Great and glorious God, and thou, Lord Jesus, I pray ye, shed abroad your light in the darkness of my mind. Be found of me, Lord, so that in all things I may act only in accordance with thy holy will.'

"Thus he prayed in his heart, and little by little it seemed to him that his gaze could not detach itself from that of Jesus; he felt something marvellous taking place in and around him. The sacred victim took on life, and in the outward silence he was aware of a voice which softly stole into the very depths of his heart, speaking to him an ineffable language. Jesus accepted his oblation. Jesus desired his labour, his life, all his being; and the heart of the poor solitary was already bathed in light and strength." "Ab illa hora vulneratum et liquefactum est cor ejus ad memoriam Dominicæ passionis."

The conversion of S. Francis was something far more than a renunciation of wealth, a Betrothal to Poverty. Art, seizing upon that which it could depict, has exaggerated this the secondary issue of his conversion. What lay behind that, and was central to all the life that followed, was an adoring faith in Christ as the crucified Saviour. It was passionate love to his Lord that made him faithful to his Spouse. Already, before his conversion, he had been a suitor of "the dame to whom none openeth pleasure's gate more than to death." Recognising, perhaps, a similarity of circumstance between himself and the Young Ruler, he had already carried out the spirit of Christ's command: "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor." He had now received the reward of obedience. Forsaking riches, he had found Christ. Now, out of love and imitation of his Lord, he vowed himself to life-long poverty. In the idea itself there was nothing new. It was already

current, and already practised. It was the natural recourse of any theoretic reaction against the dominant Christianity. It was the way in which Francis approached the idea of Evangelical Poverty which distinguished him from all others. Others had recourse to the Imitation of Christ, of which Evangelical Poverty was but a part, as a means of salvation. Even S. Bernard aimed at the appropriation of the atonement by Imitation. For Francis Poverty was not a means, but a consequence of salvation. He had already by faith appropriated Christ; the imitation of Him followed as a corollary of conduct.

Francis had not to wait long before his conscience laid upon him another duty besides Poverty. It was revealed to him, as to Waldez, in the hearing of the Lord's command: "Wherever ye go, preach, saying, 'The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.'" The next day he went up to Assisi, and began to preach. What, then, was the Gospel which he preached? He preached Christ, repentance, salvation by faith. He aimed frankly at conversion. But conversion was not, in his view, something vague and imperceptible, which is manifest only to God and the hearer. He would have immediate and practical proofs. Men must give up ill-gotten gains, renounce their feuds, be reconciled with their enemies. "The enemy of the soul for him, as for Jesus,[†] was avarice, understood in its largest sense—that is to say, that blindness which constrains men to consecrate their hearts to material pre-occupations, and deprives them of infinite joys which they alone can know who are the disciples of poverty and love." To rid himself of all superfluity was for a man to find the only true liberty. That done, he was to continue to live as before, labouring for his daily bread, giving to the poor what was not required for immediate use. Francis condemned neither the family nor property. His gospel was the Gospel of the Sermon on the Mount, illuminated by the sacrifice of the Cross.

But some, among whom he counted himself, were called to higher service and to absolute poverty. Those who were to take the place of the Apostles, and receive the same commission, must observe the same rules. It was at first for himself alone that he accepted, with literal exactness, the Master's word in sending out the Twelve: "Take nothing for your journey, neither stave nor scrip, neither bread, neither money." If he enjoined Evangelical Poverty on others, he accepted Apostolic Poverty for himself; and as men gathered round him who were not only converts but disciples, partaking in his enthusiasm and desiring to share his work, the one condition of admission to the circle was the whole-hearted acceptance of the same Apostolic Poverty.

It is not difficult to understand the amazing success which attended the preaching and the example of Francis. Its spirit was

undoubtedly the spirit of Christ ; and it was clad in a form which, while evidently based upon Scripture, offered itself to the prompt recognition and appreciation of the common people. Add the contrast which these men everywhere presented to the pomp, the indifference, and the immorality of the clergy, the emotional sensitiveness of the populace at the period, revealed in the Child-Pilgrimages, the Crusades, and the success of enthusiasts of all kinds, and even the wild-fire spread of the Franciscan movement, becomes comprehensible.

Only a cruel irony of history has associated the name of S. Francis with the foundation of a "Mendicant Order." The development of his circle of disciples into an order was neither part of his original intention nor in accordance with his desire at any time. The so-called "First Rule" was no "rule" at all. It was a collection of mottoes—the texts of Scripture enjoining Preaching and Poverty—on which the first fellowship was based. When interpretation was needed, or application to new circumstances, Francis was the natural exponent. He delighted to regard himself as head of a family. Within a few years the very success of his method destroyed its possibility. Step by step he saw organisation forced upon him from without, and, along with organisation, the materialising of his Ideal. It is easy to say that the Ideal was impracticable, impossible ; that it belonged to "the heroic, for earth too hard." It was in the grandeur and simplicity of that Ideal that Francis showed his inspiration ; it was in its destruction that he suffered martyrdom. "The rout of an army," as M. Sabatier says, "is nothing to the destruction of an idea."

Equally far from his purpose was the creation of a body of religious mendicants. Next to the duty of Preaching Francis placed the duty of Labour. He only authorised begging when the day's labour had failed to provide the day's food. It was a necessity for men who had begun by stripping themselves of all possessions. He dismissed a brother who refused to work. At the close of his life, in that Will in which he pathetically sought to re-establish the vanished outlines of his idea, he laid down "*Firmiter volo quod omnes laborent.*"

The force which eventually transformed the Poverello's scheme was the far-sighted policy of the Curia ; its agent, Cardinal Ugolino, afterwards Gregory IX. Rome had learned a lesson since her rejection, thirty years before, of the enthusiasm created by Peter Waldez, and by him put at her service. That movement had survived the coldness of the Pope and the anathema of Verona. It had developed into an alien and a hostile Church which the fiercest persecution had been unable to destroy. Innocent III. was too prudent to force Francis into being a heretic. A

movement which was not consciously critical of the Church, which was essentially a popular one, and one that promised to provide a body of preachers who, unlike the monks and the clergy, were in actual contact with the people, was one full of promise for the Papacy. Only it must be controlled. Ugolino was entrusted with the delicate function.

In the hands of this astute churchman the saint was helpless. He struggled pathetically to retain for the one idea, which was for him supreme, a controlling place. The kid was seethed in its mother's milk. His highest motives were worked upon for the destruction of his own Ideal. The modesty and humility and submission which Francis not only preached, but practised with assiduous success, were made a snare to him. "How many times had he not been reminded that a great association, in order to exist, must have precise and detailed regulations? Of course, Francis' humility was doubted by no one, but why not manifest it not only in costume and manner of living, but in all his acts? He thought himself obeying God in defending his own inspiration, but does not the Church speak in the name of God?" Francis had not the intellectual ability to enable him to cope with persistent and repeated attacks of this kind. Only by some such jugglery can he have been persuaded to consent to the dropping of one of his three fundamental precepts, "*Carry nothing with you.*" After that his heart died within him. He abdicated his headship. "From henceforth," he said to the friars, "I am dead for you, but here is Brother Pietro, whom you and I will all obey"; and, prostrating himself before him, he promised him obedience and submission.

Change followed rapidly. The new Rule of 1223 had little in common with that of 1210 except the name. There was nothing now to arrest the double tendency to mitigate the vow of poverty and to multiply ordinances, to substitute outward for inward piety. Almost everything done in the Order after 1221 was done either without Francis' knowledge or against his will.

There is not a particle of evidence to show that Francis had changed his own mind. He bowed in submission to what he thought rightful authority, but he bowed a broken heart. The Will proves it. It is in spirit, if not in words, a revocation of the Rule of 1223. Without knowing it, he was entangled in the antithesis between Romanism and Protestantism. He was torn by the contradictory demands of conscience and authority. At times he longed for the spirit of passive obedience, *perinde ac cadaver*. But far below that longing there was the consciousness of the freedman of Jesus Christ. "Nullus tenetur ad obedientiam in eo ubi committitur delictum aut peccatum."

S. Francis can only gain in the estimation of mankind by being

separated from the legendary marvels attributed to him by a later generation. His ideal, also, can only gain when seen as he conceived it, and as he and his immediate disciples put it in practice. The service which he did to the Church of Christ was, that in an age of shameless infidelity and unfaithfulness, when faith and morality were laid in one grave, he recalled men to Christ as their Saviour, and to the Sermon on the Mount as their Code; that he proved before the eyes of men who had ceased to believe it, that Christ was the power of God unto salvation. It was part of the perennial good fortune of Rome that such a force arose within the Church. It was in accordance with her almost infallible sagacity that it was captured, tamed, and applied to her ends. It was part of her unswerving ruthlessness that she killed the life of his ideal, and used the sanctity of his name to hallow what he viewed with horror and shame.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

**Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Biblischen Wissenschaft,
von Dr Abraham Kuenen, aus dem Holländischen
übersetzt.**

Von K. Budde. Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr. 1894. Edinburgh and London : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xiv., 511. Price, M. 12.

THIS collection of Essays by the late Prof. Kuenen owes its origin to a very appreciative notice of the deceased scholar from the pen of Prof. Budde, which appeared in the *Literaturzeitung*, 22nd July 1893. Budde there expressed his regret that owing to the language in which Kuenen's valuable papers were written, and to the fact that they were scattered about in a multitude of different periodicals, they were inaccessible to scholars in general. This brought from the house of J. C. B. Mohr, of Freiburg, an offer to publish a volume of translations from Kuenen's papers. The duty of making the selection was committed to Budde, and the translation has also been done by him. It comes out incidentally that the German translation of Kuenen's Hibbert Lectures, "National Religions and Universal Religions," which appeared in 1883, was from the hand of Budde, though, not being an original scientific work, he refrained from putting his name to it. The selection of Essays here given is fully representative, extending lengthwise over the whole period of Kuenen's literary life, and in breadth across the wide range of subjects with which his very active mind interested itself. The astonishing list of works given in the Appendix to the present volume shows how varied his interests were. No selection could have better exhibited the author's mind on all its sides, or have better

illustrated his method and the positions which his method led him to take up. In several of the papers Kuenen has occasion to maintain and defend his positions against assailants, and, naturally, the necessity brings more clearly to his own mind and compels him to state more distinctly the antithesis between himself and traditional opinions. Thoughtful readers of his former works may not find anything quite new, but in such avowals as that "Supernaturalism is the death of History," and many of a similar kind, they will find the old stated with great vigour and sharpness. In this respect also these Essays form a very welcome addition to Kuenen's works already published; they give the reader in many places in a form succinct and lucid what he would have to gather for himself, not without labour, from a general survey of the author's whole writings. Having enjoyed Kuenen's friendship and come under the spell of his fascinating personality, the translation and editing of these papers has been to Budde a labour of love or almost of piety. And, though the time devoted to it appears incredibly short, it need not be said that it is executed in a way worthy of the author's reputation. To an English reader the book feels like a forcible and lucid German original.

Our object in this brief notice is to draw attention to the volume, and to say, as has been already said, that to those who have not time or opportunity to study the author's larger works, it offers a succinct and clear initiation into his methods of investigation and his fundamental principles. The volume begins, as was proper, with an Essay on Method. The essay, while a formal discussion on method, is itself one of the best examples of it. The clear view of the goal to be reached, which is no other than true History, the conception of what History is and how it is to be distinguished from mere historical facts, the comprehensive survey of the materials, the lucid and orderly disposition of them, and finally the conclusions which they suggest—all this is characteristic of the author, and commands our admiration. In understanding Kuenen is a man. Nevertheless, in reading the essay we feel that something is wanting. It might not be easy to say what. Perhaps it is those things which Budde comprehends under the term "genial," things of which elsewhere Kuenen recognises the need in criticism, but which hardly belonged to his own mind. Perhaps it is too much to ask of a method that it should explain everything, though it is expected of it to make the attempt, and to offer some explanation which is plausible or more probable than others. The explanation of the three Davids given by Kuenen in illustration of his Method, the true David of some parts of Samuel, the David of the superscriptions to the Psalms, and the levitical David of the Chronicles, will to some hardly appear satisfactory. The historical germ postulated, whether

Davidic or Mosaic, always seems too small to account for the dimensions of the later growth. We are lost in admiration of the ingenuity which by a few strokes of logic develops the one out of the other, and, as Mr Saddle-tree expresses himself, "has cleckit this great muckle bird out o' that wee egg." This appears to be the feeling also of those scholars against whom Kuenen directs his more controversial papers; they cannot see that the forces postulated behind are sufficient to explain the strides of advance made at various times. In answer to these pertinacious objectors Kuenen on various occasions refers triumphantly to Wellhausen's *Abriss*, with the air of one who should say, "If they believe not Moses," &c. Wellhausen's brilliant and powerful sketch will always remain a classic of the age of criticism. But, especially in its earlier part, it awakens our curiosity rather than satisfies our mind. The "Jahwe" who does such things, as he is represented by Wellhausen as doing, must have been able, and felt to be able, to do much more. Those who cherished the thoughts of him attributed to the people, could not have so felt regarding him without feeling a multitude of other things similar or even greater. We are not sure whether the steps of advance described in Wellhausen's sketch be due to Jahwe as he represents him, or to Jahwe under much broader conceptions of him. We feel as if the stream which Wellhausen uses to drive a mill might have floated a navy.

Excellent examples of what might be called historical criticism in this volume are the Essays on the Composition of the Sanhedrim, on the Massoretic Text, and on the Men of the Great Synagogue. Examples of literary criticism are the papers on Dinah and Shechem, and on the Manna and Quails; while both kinds of criticism are combined in the Essay on the Queen of Heaven (Jer. iv., xlv.), and in the two papers on Esdras, which are of great value. On the other hand the Essays on the Hexateuch, and the history of worship in Israel, and on the newest phases of the criticism of the Hexateuch are very instructive in regard to the author's general principles and the bearing which these and his results have upon the faith of the Christian Church.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

Die Psalmen.

Übersetzt von E. Kautzsch. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. iv. 213. Price, M. 1.

THIS is in the main a reprint of the translation of the Psalter from Kautzsch's larger work, the Translation of the Old Testament. This work is one of great value and usefulness. The rendering is

idiomatic modern German, with a certain amount of critical emendation of the text; while in the letters on the margin indicating the original sources from which the elements of the several passages are taken, the reader has before his eye a brief continuous Introduction to the literature of the Old Testament. Of course the criticism, whether literary or textual, is that of the individual authors who execute the several parts, and not the work of the translators combined in a company. The scholars, however, who have co-operated with Kautzsch are worth listening to even singly. In many cases the generally acknowledged results of literary criticism are accepted, and the textual criticism is as a rule moderate and reasonable. Siegfried's treatment of the Book of Ezekiel might be considered an exception, but the text of that prophet is so exceptionally bad that Siegfried's frequent refusal to attempt a translation is not without justification. The Translation has now been completed, and supplemented by some very useful additions, such as a sketch of the history of Israel, chronological tables of contemporary history, and a map of Palestine according to the newest discoveries. The great value of the book and its very low price (about ten shillings) ought to secure for it a large circulation.

The translation of the Psalter, with critical notes on the text, is by Kautzsch himself, and forms a handy and useful edition of the Psalms. Textual emendations are matters of feeling often rather than of argument and come under the principle *De gustibus*. Those of Kautzsch are at least not extravagant either in number or character.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

The Principles of Morals.

By Thomas Fowler, D.D., and John Matthias Wilson, B.D.
Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1894. 8vo, pp. 386. Price, 14s.

THIS volume is a re-issue of a work already published, in two parts, in 1886 and 1887 respectively. The sheets of Part I. were struck off as long ago as 1875, while the whole work had been planned some years before. The only new portions of the work, besides a small portion of the preface, are six pages of additions and corrections. A very few sentences may therefore suffice to indicate the nature of the work once again brought to public notice.

"The main idea," says Dr Fowler, "which inspired my colleague and myself in attempting this work was that morality is the result of a constant growth, and is still ever growing; that, consequently, the most effective, though, of course, not the only way of approach-

ing it is the historical method." The authors follow the tradition of seeking the explanation of morality by analysing the sentiments and impulses of human nature. After a sketch of the earlier English moralists, and a chapter on method, they proceed to give an account of the self-regarding, sympathetic, resentful, and semi-social feelings, then analyse the feeling of moral approbation and the notion of rectitude, and after discussing the function of the reason and of the imagination in morality, finish with chapters on the will and on religious feeling. Constant use is made of the sociological material available in the works of M'Lennan, Tylor, Maine, Lubbock, and Spencer at the time the volume was written; interest is added to various discussions by frequent references to the social and economic questions of modern life (though the interest in reading Dr Fowler's pages now largely comes from reflecting on the change which has come over these questions); and considerable prominence is given to the juridical aspect of morality. This last characteristic appears to me one of the most valuable features of the book.

On the whole, the authors give an excellent descriptive account of morality, as they conceive its nature and history. Their position agrees very closely with that of J. S. Mill. There is indeed hardly any important position in their doctrines of the nature of obligation, conscience, and morality, of which the germs may not be found in J. S. Mill's essay on *Utilitarianism*. They are concerned, as he was, to maintain that their doctrines can find room for ideal and spiritual views of life and conduct: and although for them, as for him, pleasure is made the ultimate test of good, they adopt his distinction between kinds of pleasure, without seeing that this is implicitly to adopt a new criterion of morality. The "higher" pleasures are said to be "the pleasures attendant on the exercise of intelligence, and those moral and æsthetical pleasures of which intelligence is the indispensable condition," for these are "distinctive of man" or "characteristic of human nature": a distinction which fails to take account of the fact that the exercise of intelligence may be and has frequently been made subservient to desires and activities characteristic of man, but certainly inconsistent with the elevated morality taught in the present volume. Difficulties such as this seem covered up rather than solved by the authors, who are anxious to avoid any tincture of metaphysics, and even to keep themselves free from "speculative psychology." This attitude leads to a certain want of scientific thoroughness, which is, indeed, the characteristic defect of the moderation of tone and opinion which marks the present volume. W. R. SORLEY.

Locke's Essay concerning Human Understanding, collated and annotated with prolegomena, biographical, critical, and historical.

By Alexander Campbell Fraser, Hon. D.C.L. (Oxon.), Emeritus Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Two Volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894. Price, £1, 12s.

It is needless to compare these handsome volumes with any other edition of Locke's *Essay*, for it may be said of them, as of Professor Fraser's edition of Berkeley, that there can never be another standard edition. It is a pity that we have not, as was long expected, a collection of Locke's works from the same editor and publishers; but we have here the book that is by far his most distinctive and important, and by far the most difficult to edit. As regards the text the main advantages, apart from the printing, are two—the substitution of a more readable and coherent marginal analysis for the familiar headlines of sections, and the marking of the various alterations made by Locke, so as to make this an edition, as it were, of all the editions. "The text has been prepared after collation with the four editions published when Locke was alive, and also with the French version of Coste done under Locke's supervision." The spelling is modernised, and "the superabundant italics and capitals of the early editions" are only so far retained as to "remind readers that the book is not the work of a contemporary."

But the great value of this edition lies in the editor's prolegomena and footnotes, and it was well to give them an index of their own. The prolegomena are in three parts. The aim of the first is to give "a history of Locke's mind—to explain how Lord Shaftesbury's secretary became the author of the *Essay*." The second part seeks to present a coherent view of the *Essay*, and to develop a positive ground of criticism; and the third treats of the development in Berkeley and Hume. The notes are numerous, few pages being without several. They are partly explanatory and historical, partly critical, and not a few are concerned with the present state of knowledge or opinion on matters of psychology and the theory of knowledge. They are particularly valuable in giving the results of their author's long and intimate studies in Locke himself and the numerous company of his critics at home and abroad. The constant references to a more thorough treatment of epistemology will doubtless help to restore the *Essay* as a textbook in philosophy. One of the greatest difficulties in the study of philosophy proper is how to make a beginning. If philosophy is not all the history of philosophy, the study of philosophy is for the

most part through the study of its history. Certain epochs stand out as most useful for the purpose, setting clearly the question of the construction and validity of knowledge, and solving it by the criticism and development of a *prima facie* theory. Such epochs are from Protagoras to Aristotle, from Descartes to Spinoza, from Kant to Hegel. But that from Locke to Hume is best for several reasons,—above all, because it presents in an actual and not an artificial way the history of the various stages by which a student may disintegrate his convictions, and occupy a critical attitude to his own common-sense and reflections. It is on this ground that Locke is never obsolete, and that the *Essay* is always valuable as a text-book. Indeed, as a footnote says, “the strong, unspeculative common-sense which was his congenial element, with the consequent inadequacy and incoherence of his philosophic outcome, has so stimulated thought, through controversy and otherwise, that the history of philosophy, since the *Essay* appeared, may be said to be a history of the criticism to which it has given rise, and of the new points of view to which it has thus conducted.”

But, suitable as the *Essay* is by way of introduction to philosophy on account of its general purpose and the degree of progress it makes, there are few books more repellent to a beginner. With all its apparently simple and ordinary language, its iterations and prolixity, the entire absence in it of learning and presupposed knowledge, there is hardly any book from which different readers come away with such different notions of its general purpose and the import even of its parts. Of the four books of the *Essay* the last is first in importance, and the first certainly last; while the second, which must be associated with the fourth to be fairly appreciated, is separated from it by a third, which tends to increase the confusion when it is not an independent treatise. “Locke’s endeavour to accommodate his *Essay* to all sorts of readers has made it perhaps the most difficult of modern philosophical classics to reduce to luminous and consecutive thought. The desire to avoid scholastic terms, combined with vacillation and want of precise connotation in the use of some of the most important words, has made the *Essay* the puzzle of commentators and critics.”

Perhaps there is little interest left in the debates as to whether Locke’s “ideal system” is sensationalism, empiricism, intellectualism, and one or another cast of dualism. It is not difficult for any ordinary theory to find authority in the *Essay*, and the only option for the commentator and critic is to distinguish what is integral to Locke’s view, and what inconsistent with it. On the one hand, Green thinks he is kept from the scepticism of Hume by inconsistencies; on the other, Professor Fraser treats as inconsistencies what opened the way for Hume. “Locke,” says Green,

"stumbles upon truths when he is not looking for them, and the inconsistencies or accidents of the *Essay* are its most valuable parts"; he is "the father of the popular empiricism of the modern world, but by accident also the father of its refutation." This accident he finds more especially in the fourth book, and most explicitly in the treatment of mathematical demonstration as valid for "real," and not merely for "nominal essences." There are many similar "accidents" throughout the *Essay*, but Green holds they *are* accidents,—inconsistent, and due to "ambiguity," "disguise," and "subterfuge," because Locke must abide by his account of the origin of knowledge in simple ideas, whereby knowledge can never be knowledge of reality. Professor Fraser, while taking the same view of such an origin of knowledge, holds that the fourth book is the central one; objects that Locke is unjustly treated by Green, "who, notwithstanding the anachronism, has subjected the *Essay* to the canons of Neo-Hegelian dialectic"; and argues, in particular, that Locke did not make simple ideas the beginning of knowledge. "Locke makes mental proposition the irreducible *atom* of knowledge. Ideas, simple or complex, particular or universal, are *incognisable*, by the definition of knowledge given in the *Essay*, except so far as they are in a *perceived relation* to something that is predicated by them,—predicated, too, with an intuitive assurance of the certainty of the relation. Knowledge thus begins in mental proposition: and all propositions that represent it, whether particular or universal, are (ultimately) intuitively known. Locke nowhere says that knowledge can be really reached merely by compounding simple ideas independently of those other elements. Ideas remain mere ideas, until they are perceived under relation, with an absolute assurance of the certainty of the relation" (Vol. I. p. lxiii.) That is the case for Locke, not only against Green, but, it must be said, against his own influence on the course of philosophy. Professor Fraser's interpretation is unquestionably the juster, both because it makes the best of Locke, and because it is founded upon what was comparatively clear to him, and not upon ambiguities and aspects of problems of which he was unconscious. "The reader labouring after the meaning must not 'stick in the incidents,' as Locke complained to Collins that his critics often did, but must strive to take a comprehensive view of the work in its main design, which, he says, 'lies in a little compass.'" But what Locke took for incidental was fundamental enough to give rise to Scottish and German philosophy. How "there is a *conformity* between our ideas and the reality of things" if "it is evident the mind knows not things immediately, but only by the intervention of the ideas it has of them," is merely a question "that seems not to want difficulty." His answer is that simple ideas must have archetypes, seeing we

cannot make them of ourselves, and that "all complex ideas except those of substances are archetypes of the mind's own making, not intended to be copies of anything," and therefore presenting no difficulty. The burden of "the ideal system" would thus appear to rest upon simple ideas; they are "the whole material of all our knowledge," and if they were merely impressions, the relations which make them knowledge only somehow "arising in time," Locke might be regarded as an uncritical Hume. But if he understood simple ideas to be matter for knowledge only as potential judgments in a "passive understanding," he may be interpreted as an uncritical Kant; and his assigning to sense in Book II. what in Book IV. he treats as knowledge may be taken as an exaggerated example of what we have also in Kant. Locke has no word for the activity of understanding in perception, but he certainly means by "sensation," when he defines it as a form of consciousness or "understanding," all that is now meant by perception. The "sensations or perceptions in our understandings" are already pieces of knowledge, involving not merely relations of "existence," substance, and cause, but apparently even correct and mistaken judgments of "resemblance" to the "qualities" of objects which have "power to produce" the sensations. So far was Locke from realising or treating the question that has become fundamental, both in psychology and in the theory of knowledge. (Professor Fraser notes on the awkward doctrine in *e.g.*, Book II. ch. viii.: "Locke probably means, in his vague way, that the primary qualities are virtually the ideas we have of them"; and "the alleged 'resemblance' is Locke's way of asserting the objective existence of the presented appearance or idea" (Vol. I. p. 173). But he did not ponder long over "virtually.")

The result of not distinguishing the rational and empirical elements in "sensation" was Locke's denial of a science of nature, while he admits the reality of "sensitive knowledge." His ground is that, as our knowledge of nature can be acquired only "by experience and history," it can never find "necessary connection." "Natural philosophy," therefore, deals only with probabilities, and "this," the editor remarks, "is the favourite conclusion of the *Essay*." One can appreciate Professor Fraser's sympathy with it; but a more critical attitude would have been of advantage to a student. Locke writes as if he were hardly conscious of any distinction between logical and empirical probability; indeed, it is the latter he has always, or nearly always, in view. The greater part of his discussions in this connection are entirely beside his proper question of the validity of knowledge, if they are not rendered entirely useless by a *petitio principii* concerning the objects of "real knowledge." All he says as to the "real" character of mathe-

mathematical truths is equally to be said of "natural philosophy." For it is with the same sort of "faith" that we must apply both to particulars, and after all be wrong. This sort of faith has no importance for any theory of knowledge that allows the possibility of ignorance and mistake. The only faith with which a science of nature is concerned, so far as it is a science, has reference to the uniformity of nature. And as Locke's "sensitive knowledge," if it is knowledge and not feeling, involves this and more, there arises the dilemma of either denying it to be knowledge of reality, or of admitting "natural philosophy" to the same right.

Such is the problem by which Locke "inaugurated the modern epistemological era," but the *Essay*, full of all sorts of questions, criticised at so many points and in such a wealth of literature, becomes a mine of interest in the hands of an editor like Professor Fraser. His general treatment is already familiar in the article "Locke" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and in his volume in *Blackwood's Philosophical Classics*, and only those who have tried the *Essay* without such an introduction can appreciate the value of his service. This service is carried into detail in the volumes before us, and there can be no question that the *Essay* is now the best edited of any whole philosophical book of modern times. Reference might have been made to Professor Fraser's own attitude in philosophy, which appears throughout his commentary, but this he is expected to give shortly in a more systematic manner. One of the notes (Vol. II. p. 351) contains a sufficiently pregnant summary: "In the deepest and truest philosophy, the *ego*, the world, and God, are combined in an endless development, under a supreme Divine Purpose, faith in which sustains the sciences of nature, but in constant subordination to faith in a moral and spiritual ideal."

W. MITCHELL.

The Book of Chronicles.

By W. H. Bennett, M.A. "*The Expositor's Bible*" Series. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1894. Cr. 8vo., pp. xii. 464. Price, 7s. 6d.

It is certainly no easy task that Professor Bennett has undertaken in this volume of the *Expositor's Bible*. In the first place, as he himself is fully aware, "to expound Chronicles in a series which has dealt with Samuel, Kings, Ezra, and Nehemiah, is to glean scattered ears from a field already harvested"; and in the second place, even had Professor Bennett been first in the field, there are surely few parts of the Old Testament that offer such unpromising material for the expositor's art as the endless genealogies and the details

of temple ritual which the chronicler records with such manifest delight. Difficult, however, as this task has been, I have no hesitation in saying that it has been successfully accomplished, or in expressing my belief that the volume under review will take rank as one of the most original and suggestive in the long series of which it forms part. The author may be, as he modestly claims, but a tardy gleaner, yet one feels, on laying down his book, that in this case "the gleaning of the grapes of Ephraim is better than the vintage of Abiezer."

Professor Bennett has arranged his material in four books. The first is devoted to "Introduction," and need not detain us. It comprises a discussion of the usual topics of the date, authorship, sources, &c., of the books, or rather of the book, of Chronicles. The conclusions arrived at are mostly those now generally accepted. Thus we read that "a date somewhere between B.C. 300 and B.C. 250," seems best to account for all the facts. Further, it is "extremely probable" that the author or compiler "was a Levite and a Temple-singer or musician." I doubt, however, if Professor Bennett is right in his view regarding "the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah," or "of Judah and Israel," so often referred to by the chronicler. This work (for it is now agreed, I think, that but *one* work is referred to under slight variations of title), it is here maintained, "is neither a source nor an authority of Chronicles. There is nothing to prove that the chronicler himself was actually acquainted with the book" (p. 18). It is not easy on this view to see what motive the compiler of Chronicles could have had for thus referring his readers to a work which he himself, presumably, had never seen. The closing sentences of this chapter, on the other hand, emphasise a fact which, though well-known to professed scholars, deserves the attention of those especially who are beginning a closer study of the literary problems of the Old Testament. "A careful comparison," says Professor Bennett, "of Chronicles with Samuel and Kings, is a striking object lesson in ancient historical composition. It is an almost indispensable introduction to the criticism of the Pentateuch and the older historical books. The 'redactor' of these works becomes no mere shadowy and hypothetical personage when we have watched his successor the chronicler piecing together things new and old, and adapting ancient narratives to modern ideas by adding a word in one place and changing a phrase in another" (pp. 20-21).

Book II. is headed "Genealogies, 1 Chron. i.-ix., &c." We all know what these long chapters contain. Personally I had not thought it possible to invest them with so much living interest as Professor Bennett here more than succeeds in doing. "Names," "Heredity," "Statistics," are the titles of some of his chapters,

chapters which, rich as they are in "wise saws and modern instances," bear eloquent testimony to the author's wide reading, mature reflection, and general resourcefulness. The chapter on "Teaching by Anachronism" is the most effective "Apologia" known to me for the Chronicler's thorough *bona fides* in his somewhat peculiar treatment of the older history of his nation, as we have it in the books of Samuel and Kings.

What this treatment is, we are told in the opening chapter of Book II., "Teaching by Types." The chronicler's method is the "selective method,"—that is, he has selected from the older historical works then current only such portions as suited the purpose he had in view. Not all the great names on the Hebrew roll of fame lent themselves to the chronicler's mode of treatment; nor of those that found favour in his eyes were all the incidents recorded such as to his mind made for edification. The realism of the older histories contained not a little that was calculated to offend the religious sensibilities of the chronicler's age; consequently these histories were submitted in all good faith to a process akin to that now known as bowdlerising. As the result of this process, "instead of historical portraits," to use Mr Bennett's words, "we are presented with a gallery of ideals, types of character which we are asked either to admire or to condemn." Of such ideals, David and Solomon are the most conspicuous types on the one side, and accordingly receive the fullest expository treatment in the work before us. As a convenient representative of the opposite type, Mr Bennett selects King Ahaz, the story of whose life, as retold by the chronicler, he skilfully uses as a warning and example to the youth of to-day. Anticipating the objection that the lot and life of royalty are too far removed from those of common folk to be profitably used in this way, Professor Bennett very truly remarks: "Men should all be educated to reign, to respect themselves, and appreciate their opportunities. . . . We need to apply the principle more consistently, and to recognise the royal dignity of the average life, and of those whom the superior person is pleased to call commonplace people" (p. 216).

It would have contributed somewhat to the symmetry of Professor Bennett's exposition if he had prefixed to Book IV. "The Interpretation of History" (pp. 313-464), a chapter setting forth and criticising the chronicler's philosophy of history, which would have formed the complement and counterpart of the chapter on "Teaching by Types," which, as we have seen, forms so appropriate an introduction to Book III. This philosophy is a simple one: Retribution follows hard on evil-doing, and royal misfortunes are a sure proof of royal sins. The converse is not less true, that unexampled good fortune can only be the reward of unexampled piety. Perhaps

the most conspicuous illustration of the former sentence is in the matter of the breaking of Jehoshaphat's ships at Eziongeber (2 Chron. xx. 35-37 ; cf. 1 Kings xxii. 48, 49). The idealising of the character and life of David, to which reference has already been made, is the most conspicuous illustration of the latter.

There is very much to commend, did space allow, in the skill with which Professor Bennett extracts from these incidents of other days valuable lessons for the men and women of our own time. Thus, to give but a single instance, the speech of King Abijah to the army of Jeroboam (2 Chron. xiii. 4-12) is made to teach "two main lessons : the importance of an official and duly accredited ministry, and of a suitable and authoritative ritual." There is also, by the way, a clever rendering of the speech (p. 332-3) into the language of a pious [Roman] "Catholic general in the Thirty Years' War addressing a hostile Protestant army." The present writer has also been struck by many fine thoughts in the chapter headed "Hezekiah : the Religious Value of Music" (pp. 427-443).

One minor correction to close with. On p. 252 Professor Bennett says : "We read elsewhere [in the Old Testament] of 'schools of the prophets' and 'sons of the prophets.'" Will Mr Bennett kindly append the reference to the first-named institution ?

ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY.

The Akhmîm Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St Peter.

Edited, with an Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by H. B. Swete, D.D., Hon. Litt. D., Dublin, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xlviii. 34. Price 5s. nett.

A Popular Account of the newly-recovered Gospel of St Peter.

By J. Rendel Harris, Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo. Pp. viii. 97. Price 2s. 6d.

THE volumes of Dr Swete and Professor Rendel Harris on the newly-discovered Akhmîm Fragment afford a gratifying illustration of the alertness with which the theological scholarship of Cambridge follows the topics of the day. Dr Swete's careful and scholarly treatise will be indispensable to the student. His introduction, notes, and indices are all work of the kind that will prove permanently useful. They will be gratefully used by the scholar,

when the trouble taken in the preparation of them has perhaps been forgotten. Mr Rendel Harris's "popular account" of the interesting discovery is in its way equally good. It is clearly and attractively written, and ought to do much to familiarise a wider circle of readers with the nature of some of the problems with which the Christian apologist has to deal at the present day.

The discovery of the Akhmîn Fragment would have been at any time an important contribution to our knowledge of the history of Christianity. Just at present it possesses an especial interest on account of its possible bearing on the question of the origin of the Canonical Gospels.

What is the relation of the fourth Gospel to the synoptics? In its general outline it bears a strong resemblance to them. In language it frequently coincides with them, or resembles them. But it differs from them on so many points of greater or less importance that it is impossible to be content with the common theory that St John wrote with the synoptic Gospels before him, and that his design was, accepting their narrative to supplement it. We cannot even be satisfied with the view that St John wrote to correct the synoptics, because while some of the points of difference are important, others are so trivial that the variation cannot have been intentional. The fact is that the writer of the fourth Gospel goes on his own way without regard to the synoptic narrative. This seems to point to the conclusion that the fourth evangelist followed a tradition of his own which had long diverged from the synoptic tradition, while preserving the same general form and much of the language, even where the language came, as often happens, to be differently applied.

When we compare the synoptic Gospels one with another, they present similar phenomena to those which appear on a comparison of the synoptic and Johannine traditions. There are many and marked resemblances, but there are also irreconcilable differences. All attempts to explain their mutual relations by supposing that one copied from the other have failed. The synoptic Gospels appear to be independent traditional products, starting, it may be, from a common source, and embodying much common matter, but each with modifications and additions of its own. The synoptics seem to be related to one another as the fourth Gospel is to the synoptics, though with this difference, that the tradition of the fourth Gospel has branched more widely apart from the synoptics than the synoptics have from one another.

While we are contemplating these facts, and asking ourselves if there was room enough in the early Church for our four Gospels to have grown up independently of each other in the way that this theory supposes, the fragment of the Gospel of Peter appears on the

scene. Does it throw any light on our enquiry? We find it to represent a fifth Gospel, apparently standing in the same kind of relation to the other four as John does to the synoptics, or the synoptics to one another. The Gospel of St Peter is a Life of Jesus Christ corresponding, as far as we can judge the whole from a part, in general outline and idea with the older Gospels, and resembling them occasionally in language just as John resembles the synoptics, and as the synoptics resemble one another, but at the same time diverging from them so widely and in so many points that it is very hard indeed to believe that it is founded on them.

What is the correct view as to the relation of the Akhmîm fragment to the canonical Gospels? The question is of importance, for if the Gospel of Peter was based upon a tradition related to those of the canonical Gospels, but independent of them, that would be a strong confirmation of the theory that the fourth Gospel was based on a tradition similarly related to those of the synoptics, and that the synoptics are so related one to another. But if, on the other hand, it can be proved, or shown with any high degree of probability, that the Petrine Gospel, in spite of its variations from the canonical Gospels, is really founded on them, that would be a strong argument in favour of the belief that the fourth evangelist used the synoptic Gospels, and that we are right in seeking for the solution of the synoptic problem by trying to discover which of the three could have copied from the other.

Both Dr Swete and Professor Rendel Harris favour the opinion that the writer of the Petrine Gospel used the other four. But in Dr Swete's admirable introduction there is what many must regard as an unanswerable objection to this hypothesis. He gives a list of eighteen of "the most important" incidents which occur in this short fragment, but are "not to be found in any canonical gospel." It is quite true, as Dr Swete says, that these "new incidents" "rest upon the basis of a story which is in the main identical with that of the canonical Gospels." But this is a very different thing from claiming that "there is nothing in this portion of the Petrine Gospel which compels us to assume the use of historical sources other than the canonical Gospels." If these new incidents did not come from other traditional sources, where did they come from? Why should the writer have invented them, with all their self-consistent complications? Besides these "important" additions to the tradition of the canonical Gospels there are many striking omissions, and many smaller indications of independence.

Professor Rendel Harris does not do much to strengthen the case when he says, in "showing that he (Peter) uses the narrative of the Fourth Gospel," "it may be conjectured that the reason why the writer made up the story that one thief did not have his legs

broken is due to the language of St John ('they brake the legs of the first'). The rest of the sentence in the Fourth Gospel is—"and of the other which was crucified with him." The writer of the Peter Fragment must have been a very heedless reader if he founded on the Fourth Gospel the statement that only one of the thieves had his legs broken.

Professor Harris makes a similar comment on the concluding words of the Fragment, which says that Simon Peter and Andrew took their nets and departed to the sea, accompanied by Levi the son of Alphæus. "The writer," he says, "is evidently thinking of the account in the last chapter of John where Simon Peter says, 'I go a fishing;' and the other disciples say, 'We also go with thee.' But either because he did not recall the previous verse in John, which says that there were with Peter both Thomas and Nathanael, James and John, and two other disciples, or else because he was making a hasty guess at the two nameless disciples, he has introduced Andrew and Levi the son of Alphæus."

In face of the very great difficulties in the way of supposing that the narrative of the Akhmim Fragment is founded on the canonical Gospels, it must be admitted that the proof of its dependence on them has not yet been established.

With regard to the question whether four Gospels could have grown up independently in the early Church, the following extracts from Dr Swete's preface, relating to the early history of the Gospel of Peter, are worth considering.

"In the course of a visit to Rhosus, the Bishop of Antioch"—Serapion, whose "episcopate began between A.D. 189 and 192,"—"learned that some bitterness had arisen between some members of the church upon the question of the public use of the Gospel of Peter. He glanced over its pages, and not suspecting the existence of any heretical tendency at Rhosus, authorised the reading of the book. After his departure information reached him which threw a new light upon the matter, and determined him to visit Rhosus again without delay. He had learned that the Gospel had originated among a party known to Catholic Christians as the *Docetae*, and was still in use among that party, who appear to have been led at Rhosus by one Marcianus; and on procuring a copy of the Gospel from other members of the party and examining it in detail, he had found that the book, although generally sound, contained certain accretions of another character, specimens of which he proceeded to give." (Pp. x., xi.)

Where was Rhosus, and what kind of a man was Serapion?

"Rhosus stood just inside the Bay of Issus (the modern Gulf of Iskenderun); to the south-west, fifty miles off, lay the extremity of the long arm of Cyprus; Antioch was not above thirty miles to the

south-east, but lofty hills, a continuation of the range of Amanus, prevented direct communication with the capital. It was in this obscure dependency of the great Syrian See that the Petrine Gospel first attracted notice. To Serapion it was clearly unknown till he saw it at Rhodus. Yet Serapion was not only bishop of the most important See in the east, but a man of considerable activity in letters, and a controversialist."

Putting together these facts with the opening verses of the third Gospel they appear to show us that in the first ages of the church there was not that degree of interest taken in the exact form of the Gospel tradition prevailing in other parts of the church, that our modern notions might have led us to expect. If it had not been for the dispute at Rhodus about the use of the Gospel of Peter, it appears that Serapion would not have heard of the existence of such a Gospel, even though it was in use within thirty miles of his own home. And when his attention was called to it he authorised the use of it without reading it through. All this seems to show that in the wide extent of the Christian church it is not impossible that the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John might have arrived at their present form with less dependence on one another than is implied in the ordinary theories as to their origin.

J. A. CROSS.

Christianity under the Empire.

Der römische Staat und die allgemeine Kirche.

Von K. J. Neumann. *Erster Band.* Leipzig: Veit & Comp. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xii. 334. Price, M. 7.

Christianity and the Roman Government.

By E. G. Hardy, M.A., formerly Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. London: Longmans, 1894. 8vo, pp. xv. 208. Price, 5s.

FOR no historical problem of prime interest can more solid progress during the last five years be reported than for that here under review. And it is a fact full at once of instruction and of promise for the future, that, though the topic belongs to ecclesiastical even more than to political history, the recent advance has been made by students approaching it from the latter side. Things, indeed, were perhaps most in arrears on this side, as we may now perceive from Lightfoot's comparative failure to unravel matters, spite of his great services in certain respects. But the balance has now been fully

redressed, and a fresh impulse to renewed scrutiny of the specifically Christian facts should be a speedy result. The master mind behind this movement has been that of Mommsen, the Nestor of Roman historians, who, by an article in the *Historische Zeitschrift* for 1890, entitled, "Religious Trespass (*Frevel*) according to Roman Law," laid down the lines along which both Ramsay and Hardy, among ourselves, have eagerly run, each in his own way.

We had intended to review Neumann's work in its completed form; but the second volume, advertised for 1891, is so long overdue that its partner is already being put out of date in some respects by more recent research. Yet not so in its entirety; for, as its title denotes, its stress begins where Ramsay and Hardy end—viz., at the point where the Church begins to impress the State as a catholic organisation. It deals, too, far more with topics internal to the Church's life than either of the authors just named. The *terminus ad quem* in the author's mind is the age of Diocletian; and the first part carries us down to the eve of Decius' reign, which inaugurated the new policy of systematic repression. After a terse and lucid Introduction of some fifty pages, reviewing the development of the Church and of something like a policy on the part of the State, down to the age of M. Aurelius (when the "Great Church" may be said to emerge), Neumann takes up his special task in earnest and with a thorough grip upon the sources, which shows itself everywhere in the copious and elegantly-printed foot-notes. Chapter I. is devoted to the "Beginnings of Synodal Organisation and the rule of Commodus"; Chapter II., to the "First Years of Septimius Severus and the attitude of Christianity to the World at the close of the Second Century"; and Chapter III., to the "Rescript and Persecution of Sept. Severus and Severus Antoninus," and then to the "Syrian Cæsars." Next follow two Chapters on "Maximinus Thrax and the Christian Clergy," and "The Peace of the Church under Philippus Arabs and the Millennial Jubilee of Roman Rule," which conclude the history proper. But not the least valuable part of the work are the three Critical Appendices (pp. 255-331) or *pièces justificatives*, on "Hippolytus," "The date and occasion of Origen's *Contra Celsum*," and the "*Acta Sanctorum*" attributed to the period.

This last is a wonderful bit of careful and discriminating condensation, for which students of Martyrologies cannot be too grateful. As to the nature of Hippolytus' peculiar position, Neumann sees in him a real anti-pope to Callistus and probably also to his two successors; supposing that his final reconciliation to the larger party in the church enabled the official tradition of the Roman Church to recognise him under the title of Presbyter (so the Liberian Catalogue). He thus dismisses the view that Hippolytus was

actually bishop of Portus, which, however, has since been revived by Bishop Lightfoot (*Clement*, Vol. II. 427 ff.). And the case is by no means closed. The idea of his second discussion is rather more novel—viz., that Origen was, in fact, stirred to his *Contra Celsum* by the occurrence, in 248 A.D., of the celebration of Rome's Millennium of continuous growth; and that this was uppermost in Ambrosius' mind in asking him to undertake the task, as a sort of counterblast to the moral effect of such an impressive event. Neumann cites as a parallel the *Monumenta Reformationis Lutheranae* issued by the Curia at the time of the Luther celebration in 1883. This is attractive, though it may well be asked whether the internal marks in the *Contra Celsum* of such a *motif* are quite as clear as we might expect.¹

The starting-point in Neumann's mind, as his preface informs us, was the Decian persecution; and this fact explains the scope of his work, which becomes fuller and fuller as it nears that crisis. But as the later stages could only be read by aid of the earlier history of the relations of Church and State, he extended his studies back to the very beginning. In so doing he worked in the light of the fact that "the Church's power which Decius and Diocletian vainly sought to break, had grown step by step with the progress of Church organisation"; so that "only in connection with the development of Church polity could the State's attitude to the Church be estimated." These are excellent principles, if we do not allow them to dominate our views at too early a point in the history of Christianity—a danger which Mr Hardy has well brought to light. And most excellently has Neumann wrought out the reciprocal relations of the factors at work on both sides, selecting from a very wide field all facts—both civil and religious, old and new—that are really pertinent to the inquiry. Nor has he neglected to take account of the tone and temper of Christian life, especially in its social aspects, at each epoch. Very thorough, too, is the way in which he lays Clement and Tertullian under contribution for the *ethos* of the Christians in Alexandria and Carthage during the age of Severus and his immediate successors. He seems, however, rather unduly to limit the type of *collegia*, under which the Christians of Tertullian's day sought so far to legitimise their corporate life, to that known as a *coll. funeraticium* or "burial club"—although it is doubtful whether there is epigraphic warrant for the particular phrase. The more comprehensive term *coll. tenuiorum* (= the "masses," in contrast to the "classes"—*honestiores*) would seem better to represent the thing that Tertullian has in view in *Apol.* 39. But, in any case, we must beware of imagining that this could

¹ Neumann refers the *σράσις* of iii. 15 to the usurpers of the year 248.

legalise the existence of Christians *as such*. Of them *Non licet esse vos* still holds as before.

A good instance of our author's careful work is his discussion of the rescript (rather than edict) by which, after having shown a mild attitude to the Christians in Rome (Tert. *ad Scap.* iv.)—presumably because not regarding them there as a real political danger—Severus explicitly forbade their growth in the East. He was then probably at Antioch in Syria, where he had, along with his son Antoninus, just assumed the consulship on Jan. 1, 202. Thus the measure, like the similar one forbidding Jewish proselytism, was possibly the outcome of his recent experience of the firm hold which Christianity had in his eastern empire. The warnings, indeed, against proselytism were common to both religions; but the status of existing Christians remained just as it was before—*i.e.*, while Jews had a legal existence, they had none.¹ Hence, while we begin for the first time to find catechumens a special object of attack, we find also martyrs like Origen's father Leonidas, who was hardly a recent convert. Finally, Neumann points to the profound impression on Christian sentiment caused by this advance towards something like formal, even if localised, repression. This is seen in the work of a certain Judas, who supposes that the year 202 marks the end of Daniel's seventy weeks, and the speedy advent of Antichrist (Eus. H. E. vi. 7). To this Harnack, in a review in the *Theolog. Literaturzeitung* for 1890, No. 4, adds some very vivid testimony from Hippolytus (*De Antichristo*, 33, 49; *Comm. in Dan.*, Lagarde, p. 149; *Canones Hippolyti*, 6, 10-17, &c.). And certainly, in his "Comm. on Daniel" the action of the mob in entering the church and haling off Christians to the tribunals is most instructively depicted.

A difficult problem is the explanation of the little that came² of the persecuting mandates issued by Maximin the Thracian, with whom the struggle between the rival *organisations*, Empire and Church, first emerges into clear light. For it was at the ἀρχοντες τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν—probably the clergy as a class—that the blow was directly aimed. Here Neumann and Harnack are for the moment at issue. Harnack had suggested some time back that Maximin did not feel secure enough from rivals to venture on a systematic persecution after all. Neumann replies that from 235 to the spring of 238, Maximin was firm enough on his throne: that, therefore, we must seek other reasons: and that Eusebius supplies the needed hint, in alleging the true motive of the mandates to be "rancour (κότος) against Alexander's household, consisting as it did in the

¹ So, too, under Alexander Severus, we must read into the words *Christianos esse passus est*, no more than mere practical toleration.

² We know only of martyrdoms at Rome and Cæsarea Palæstina.

main of believers" (ἐκ πλειόνων πιστῶν, Eus. H. E. vi. 28). He then proceeds to argue that the emperor only issued his orders to his legates provisionally, with a sort of proviso to put them in force only where the Christians showed any disposition to rise against his rule out of sympathy for their late protector Alexander. Hence, on this showing, "systematic and premeditated persecution, aimed at the extirpation of the Church as a whole, does not begin with Maximin" in any sense; although, to be sure, his method of anticipating the Church's attack shows that the secret of its now formidable character was discerned to lie in its compact organisation, hinging on the clergy. Harnack is not convinced, and will not go beyond the statement that somehow or other Maximin lacked the means to execute his purpose of a thoroughgoing attack on the Church at its most vital point. But the real vulnerability of Neumann's position is surely not so much the fact that his view treats the definite injunction, as given in Eusebius, far too lightly; but rather that it does no justice to the idea of "rancour" against the Christians as Alexander's *protégés*. Instead of this, it summarily twists the word round to mean "suspicion," which is quite another thing. Be this as it may, Neumann makes excellent use of Origen's "Exhortation to Martyrdom" in illustration of the persecution at Cæsarea, and his feelings thereupon; while his connecting of the *Contra Celsum* with the memorable year 248 has already been noticed. But it is worth while adding that, convinced by Massebieau of the priority of Tertullian, he goes so far as to assign the *Octavius* of Minucius to the same period.

We had wished to examine some of the positions summarily advanced in Neumann's Introductory Chapter on the period prior to the more organised unity which the Church begins to attain about the time of Commodus. But as some of these re-emerge in Mr Hardy's work, it will be best to refer to them in that connection, where, in fact, they receive ampler and more correct statement.

The scope of Mr Hardy's book is well indicated by the sub-title, "A Study in Imperial Administration." He sees clearly what Mommsen has insisted on—namely, that the treatment meted out to the Christians must not be handled *in abstracto*, but in the light of Rome's general policy towards both religions and the various forms of voluntary association rife under the Empire. Thus a strong point in his work, as in Neumann's, is the affluence of well-chosen footnotes illustrative of the spirit of Roman law and usage. Again, our author has perceived the principle of administrative Opportunism, so well understood by practical statesmen, and not least so by Roman statesmen, who had such varying local conditions to cope with. The pure jurist cannot interpret the known facts of

our case: logic must, and often did, bend to general expediency. Thus, Mr Hardy is able to clear up the situation by the very principle which saves us from seeking artificially to simplify the policy of the State. Of course he has the advantage of coming after men like Mommsen, Neumann, and Ramsay. But his open-mindedness, judicious independence, and the candour which can learn from his own past mistakes, as well as from those of others, enable him not only to sum up the actual state of research in the most convenient and balanced form at present accessible, but also to contribute a distinct element of his own. Our only complaint is the high price of so small a volume, which may hinder its proper circulation.

In grappling with the problem, "How is the treatment to which the Christians were subjected during the first two centuries consistent with the toleration with which the Roman government in religious matters has generally been credited?" Hardy starts with a chapter on the attitude of Rome towards foreign cults. He first defines the genius of Roman religion. "It was essentially and before all things a national religion: its object was primarily not the honour of the gods but the safety of the State, of which the goodwill of the gods was supposed to be the necessary condition." Here we have the real key to all that follows. *Salus reipublicæ summa lex*. As this ideal stood related in a ruler's mind to the existence of Christians in a given locality—not merely logically and potentially, but also practically—so was his action towards them. Hence, after the growth of comprehensiveness in the spirit of Roman religion under the Republic has been carefully traced, the conclusion emerges that under the Empire, "government interference became limited to two kinds of cases:—(1) To those in which a strange religion was dangerous to public morality or social order or political security; (2) to those in which the foreign religions did not reciprocate the State toleration." Egyptian cults for instance (*cf.* that of Isis), fulfilled the latter of these sufficiently, though not at all times the former. But there were at least two faiths which never pretended to such complaisance, the Jewish and the Christian. These, therefore, must be studied together for comparison and contrast. And, accordingly, a chapter entitled "The Treatment of Judaism" is devoted to the analogies thence discoverable. At this point Hardy is both fuller and clearer than Neumann, who excels, however, when we come to the "Cult of Cæsar," its origin in the eastern provinces, and gradual spread to Rome.¹

With chapter iii. the main theme is directly broached, and the real motives of the relations of the Empire to the Christians are

¹ It is only right to add that Hardy has elsewhere treated this subject fully (*English Hist. Review*, April 1890, Article "Provincial Concilia").

laid bare. The gist of the matter is as follows : Once the Christians began to be distinguished from Jewish Monotheists who, while generally disliked, were at the same time shielded by certain privileges now of long standing, they became liable to persecution. Not, indeed, as it has often been put, because any religion not "holding a licence from the State for worship or for sacrifice" was *ipso facto* liable—an idea which traverses known facts. But because Christian principles in their social application transgressed the two conditions of the "watchful toleration" extended to cults not formally incorporated in the worship of the Roman pantheon. Christianity was non-national in a sense far more rigorous than the specially tolerated Judaism ; it was thus aggressive, and led Roman citizens "to neglect or to violate the national worship" ; and, moreover, its "public morality" seemed more than doubtful. In this regard, in their "aloofness" from the full citizen life and interests, the Christians would affront the feelings of their neighbours long before they attracted the notice of the authorities. The earliest case known to us is that of Pomponia Græcina, a noble Roman lady, whose "superstitio externa" marked by *continua tristitia* and *cultus lugubris* attracted the serious notice of her husband, Aulus Plautius, about 57 A.D. Still, all that we know of St Paul's experiences at Rome points to the fact that the government had not as yet formed any definite estimate of the scope and merits of Christianity.¹ Such an estimate was first occasioned by the trial of Christians on the charge of incendiarism in 64 A.D., in the course of which the nature of their tenets and practice became officially known, was summarily stigmatised *odium generis humani* or "hostility to the social order," and became the actual ground of their penal sentence.

It is at this stage that Hardy begins to diverge from Ramsay, in that he here recognises as already present in germ that proscription of the Name which Ramsay would sharply distinguish from the *flagitia*, and relegate to some time (e.g., 80 A.D.) in the Flavian era. On this showing certain *flagitia* were the ostensible grounds of condemnation in 64 A.D. And, accordingly, "hostility to society" would rank among these special charges. But this, Hardy urges, is not Tacitus' view of the case. He makes such *odium* the summary count, implying all else. *And such persecution is tantamount to that for the Name* : the latter is only the technical phrase in which the same idea took convenient form (cf. Tert. App. 2). This view is in keeping with those of Mommsen and Dr Sanday, and will probably prevail. With its adoption falls to the ground

¹ Prof. Ramsay, in his review of Hardy (*Bookman*, June 1894), points out that Tacitus' account of the events of 64 A.D. implies this ; and that this forces us to assume the release, and not the condemnation, of St Paul about 63 A.D.

one of Ramsay's most dubious hypotheses—viz., the late date of 1 Peter (c. 80 rather than 64 A.D.). His principle once granted, Hardy again joins heartily with Ramsay in emphasising and applying Mommsen's great thesis, that henceforth the State must have regarded the Christians in the light of men generally "disaffected towards the social and political arrangements of the Empire," and much on a par with "temple-riflers (*sacrilegos*), brigands, assassins, thieves," and all others whose existence was a standing menace to peace and good order in each locality; and must have treated them accordingly. This means that repression would normally not depend on any specific edicts, but would be left to the common powers of *coercitio* which belonged to the higher magistrates in virtue of their supreme duty of safeguarding the peace and safety of their district or province. In a word, persecution was a "matter of police administration, not of judicial procedure against a legally constituted offence." And in the nature of the case this would vary with "the character of provincial governors, local and particular circumstances"—which would often determine the *expediency* of violating the maxim *quieta non movere*—"and, above all, on the state of popular feeling in particular districts or provinces." Here we seem to have what has long been desiderated by many—namely, a theory in terms of the known criminal law of the Empire.

As the attitude to Christianity taken up in Rome under the Emperor's eye in 64 A.D. stiffened into a permanent police regulation, which no doubt set the fashion for the provinces likewise; so the degree in which the repression of Christianity was actually enforced would vary somewhat with the mood of the reigning Cæsar. This helps, along with local causes of excitement, to explain the spasmodic aspect noticeable in the records of persecution. Those who wish to see it worked out in detail for the Flavii and Domitian in particular (since whose day the Cæsar cult was used as the most typical *test* for Christians), as well as for the emperors of the second century, will do well to consult these pages. As to the significance of Trajan's Rescript, Hardy agrees in general with Ramsay as against his own former views, pointing out among other things that the maxim "*conquirendi non sunt*" limited more than ever the conditions under which a Christian would actually be brought to account, by throwing the initiative as a rule solely upon the populace. But in the same expression he finds also a confirmation of his own position as to the degree of danger which the earlier Cæsars actually perceived in the Christian communities. For he holds, as against Ramsay, that while the *obstinatio* of the Christians seemed to leave Trajan no option to coercing men whose position was logically that of "*hostes publici*";

yet it is impossible to harmonise his policy of waiving *aggressive* measures, calculated to stamp out Christianity altogether, with Ramsay's theory that even the Flavii regarded the Christians as a "united organisation." For in that case Trajan must have regarded them still more in the light of an actual menace to his government. Here it is hard to avoid the impression that Ramsay is antedating matters, and that his language about the solidarity between the Christian Churches to the imperial eye, is really appropriate only to the age of Marcus Aurelius at the earliest. But even as regards the severer persecutions known to us under Aurelius, Hardy makes out a strong case against Neumann's theory that these were due to any advance in policy on Cæsar's part. Informers were certainly now being tolerated, if not encouraged, as never before; but the special measures at Lyons seem due in the main to the idiosyncrasy of the legate in that quarter, in conjunction with the mob. Soon after, indeed, with the emergence of synods representing ever more and more churches, we feel that we are on the eve of change towards the conditions of a Catholic Church as a "united organisation" recognisable even to outsiders, "a State within the State," the existence of which must ere long evoke a policy of more than occasional opposition. And the stages by which this approximated to a systematic persecution have already been referred to, as they are traced in Neumann's work.

Hardy devotes his last chapter to a collateral subject, the relation of Christianity to *collegia*. Here he too points out that, granting the adoption by Christians of such forms as those of the *coll. tenuiorum* devoted especially "*egenis alendis humanisque*" (Terullian, *Apol.* 39)—subsequently, as it seems, to the more indulgent policy of Hadrian in such matters—this carried with it no respite for Christians as such. Finally, in an Appendix, he epitomises two "*Acta*" of the reign of Commodus, those of the Scilitan Martyrs and of Apollonius, and shows their harmony with his general positions. The reader should, however, be made aware that Robinson has published in the *Texts and Studies*, i. 2, what is probably the original Latin form of these Scilitan Acts, though this does not affect Hardy's results. In taking leave of the subject with a good heart in view of what has recently been accomplished by students of Roman institutions, one cannot help expressing the hope that they will continue their "mixed" studies; and at least work out to more precision the subject of the *collegia* of various types, whose bearing upon Church organisation can hardly as yet be said to stand out clear in the dry light of science.

VERNON BARTLET.

Basal Concepts in Philosophy: An Inquiry into Being, Non-Being, and Becoming.

By Alexander T. Ormond, Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy in Princeton University. New York: Scribners. 8vo, pp. 308. Price, \$1.50.

Die Neutestamentliche Formel "In Christo Jesu" untersucht

Von Lic. theol. Adolf Deissmann, Privat-docenten und Repetenten an der Universität Marburg. Marburg: Elwert. 8vo, pp. 136. Price, M. 2.50.

Die Paulinische Lehre vom Gesetz nach den Vier Hauptbriefen.

Von Dr. Eduard Grafe, Ord. Professor an der Universität Bonn. 2nd Auf. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. v. 33. Price, M. 0.70.

Das Weltelend und die Welterlösung; Versuch einer Pneumatik.

Von K. Hollensteiner. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. viii. 676. Price, M. 10, geb. 12.

Die Bedeutung des lebendigen Christus für die Rechtfertigung nach Paulus.

Von Lic. G. Schäder, Privat-docent in Griefswald. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. viii. 124. Price, M. 2.40.

' Le Péché d'Après l'Éthique de Rothe.

Par F. Leenhardt, Docteur des Sciences, Docteur en Théologie. Paris: Fischbacher. 8vo, pp. 299.

THE problem of Professor Ormond's book may be briefly stated thus: How does the creative energy of the Absolute fall short of an absolute result, and only produces the finite and imperfect? How can a finite and imperfect world be the work of an infinite and perfect self-conscious spirit? The book is the solution of the problem. Whether we think that the solution is adequate, or that it is not, certainly all competent readers will agree that in Professor Ormond we have found a metaphysician of the highest order. He is learned in the history of philosophy; he has made himself acquainted with the great systems of philosophy; and his speculative power and insight are not hampered or hindered by his learn-

ing. Sometimes, indeed, our attention is diverted from the main issue, by the keenness of the criticism bestowed on some of the great systems, and by the brilliancy of the sections in which Professor Ormond sums up the trend and tendency of philosophic thought. We know nothing more brilliant than the few pages in which he touches "the mountain-peaks of speculation, ancient and modern," and sums up as follows:—"The great lesson the masters have to teach is that philosophy reaches its highest category in the notion of being as, in its essence, self-activity. The intuition of this is as old as Socrates and Plato. In modern philosophy Hegel is the one thinker whose system has embodied the insight most clearly and adequately: and for this reason, in spite of all its shortcomings, Hegelism reaches the high-water mark of modern speculation. Its failure, therefore, to ground rationally the sphere of relativity in the Absolute has thrown modern thought back in a wave of philosophic despair. If the highest thinking fails to ground knowledge in an absolute principle, the logical inference seems to be that the attempt is vain, and that agnosticism is the final outcome of philosophy" (p. 18).

How, then, does Professor Ormond proceed "to ground rationally the sphere of relativity in the Absolute"? We have found this to be the hardest part of the book. Professor Ormond thinks that Hegel made a great step when he restored the Negative as a necessary philosophical datum. His own solution consists in a more thorough restoration of the Negative. We must let Professor Ormond speak for himself. "Non-being as an objective and anti-thetic term thus arises as a necessary consequence of being itself when conceived as spirit, and construed in the light of the logos-principle. How, then, can the category of non-being be shown to be philosophically necessary? Its value arises chiefly as a principle of disjunction and discrimination. So applied it brings some vital philosophical conceptions to the birth which it would otherwise be very difficult to realise. In the first place, it makes a disjunction between the immanent and exeunt energising of the Absolute not only conceivable but also rational, in the motive it supplies for it in spirit's intuition of its own negative and opposite. The very self-assertion of being which is its essence, will lead it to assert itself against and upon its opposite, for its suppression and annulment of it. In the second place, as we have seen above, a true conception of non-being renders the origin of the world-series and its relative character intelligible. The self-assertion of being against its opposite not only explains its exeunt energy, but also the origin of the world-process as not in the Absolute but in the negative sphere. The negative sphere is being's opposite, and is negative in the sense that it lacks the ground-principle which is the essence of

we have an investigation into the sources of the Pauline syntax. Paul is the author of the phrase, and what then does this phrase mean? After a detailed discussion, the particulars of which space forbids us to give, Herr Deissmann sums up the result as follows: Paul, under the influence of a usage common in profane Greek, created the formula, "in Christ Jesus," to express the relation of the Christian to Christ Jesus, "als ein lokal aufzufassendes Sich-befinden in dem pneumatischen Christus." In short, the formula is the proper Pauline expression of the highest concentrated inner fellowship of the Christian with Christ. This general meaning is used by the author to explain the particular passages in the Pauline Epistles where the formula occurs. Then follow sections dealing with the central significance of the formula in all the literature of Paulinism, and, finally, the after-effects of the formula is traced.

The book is able, learned, and thorough. But the material might be better arranged, and the style is atrocious. Herr Deissmann has much to learn ere he can make his meaning clear. Has any man the right to be obscure?

Professor Grafe's lecture on the Pauline doctrine of the Law, as set forth in the four great Epistles, is already in a second edition. It is not surprising, for the lecture is unusually good. Clear in style, lucid in arrangement, and reverent in tone, it comprises within a few pages the results of prolonged thought and profound study. After the problem is set forth in a page or two, the Professor illustrates the use of νόμος with and without the article, and seeks to determine its meaning in either case; then he has a paragraph on the distinction between ethical and ritual law, which distinction, he says, Paul does not make; next he discusses the significance and purpose of the law; and lastly deals with some antinomies which emerge in a full view of all the places where Paul treats of the law. He reminds us that Paul's chief aim was to preach the gospel. Paul did not set forth his teaching in a dogmatic fashion, nor was dialectics in the first place with Paul. Both dogmatics and dialectics were in the service of the preacher. It is well that Professor Grafe should remind writers on Paulinism of this significant fact.

Herr Hollensteiner's book is partly homiletic and partly systematic. The author takes much time and a large space to say what he wants to say, and what might be said more effectively within a smaller compass. It is the old theme of the misery of the world and its redemption that he discusses, and he discusses these on the old lines. In 72 pages he sets forth the misery of the world, its

causes, and its extent; and the rest of the book deals with the redemption of the world. There is much in the book which is true and edifying, and much that is finely said; but there is nothing that seems to call for further remark.

Herr Schäder's volume is one of those painstaking and thorough studies of a particular topic, with which young German theologians so often begin their literary career. Herr Schäder's topic is the significance of the living Christ for Justification according to the teaching of Paul. After a preliminary statement of the question, the author gives us a statement of the views of the more recent writers on Biblical Theology with regard to the significance of the death and resurrection of Christ in relation to the forgiveness of sins and Justification. He then passes in brief review the works of Weiss, Pfeiderer, Chr. J. Schmid, Messner, Ritschl, Baur, R. Schmidt, Weizsäcker, Gess, Lipsius, and Hofmann. He is not satisfied with these results, and gives his reasons. Finally, we have a detailed examination of those passages in the acknowledged Pauline Epistles, and in the Acts of the Apostles, which bear on the question. His conclusion is that, according to the teaching of Paul, the condition of the gracious activity of God, by which he declares a sinner to be justified, is not based on any historical work of Christ as such, specially not on any event in the history of Christ, nor on the whole course of His earthly life, but on the super-historical Jesus Christ Himself, as He has manifested Himself for the salvation of man in His life, death, and resurrection. The work is well done, and deserves careful study. It is useful also as a check to that tendency of theologians to turn Christian facts into logical abstractions, and to deal with them as if the doctrines of forgiveness of sins, of atonement, justification, &c., have virtue in themselves, and apart from Christ. We all need to get back to the living Christ, and this book is helpful for this end.

The influence of Rothe can be traced in many forms in the theological literature of our own and other lands, and yet it may be said that few men have made a complete study of all his works. His *Dogmatik* and his *Zur Dogmatik* have had many readers, but how many have read through or have thoroughly studied his *Ethics*? We welcome the study of his work given us here by Dr Leenhardt. He is clear where Rothe is often obscure, and though clear, he is also profound. While the main purpose of his book is to set forth Rothe's doctrine of sin, he knows that he must, in order to reach that particular doctrine, give us some adequate conception of Rothe's system as a whole. Thus he gives in his first section Rothe's doctrine of God and creation. In six chapters he

speaks of God, of creation, of the world as the result of creation, of the realisation of creation, of man; and in these chapters we have a clear and full account of Rothe's system. Then he speaks of sin, its origin and its nature, and of degradation as the result of sin.

So far his work is descriptive and expository. He is setting forth Rothe's system, and has done it in a most admirable way. The second part of the book is critical. Rothe's system, as well as his doctrine of sin, rests on the conception of spirit which he has set forth in his works. What that conception is is well set forth and adequately criticised. Then follows a critical examination of the metaphysical and psychological elements of sin, of Rothe's view of the inevitableness of sin, and of the speculative methods. Finally, in some forty pages of lucid and pregnant writing, M. Leenhardt sums up the results. Whether we look at its expository portions or at the critical sections, the book is in every way admirable. It is the work of a strong thinker, who has also the power of clearly expressing his thoughts.

JAMES IVERACH.

Geschichte und Kritik der neueren Theologie, insbesondere der systematischen, seit Schleiermacher.

Von Fr. H. R. von Frank. Erlangen und Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchh., 1894. 8vo, pp. vi., 350. Price, M. 6.

To the various histories and sketches of modern German theology which have recently appeared, an important addition has been made by Frank's literary executors. By his disciples these College Lectures have been hailed as towering far above even Dörner's ingenious *Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie*. It is a tolerable education in the present theological situation in Germany to compare and contrast the Erlangen lectures with the short studies of the same subject by Pfeiderer and Kattenbusch.¹ Naturally less full than Lichtenberger's *History*, Frank's posthumous book surpasses it in interest by registering the latest doctrinal developments, and, in particular, by maintaining the confessionalist position against the Ritschlians with an excess of polemical heat.

The "Geschichte und Kritik der Neueren Theologie" is distinguished, in point of form, from Frank's greater works, by being eminently readable. It contains truly masterly historical surveys and deeply interesting biographical pieces. The grouping of the dogmatic theologians of the century departs so far from the usual classification into confessional, liberal, and mediating or eclectic. Four prin-

¹ *Entwicklung der protestantischen Theologie seit Kant.* O. Pfeiderer. 1893. *Von Schleiermacher zu Ritschl,* F. Kattenbusch. 1893.

cial schools are distinguished—viz., Schleiermacher and his disciples, the philosophical group—represented chiefly by the two Hegelian wings, the churchly type (including the more positive eclectics), and the neological school, which is mainly ranged under the banner of Ritschl. Frank differs from Pfeiderer in that he admits the right of the Ritschlian theology to a special chapter, but he does not follow Kattenbusch in the effort of imagination by which the latter comprehends Schleiermacher, the Hegelians, and the Confessionalists in a single class under the name of Romanticists. The chapter on Schleiermacher is a luminous and valuable monograph. It is a striking instance of impartiality that the warmest eulogiums are passed on the scientific work of two of the most negative representatives of the negative schools. The acuteness, the erudition, and the systematising gift of Alexander Schweizer are celebrated in terms which must draw renewed attention, especially in the British and American churches, to the researches and speculations of Schleiermacher's greatest disciple; while the equally hearty panegyric on Biedermann's "Christliche Dogmatik," as the most important recent contribution to Systematic Theology, will guide students of philosophy to the ripest result of the long-drawn endeavour to Hegelianise Christianity. It is interesting to notice in this connection that Frank, who places Pfeiderer in a much lower room than Biedermann, agrees with the former's Scotch critics in charging him with a want of candour in veiling his anti-Christian positions by the misappropriation of Christian formulae. To Biedermann a still higher tribute is paid than the compliment of *Meisterschaft*—the great orthodox divine protesting that his opponent's heart overcame in his life the negations of his system, and hailing him as a fellow-Christian though his gaze did not reach to Heaven and hardly to the living God.

In striking contrast to Frank's generous recognition of the work of Schweizer and Biedermann is the bitter disparagement of the neo-Kantian school, which, breaking forth as it does on almost every possible opportunity, stamps the book with the character of an anti-Ritschl pamphlet. The general point of view is that this theology is a morbid growth—the natural product of a period of religious backsliding. Its popularity, as is more fully set forth in "Die Theologie A. Ritschl's," is largely due to its accommodations to the demands of an intresingly sceptical and unspiritual generation. Its honesty is impugned. Its claim to originality is belittled, and it is allowed but one striking characteristic—the sterility of its exponents. The school is equally unproductive in Dogmatics and Home Missions. Such, with a few grudging concessions, is the outline of Frank's indictment, and little learning is needed to prove that it is grossly unjust and uncharitable. The literary activity of the Ritschlians

is one of the most striking features of the present time, and makes the impression of being the outcome of a youthful energy to which there remains much land to be possessed. Unduly timid as is the Ritschlian faith in supernatural realities, it is at least as just to connect it with honesty as with a defective sense of sin. Meagre and illogical the type of doctrine may be, but it seems strange that Frank could feel so little sympathy with men who at least heartily accept a revelation, whose watchword is the Gospel, and who, in the famous Eisenach declaration, professed that "living or dying their trust was in Christ alone."

The sternness, not to say the virulence, of Frank's attitude towards the neo-Kantians is due to his conviction that, largely through their influence, the sound development of German theology has been arrested and its harvest of thought endangered. The true line of theological progress, in his view, was that which, originating in the spiritual revival of the first quarter of the century, was at first simply evangelical, as it gathered strength became more and more rigidly confessional, and took a classic shape in the colossal system of Philippi. To correct, continue, and complete the orthodox reconstruction of doctrine, and, above all, to plant it on an immovable foundation was, Frank felt, the work which God had given him to do. Unlike his great predecessor, he believed that the Christian thinker of the nineteenth century was called to add to as well as to reproduce the heritage from the seventeenth; but still more did he feel it to be his mission to strengthen the foundations which carried the imposing edifice. Imperilled by his predecessors, who worked with a theory of the Bible which overlooked its human side, and ignored the results of criticism, the same structure of Christian truth was based by him on the experience of the regenerated soul, and thus based was supposed to be able to defy all floods and storms. And with this conception of his mission, Frank's polemics are intelligible, less as the result of a disappointed hope of summing up and crowning a great movement than as an outburst of indignation at the men who have seduced many, and marred a great work of God.

It is not necessary now to enquire whether Frank's method is sound—whether Christian experience can be made to give a genuine imprimatur to the Titanic systems which the system-builders of an earlier time reared by means of the dogma of verbal inspiration. It is sufficient at present to take note of the pessimism which animates his last words on the present position of religion, and as the outcome of this, the present state of theology. "The spring is over and gone. The sun, which we saw rise, is sloping to the west. The fields, once richly watered, on which there sprouted a noble seed, are dry

and withered. Fruit there has been—noble and fair, but the promise of the blossom has not been fully redeemed. The power of enthusiasm, the glow of love, that marked the revival-epoch, have vanished—now all is chilled.” These words will recall to some minds the similar laments that have been uttered in Scotland from Moderators’ Chairs and elsewhere over the decay of vital religion. But admitting the premises, admitting a general decline in religious fervour, it may fairly be claimed that this is at least balanced by an ethical revival. The general conscience was never so sensitive as to-day. The spirit of Christ never worked before so powerfully in the hearts of men. And this being so, it is an act of unbelief to despair of theology, for it is written that when men do His will they will know the doctrine.

W. P. PATERSON.

Der Pessimismus.

Im Lichte einer höher Weltauffassung von Dr J. Friedländer und Dr M. Berendt. Berlin: Gerstmann. 8vo, pp. iii. 111. Price, M. 2.

THE readers of this tractate, whether they adopt its conclusions or not, will admire its method of procedure. Its aim is to refute Pessimism, and it seeks to accomplish it neither by minimising the data of the theory, nor by directly attacking its point of view, but by revealing a deeper and more comprehensive doctrine. Once this latter is grasped, Pessimism, the authors contend, will fall away of itself, for it is a deeper positive and not a mere negative which confutes.

The Pessimism of our day seems to the authors to be in the main the product of the imperfect social and political institutions within which the individual lives, and it finds its most clear and effective expression in religion and philosophy. The truths which at one time were living have now become conventional, and they neither solve our intellectual doubts nor still the unrest of the heart. Philosophy has lost its consciousness of the unity of the world and become a vendor of learned opinions; and being no longer original but an echo, it can neither convince nor satisfy mankind. Science, on its part, has accomplished much for man’s outward life, but its goods are for the most part material, and it leaves man’s spirit the poorer for these very gifts. Society, again, rests upon caprice; and no one, not even the unreflecting, escapes the doubts and the despair which arise from the unequal distribution of its rewards and its burdens. And our practical life, which is already sufficiently sad, is made still more sad by our theories of it. For Darwinism, with its rude right of the stronger, is extending itself

over the moral relations of man ; and while Pessimism embitters the wrongs and miseries by recounting them, Materialism makes them the necessary results of a mechanical system, and thereby finally closes the door of hope. In its darkness and weakness and despair our age is like that in which Christ came ; and the deliverance and redemption obtained then through One who knew the truth because He lived it, we need once more in a new form. Christianity healed man's hurts for centuries ; but it has been stifled with foreign growths ; truths have become false with age, because they have remained fixed in the midst of the expanding forms of human life. The Church must be rebuilt once more on a new basis and in the old spirit. It alone will put an end to this interregnum between the rule of truth and truth, and destroy the power of unbelief and despair, of Atheism, Pessimism, Scepticism, and Materialism, or by whatever name negation is called. And the foundation of that Church is to be sought in a deeper and better view of the world.

The purpose thus sketched is faithfully pursued by these writers, and although they have little to offer that may be regarded as new, they have dealt with their material in a comprehensive way, keeping nearly always in the mid-stream of principles, and speaking with the freshness and force which comes from the conviction that their gospel is true, and their own.

The outer-walls of the New Temple are being silently built by Natural Science. While the power of religion has been failing and philosophers have been brawling, a new force, unexpectedly triumphant, has appeared in our midst. The conquests of Science are due to its impersonal objectivity. For it does not look at Nature from the point of view of the needs of mankind, nor seek to understand her in the reflected light of egoism and utilitarianism ; but endeavours to know her *as she is*. Natural Science has nothing to do with satisfying man's yearnings, and it is indifferent, in this respect, both to religion and philosophy, which endeavour respectively to find rest for the heart and the intellect. Science is not concerned with the value, or the worth or use of facts, but with their nature. Its motives are pure, and, unlike Theism, it refuses to make man the goal of the enterprise of the world and of God. It does not seek to make God the instrument of man's purpose, to move Him by prayer to realize man's aims. A personal God with Whom there is direct relation, Who may work miracles for the sake of educating mankind into goodness, and Who grants a beyond, an Immortality, and a Heaven, are impossible for Natural Science. The system of Nature is its all, whose value is in itself, and which is prized by Science for its own sole sake.

Hence, so far as the "anthropoteologic" point of view is concerned, which degrades God and the World into instruments where-

with to secure man's welfare, Science is purely negative. Man is not end but means, and Nature is not means but an end. But although Science clears away these unworthy ideas of God and the Universe, which cumbered the ground, and which, at any rate, had lost their power over the minds of men, it makes also a positive contribution to truth. It shows that Nature is one, constant, harmonious, complete, the source and goal of its own activity, and therefore both Necessary and Free. For freedom is just the necessity of the *Whole*, an order which is self-imposed, or, rather, not imposed at all, but the natural outcome and expression of that which is.

Nevertheless, this very exclusion of all criteria of worth in the attempt to know that which is, apart from all consideration of that which should be, shows that Science is abstract. It is abstract on purpose, and is, so far, justified in the results it achieves; but if it forgets its own abstractness and goes on to extend its methods and principles to man himself, it falls into error. It seeks *natural* law in the spiritual world; it explains man from the point of view of Cause and Mechanism; it ceases to be Science and becomes a philosophy, and a false one, because an abstract one. Treat Science as complete and final, and Materialism follows, and Materialism is doubly pessimistic.

For, first, it is based upon contingency or chance, and chance is the cruellest necessity. It relates event to event within the world, it is true; but the world itself need not have been, or might have been otherwise, and derives its being from no intelligent principle. And secondly, Materialism explains by levelling downwards. Even when it uses the implement of Development, it treats each new form as it arises as if it were a mere repetition of the old, and consequently the whole movement is absurd and meaningless. We have atoms and their movements at the end, and we had these already at the beginning. Thus everything which is specifically human is eliminated from man. He is made subject to natural necessity. Indeed, every fact loses its special essence and the particularity which constitutes its being, and nothing remains over except general laws.

It is right and good that Science should reveal these laws and carry our minds from the parts to the systematic whole; but this is not enough. The particular must be saved. We must attain to the view of a whole which articulates itself in the parts, instead of a system of empty universals, the natural laws, which expunges them. This view Science cannot give. But Pantheism steps in to its aid, and saves each particular thing by making it the expression, or, so to speak, the more or less perfect impersonation of the Whole. From Nature thus conceived as a Whole with its reason and, therefore, its necessity within itself, new species ever emerge in ascending

scale. But they emerge because they are already there. Evolution is thus inspired and guided from within, and is, not as Darwin represented it, dependent upon the accidents of environment. These ascending forms of being appear as soon as the conditions necessary for them are realized. But these conditions do not cause them; they awaken them, as the incidents of the life of an individual rouse into activity his latent talents.

From this point of view each stage of being is explicable only in the light of the ultimate goal of the whole process, as successive steps in the *self* realisation, and, therefore, the *free* realisation, of that which is highest and best. And that highest and best is the Community of the spiritually free. In this way Nature, which our authors regard as the whole, or the absolute, being determined from within just because it *is* the whole, and realising itself in spirit, is itself spirit. Hence the pessimistic interpretation of Nature is false; for it treats nature as necessitated from without, whose beginning is found neither within itself nor elsewhere. The conditioned cannot be free.

For the same reason, that is, because dealt with in isolation from any original principle, the finite beings which constitute Nature are regarded by Science as in the dominion of a foreign and hard necessity. But we correct the error if we regard them in the light of the whole of which they are parts, which determines itself, and which realises itself in them. And as the spirit of the whole breathes in each part, each part carries within it the freedom of the whole with all its blessedness. There is a limited part of Eternal Nature granted to each being and each organism. In virtue of this, its final nature, each individual thing necessarily strives to continue its own existence and maintain itself. But owing to the fact that the parts are *only* parts, and are therefore interlocked in a system of mutual relations, they must perish. The light which was temporarily focussed in them becomes again dissipated, and they give back the being which had been lent to them. Self-preservation depends upon escape from this limitedness, and that in turn comes only by adopting more and more perfectly the law and the purpose of the whole. This is done more completely in organic than in inorganic, in conscious than in unconscious, in self-conscious than in conscious existence.

I need not follow the steps of the authors as they ascend from Nature to Spirit, nor dilate on their application of this view to Ethics. It is sufficient to say that they find self-preservation, permanence, indestructibility at its highest in those men who, penetrating beneath the temporary aims of their age, hold directly by the eternal, by Nature's self, comprehend her purposes and live to give them effect.

In order thus to realise the highest, these writers find each lower

stage necessary. Spirit can do nothing apart from Sense. In fact Nature is not pure Spirit, but sensuous existence animated by Spirit. Hence sense is not to be condemned ; and this is the advantage which the new Evangel has over Christianity, that it does not condemn sense. Christianity was a spiritual but also a one-sided view of the world, carrying within it the seeds of asceticism, and therefore of endless warfare. It was in fact the opposite abstraction to Materialism. Materialism knows nothing of Spirit in Nature. Christianity knows nothing of Nature except that which is Spiritual. But Pantheism combines the truth of both theories, and thereby lifts man above their antagonism, making matter and sense the means of Spirit,—necessary means it is true, but still only means.

As a criticism of Pessimism this tractate is valuable. Indeed, it is full of suggestive conceptions. But few readers can be as confident as the authors are that their view calms the troubled waters of human life. The finite perishes, after all, and there is none who, on this theory, remains to realise the good. The whole is meaningless and empty, for all its parts are successively lost.

HENRY JONES.

The Book of Numbers.

By the Rev. Robert A. Watson, M.A., D.D. The Expositor's Bible.
London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1894. Cr. 8vo, pp. 416.
Price, 7s. 6d.

THE Book of Numbers is not without its difficulties to an expositor. The analysis favoured by the higher critics assigns a considerable portion of the book to PC. And the usual questions as to the determination of documents, the trustworthiness of professedly historical narratives, &c., crop up and claim consideration. Dr Watson shows with sufficient clearness that such questions are there, but he does not linger over them. The discussion of critical questions is not his purpose. The general trustworthiness of the narrative is accepted by Dr Watson. The basis of the book he finds in "contemporary records of some incidents, and traditions early committed to writing" (p. 11). "The documents were undoubtedly ancient at the time of their final recension, whensoever and by whomsoever it was made." They are "venerable records, reaching back to the time they profess to describe, and presenting, though with some traditional haze, the important incidents of the desert journey" (*ibid.*) Even in respect to Legislation a Mosaic origin is claimed for a great mass of it (p. 12). The date of the book as one of the Hexateuchal series is another matter. Dr Watson does not discuss that point,—it lies outside the object he

has in view. On the general question, however, of the comparative dates of the books of the Hexateuch, he makes this noteworthy observation:—"It is now becoming clear that attempts to settle these dates can only darken the main question—the antiquity of the original records and enactments" (p. 12). He also very properly calls attention to the fact that those who hold that, in the present form of the Hexateuch, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers are of a later age than Ezekiel, "assume that many things in the law and the history are of far older date, based indeed on what, at the time of Ezekiel, must have been immemorial usage" (pp. 12, 13). And then he adds, "The main legislation of the Pentateuch must have existed in the time of Josiah, and even then possessed the authority of ancient observance. The priesthood, the ark, sacrifice and feast, the shewbread, the ephod, can be traced back beyond the time of David to that of Samuel and Eli, quite apart from the testimony of the books of Moses" (p. 13). These are reasonable words, and, at the present time, are fitted to exercise a wholesome influence. The appeal to the historical books cannot be disregarded. Those books have something to say as to priestly legislation and ritual before the exile, and that something must be fairly dealt with.

As already indicated, the general trustworthiness of the narrative is accepted, and Dr Watson finds support for his view in the internal evidence supplied by the book. "The honesty of the writing is proved by the very characteristics that make some statements hard to interpret, and some of the records difficult to receive" (pp. 10, 11).

Our author, as we have noted, does not dwell on purely critical questions, but he gives ample proof of his capacity as a critic. Dealing with the account of the jealousy of Miriam and Aaron (chap. xii.), he speaks as if with the confidence of a Wellhausen. "It may be confidently said that no representative writer of the post-exilic age would have invented or even cared to revive the episode of this chapter. . . . We may safely assert that if the Pentateuch did not come into existence till after the new ideas of exclusion were established (that is, till after the Exile), and if it was written then for the purpose of exalting Moses and his law, the reference to his Cushite wife would certainly have been suppressed" (pp. 136, 137).

One of the most important narratives in the book of Numbers is that in which the rebellious movement of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram is reported (chaps. xvi. and xvii.). Dr Watson points out the improbability attaching to Wellhausen's explanation, and shows the reasonableness of the view that historical transactions, belonging to the period of the Wilderness wanderings, are recorded.

The text has its difficulties on any view of the critical question. The rebellion is directed partly against Moses as leader of the people, partly against the priesthood of Aaron and his house. Dr Watson admits that there may have been two distinct risings, but in his exposition he deals with them "as simultaneous and more or less combined." And he gives it as his opinion that "a great deal is left unexplained, and we must be guided by the belief that the narrative of the whole book has a certain coherency, and that facts previously recorded must have had their bearing on those now to be examined" (p. 195). Holding that actual occurrences are reported, Dr Watson very properly emphasises the serious character of this rebellion. It threatened the fulfilment of the divine purpose that lay behind the call of Israel to be the salvational people. "The dictatorship of Moses, the Aaronic priesthood, and the unity of worship, stood or fell together. One of the three removed, the others would have given way. But the revolutionary spirit, springing out of ambition and a disaffection for which there was no excuse, was blind to consequences. And the stern suppression of this revolt, at whatever cost, was absolutely needful if there was to be any future for Israel" (p. 202). To the Aaronic priesthood Dr Watson assigns something like its proper importance in the training of the chosen people for the fulfilment of their mission. "The institution of the Aaronic priesthood was a step of progress indispensable to the security of religion and the brotherhood of the tribes in that high sense for which they were made a nation. But it was at the same time a confession that Israel was not spiritual, was not the holy congregation Korah declared it to be" (p. 208). From our point of view, nothing would be more likely to keep alive among the tribes a sentiment of real brotherhood than the unity of worship presided over by a priestly family divinely set apart for that purpose. And if so, the ideal period for the centralising of the worship under the charge of the chosen priesthood is the beginning of the nation's history. Hence the probability that in chaps. xvi. and xvii. actual occurrences are reported, with sufficient accuracy for the purpose contemplated in the divine revelation. Other narratives of scarcely less interest might be referred to, but our space is exhausted. The main value of Dr Watson's book lies in the happy and often striking way in which these old narratives are made to speak to present times. The typological element is in no respect forced. There is no *feckless* spiritualising. But the great moral and religious truths which lie at the basis of the narrative are brought out and pressed home on the life in which we are all taking part, so that He who spoke to the tribes of Israel in the wilderness truly speaks to us, and the message is as suitable now as it was three thousand years ago.

Dr Watson links on the Church of the nineteenth century of our Christian era to the Church that began its career at the foot of Mount Sinai. For purposes of edification and spiritual instruction, this volume on Numbers is not the least useful of the Expositor's Bible.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

A History of the Christian Church During the First Six Centuries.

*By S. Cheetham, D.D., F.S.A., Archdeacon and Canon of Rochester ;
Honorary Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge ; Fellow and
Emeritus Professor of King's College, London. London :
Macmillan & Co., 1894. Cr. 8vo, p. xii. 460. Price, 10s. 6d.*

OUR acquaintance with Dr Cheetham as a writer on historical subjects dates from 1875, in which year there was published *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, edited by William Smith, D.C.L., LL.D., and Samuel Cheetham, M.A., Professor of Pastoral Theology in King's College, London.

All the qualities which characterised the London Professor as joint-editor of and contributor to that standard book of reference are to be found in the chapters of his most recent contribution to the literature of his favourite field of study. There is the same ample and ripe scholarship, such scholarship as Cambridge delights to produce and to honour. There is the same independence of research and of judgment. The honorary Fellow of Cambridge and Emeritus Professor of London is no borrower of other scholars' material, no reproducer of other authors' opinions. He has examined the primary sources of knowledge in every department of his wide field, and formed his own judgment as to the conclusions they warrant, and there is the same candour in acknowledging what a mere party writer would be tempted to conceal or colour to suit his purpose. Thus it is pleasing to meet with a Anglican historian who assumes that the word "bishop" is in the New Testament absolutely synonymous with that of "presbyter," even although he qualifies the assumption with the statement that it by no means follows that such a minister as was afterwards designated a "bishop" was not found in the apostolic age. It must be gratifying to Presbyterian contenders for the rights of the Christian people to find it conceded by an Episcopalian authority that Leo the Great's principle "*Nullus in vitis et non petentibus ordinetur*" prevailed in earlier ages of the Church, that Presbyters while appointed by Bishops were so with the consent of the local community, and that "in some instances—as in that of St Augustine—the local church people

chose their candidate, whom they presented to the Bishop for ordination." And it is creditable alike to the candour and the scholarship of our author that, when treating of the Scoto-Irish Church, he affirms it "was developed in perfect independence of Rome," and adduces in corroboration of this position not merely the existence among Celtic Christians of an Easter and a tonsure peculiar to themselves, but also the predominance of abbats over bishops. Dr Cheetham frankly admits that in the monasteries of Scotland and Ireland the order of things sometimes was that the abbat had among his monks a bishop subject to his jurisdiction who performed episcopal functions for the monastery, as he received instructions from his ecclesiastical superiors. All this English writer's statements bearing on the Christian ministry and the organisation of the early Christian Churches are marked by breadth of view and liberality of sentiment.

With excellencies such as have been mentioned, Dr Cheetham's Church History has blemishes which an impartial critic cannot fail to note and deplore. The composition is not faultless. To describe second marriages of the clergy as from the first "discommended," and to represent Athanasius as led "to ponder on" the mystery of the Godhead, and Julian as "pondering on" the restoration of paganism, is surely to take liberties with the English language not permissible to a Doctor of Divinity or an Archdeacon and Canon of the Church of England.

Then there is a weakness which even the erudite and generally fair-minded among Anglican writers not unfrequently display, that, viz., of endeavouring to find Scriptural authority for usages and institutions of later growth or introduction. Can, for example, anything be feebler than to adduce Paul's mention of Onesiphorus as a Scripture instance of prayer offered by the living for the faithful dead? Even granting that Onesiphorus was dead when Paul wrote his Second Epistle to Timothy, the language used is not necessarily that of prayer, it may be the expression of a pious hope or aspiration. If, however, it is to be of any service in the interests of the practice of praying for the departed the reference must be to one who was no longer among the living. But it is universally admitted that there is not a shred of evidence to prove Onesiphorus either dead or alive. And yet Dr Luckock, in his book "After Death," which has reached a ninth edition, calmly trots out the passage in question under the heading, "The Testimony of Holy Scripture," speaks of "the extreme probability" that Onesiphorus was dead at the time when Paul wrote, and concludes that when the thoughts of the latter "were carried on to his benefactor, knowing that he had no longer need of it [mercy] in this world, as his survivors had, the vision of the future judgment rises up before

the writer's mind, and he adds, 'The Lord grant to him,' not to the household, 'to find mercy in that day.'

Now from this weakness Dr Cheetham is not entirely free. Thus, when he is treating of the office of Reader in the early days of the Church he is not content with carrying his reference to this officer as far back as the middle of the second century, but gravely asserts "there is possibly a trace of the office of Reader even in Scripture itself," and in a footnote he adduces two passages which, in his opinion, justify that statement. What are these passages? The first is taken from *The Revelation*—"blessed is *he that readeth*, and they that hear the words of this prophecy," and the second from First Timothy—"give attendance to *reading*, to exhortation, to doctrine." Surely this is a very slender basis on which to rest even the possibility of a Scripture trace of the office.

Turning from these details to the general scope and structure of this latest contribution to the literature of Church History the narrative will be seen at once to be summary, as indeed it must be in a book that professes to give the history of the first six centuries in a single volume of 442 crown octavo pages. The compression required to be practised in order to attain this result is such as often renders individual sentences of little or no informing value. Of what use is it to anyone to be informed that Ambrose "is believed to have written hymns which have *maintained their vogue* [sic] even to this day?" What addition will be made to a student's knowledge regarding the tonsure when he reads two such sentences as these, one of which is largely composed of a quotation from the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*—"From early times the clergy were forbidden to wear long hair, and 'in the latter part of the sixth century the tonsure seems to have become definitely established as a mark of separation between clergy and laity.' The shape of the tonsure varied in different Churches"? How much light is thrown upon the Æthiopic translation of the Bible by a statement for one half of which Dr Cheetham has recourse to the *Dictionary of the Bible*, and the whole of which amounts only to this: "It has been supposed that the ancient Æthiopic version of the Scriptures was made in Abyssinia in the fourth and fifth centuries, 'but from the general character of the version itself this is improbable, and the Abyssinians themselves attribute it to a later period.'"

Dr Cheetham has not given us a work such as will take its place alongside of Green's *Short History of the English People*, with its phenomenal combination of qualities, its marvellous power, pathos, and poetry. But, then, it is given to few to produce such a matchless little book as that which came from the Englishman, whose body rests in the Campo Santo at Mentone. In its way, however, this condensed history of the first six centuries of Church life and

growth may be useful to students at the English Universities before they specialise their studies. Viewed in that light it may be pronounced to be a good academic history of orthodox Anglican type, which any student will find it useful to read and safe to follow.

C. G. M'CRIE.

**Philosophical Remains of George Croom Robertson.
With a Memoir.**

Edited by Alexander Bain, LL.D., and T. Whittaker, B.A. (Oxon.),
1894. *London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo,*
pp. xxiv. 481. Price, 9s. net. .

PHILOSOPHY lost much when Professor Croom Robertson died. She lost an impressive personality, and a man of eager, earnest nature, heartily devoted to her interests, and capable of rendering her exceptionally good service. British philosophy, in particular, suffered a great loss. While essentially progressive in his thought, and open to light from all quarters, Robertson had his own strong convictions moulded on the teaching of the Associationist School, and was ready at all times to do battle for his principles. Nevertheless, he was scrupulously fair to opponents, and appreciative of honest effort to attain truth by whomsoever shown. His character comes best out in his capacity of Editor of *Mind*,—where he discharged the functions of his responsible position in an ideal fashion. There was no mistaking what he himself meant. At the same time, like a genuine searcher, he had the utmost toleration for, and interest in, the opinions of his contributors, and never allowed his own views to prejudice him against men from whom he differed. Thinkers of all schools were welcome to express themselves with the utmost freedom in the pages of *Mind*, provided only they *were* thinkers, and gave adequate expression to their thoughts.

Robertson was by birth an Aberdonian, and received his early education—both school and college education—in Aberdeen. Even as a boy, he was the subject of that robust intellectual discipline which is characteristic of these northern parts. The Grammar School carried him over the years of early youth, and laid the foundation of Classical knowledge,—especially of the Latin tongue. The taste for Classics was further cultivated and developed by his four years' curriculum in Arts at Marischal College and University. There, too, he received that wider training in Mathematics and in Science which was to tell upon his studies later on. He was fortunate in having Professor Cruickshank as his teacher in Mathematics, Clerk Maxwell as his teacher in Physics, and Professor James Nicol

as his teacher in Natural History. Soon after completing his college course, he was successful in carrying off the first Ferguson Scholarship for Classics and Mental Philosophy,—which enabled him to devote further time to special study, and to complete his Scottish education by attendance on classes at University College, London, and at various of the great universities in Germany. In this way, he came into direct contact with some of the leading teachers in England, and with such men as Trendelenburg, Du Bois Reymond, Dörner, Lotze, abroad.

On emerging from his distinctively student stage, Robertson had the good fortune to be appointed Assistant-Professor of Greek in Aberdeen University, under Professor (now Principal Sir William D.) Geddes. The experience gained in this capacity, as the present writer happens to know, was greatly valued by him; and he spoke of it in later years in terms of warm gratitude.

But though Robertson was a good Classical scholar, his main bent lay towards Philosophy. This was first elicited when he came into immediate contact as a student with Professor Bain,—who was appointed to the Logic Chair of the United University in 1860. His line of life was now definitely fixed, and Philosophy became his chosen study. For two years or so, he worked with Professor Bain,—helping him in the revision of the second edition of *The Senses and the Intellect*, as also in the revision of *The Emotions and the Will*, and in the preparation of the *Rhetoric*. His election to the Chair of Mental Philosophy and Logic in University College, came in December 1866; and, henceforth, his residence was to be in London.

What Robertson was as a teacher his own pupils have amply and touchingly testified,—although not in this volume. We have already seen what he was as an editor. We must now specially consider him as a writer and a thinker.

The materials for this task lie ready to our hand in the volume now before us. But, first, it must be premised that, as an author, Robertson was handicapped from a very early stage in his career. The disease which ultimately cut him off, on the 20th September 1892, made its appearance twelve years before his death. The result was that, though he struggled manfully against it, and showed a noble heroism to the last, he was unable to produce that quantity of philosophical writing which his intellectual ability promised. He had long worked at Hobbes, and made himself thoroughly master of the history of the times in which Hobbes lived, and of all the intricate points that are perpetually cropping up in his writings; and yet the only evidence we have is the little treatise in the Blackwood series. Again, he had been early attracted to the writings of Kant, and he made them the subject of long and

laborious study. But nowhere have we any adequate record of the fulness of his knowledge of the great German thinker, or of his criticisms of the Kantian philosophy. Again, it is a great pity that little more than a review or two in *Mind* (very able ones, no doubt), is all that remains of his cogitations on Leibniz.

But it is useless to complain of these things. Rather let us turn to the work in hand; expressing the while our gratitude to Professor Bain and Mr Whittaker for bringing together in this handsome octavo volume the cream of Robertson's articles and lectures.

The contents of the book are arranged in four separate groups. Group I. is entitled "Miscellaneous Papers," and consists of five lectures on Philosophy and Psychology, or subjects relating to these two provinces, ranging in date from 1866 to 1877. Five articles, written in 1875 for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, constitute Group II.,—viz., "Analogy," "Analysis," "Analytic Judgments," "Association of Ideas," "Axiom." Group III. is made up of seventeen "Articles, Notes, and Discussions from *Mind*," written between 1876 and 1891; while sixteen "Critical Notices from *Mind*" (1877-92) go to form Group IV.

From this bare statement, it will be obvious that the writings cover a vast range of subjects. Logic, Psychology, Ethics, Philosophy—all come under review; and the amount of historical matter that is here presented is something very great.

Plainly, we cannot, in the limited number of pages at our command, enter into all this. It will be best simply to select one or two points on which Robertson laid special emphasis, and indicate to the reader his position.

One such point had reference to the genesis and origin of knowledge, and another had reference to the theory of knowledge.

The first is admirably dealt with in an article in Group I., reprinted from the *Nineteenth Century*, and headed "How we come by our Knowledge." In summary, he says:—

"On the whole, then, the description I would give of our early progress in knowledge—and the early progress is decisive of our whole *manner* of knowing till the end—is something like this: that we use our incidental, by which I mean our natural subjective, experience mainly to decipher and verify the ready-made scheme of knowledge that is given to us *en bloc* with the words of our mother-tongue. This scheme is the result of the thinking, less or more conscious, and mainly practical, of all the generations of articulately speaking men, passed on with gradual increase from each to each. For the rest, I should be the last to deny, having before asserted, that the part we are intellectually called to play is predetermined for each of us by a native constitution of mind, which, on one side, assimilates us in way of thinking to all other men of

our race and time, if also, on another side, it marks us off from all other men and contains the deepest ground of what is for each of us our proper self. But I desire to express the opinion that there is no explanation of any mind's knowledge from this position, even when account is taken also of all the modes of natural experience noted by psychologists, unless there is added, over and above, the stupendous influence of social conditions, exercised mainly through language."

That is admirably put, and seems to us exactly to express the true psychological position,—emphasizing (what is usually slurred over) social conditions and the influence of human speech.

In like manner, Robertson was very clear on the right mode of handling the Theory of Knowledge. This is given in the famous article of Group III., entitled "Psychology and Philosophy." He insists strongly on separating Psychology from Epistemology, and comes forward as the reconciler of contending schools by his luminous presentation of the end and functions of Philosophy. What is here said attracted much attention at the time it was written, and it is full of interest still. So long as the provinces of mental science are not strictly differentiated, so long will there be contest and confusion.

Again, Robertson's robust advocacy of the doctrine of the Muscular Sense here finds frequent expression. We meet it in the brilliant lecture on "The Senses," in Group I.; but we discover it often in other parts of his writings. In particular, we see it in the eagerness with which he welcomed Münsterberg's investigations, and the care with which he set himself to expound them to English readers. The articles on Münsterberg, in Group III., are worthy of the closest attention.

Two other points may be noted. Robertson was one of the first to hail with delight the recently-aroused interest in Psycho-physics, and readily opened the pages of *Mind* to the record of experiments scientifically made for the purpose of gauging the quantity and determining the character of psychical facts. We rather suspect that he was disappointed with the results of these experiments; but the workers and their object had his hearty approval.

So, too, he expected much from the careful and scientific study of Pathology. *Mind* bears ample testimony to that. Yet, he was very cautious and measured in his judgments,—as will be seen, for instance, in his critical notice of Dr Maudsley's *Physiology of Mind*, in Group IV.

Of the vast mass of historical matter and of the wealth of illustration that this volume contains, we can here give little idea. Ancient and modern systems of Philosophy alike come kaleidoscopically before us, and we are impressed at every point with the writer's encyclopædic knowledge. No one can read the *Remains*

without feeling the truth of what Professor Bain says, in his most interesting Memoir prefixed to the volume,—“A few more years of active vigour would have enabled him to leave a monument of the history of philosophy second to none.”

WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

Darwin and Hegel; with other Philosophical Studies.

By David G. Ritchie, M.A. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. xv. 285. Price, 7s. 6d.

THOSE who are accustomed to read with interest whatever appears above the name of Mr D. G. Ritchie, will be glad to have in this more permanent form a number of papers with which they may have already made acquaintance elsewhere. Mr Ritchie's work is much too good to be buried in forgotten piles of magazine literature; and though written at various times, and embracing a great variety of topics, these essays are sufficiently pervaded by a common purpose to be fittingly preserved in a single volume.

Two are on philosophical themes of a technical kind. Of the first of these, a discussion of the *Phaedo*, it may be enough to say that it is in Mr Ritchie's usual careful style, lucid and suggestive, and pleasantly lit up with modern instances. The other, dealing with the vexed question, “What is Reality?” is of more importance. It will be remembered what a flutter was caused in the rising Neo-Hegelian (or Neo-Kantian) school in our country a few years ago by the sudden appearance in their midst of the Balfour Lecturer as a critic of certain of their most cherished doctrines, and in particular of the ambiguities that are apt to gather round the all-important matter of the relation asserted between the individual and the universal subject on Neo-Hegelian principles. Undoubtedly the tendency of an Absolute Idealism which interprets existence as the unfolding of a thought-process, is to so emphasise the latter at the expense of the former, as to end in what may be called either Pantheism or “Panlogism,” and in which at all events the self-subsistent worth of the individual is ignored. In opposition to this Professor Seth stood stoutly for the position that “the individual alone is the real,” and great was the outcry that thereon ensued. This paper is Mr Ritchie's contribution to the fray, and with much of it only a sensationalist could quarrel. But as a polemical piece it collapses sadly. In the middle of his argument the writer discovers (p. 100) that he is after all in agreement with his antagonist, and, in a footnote, confesses it. Certain modified expressions in Professor Seth's Lectures, as republished, satisfy him

entirely, and he retires from the contest, whether feeling himself victorious over the first edition or baffled by the second it would be hard to say. Unprejudiced readers will judge for themselves whether the modifications which are so significant for Mr Ritchie do signify so much after all. In any case, it is reassuring to find so prominent a representative of the school he belongs to assenting to the position his critic there lays down. To have even one misunderstanding eliminated from philosophical discussion would be something to be thankful for.

Five of the remaining essays deal with questions of a sociological character. Two after an historical manner; the one treating of "Locke's Theory of Property," while the other traces in a very informing way the idea of the Social Contract from the Sophists to Rousseau. Of the rest the most readable perhaps is the discussion on "The Rights of Minorities," a subject to which the writer returns in the essay on "Sovereignty"; and the most weighty, the inquiry into the character of "Economic Laws." The conclusion here reached is, broadly, that economic laws, like other sociological laws, express merely the necessary relation between certain conditions and a corresponding social state. In other words, they are analogous to laws of Nature, and have no properly moral element in them,—although they may furnish the data in view of which the politician and philanthropist will form their ideals and urge their reforms. In this whole region, it should be added, what Mr Ritchie has to say is always specially instructive. Few philosophical writers are rendering a greater service in the way of shedding the light of first principles on the perplexing questions which lie at the foundation of social theory and practice.

It is, however, in the general point of view maintained throughout, and more especially defended and illustrated in the two papers on "Origin and Validity," and "Darwin and Hegel," that the main value of the book will probably be felt to lie. The perennial contention between a spiritual interpretation of existence and any other may be said, in our time, to turn upon the question of the sufficiency of the historical method as the organon of philosophic investigation. Is Mr Leslie Stephen right when he says that "to explain a fact is to give the preceding set of facts out of which it arose"? Do we know all that there is to know—or at least all that is knowable—about anything when we have resolved it into its pre-conditions? Or must we set our faces in the other direction entirely, inquiring mainly not out of what it has arisen, but what it has in it the power to become? Is the nature of anything seen in its last state rather than in its first—the nature of the oak in the full grown tree rather than in the acorn—so that only in the light of the former can it properly be understood at all? The crucial

nature of the question is obvious. Answer it in one way and historical evolution becomes the last word to be uttered in the interpretation of the universe; the time-process of things we know, and beyond that we must be content to be agnostic; answer it otherwise and further conceptions become necessary through which to interpret things, and evolution itself becomes only a means—possibly not an invariable means—by which their inner nature fulfils itself. It is here that Mr Ritchie is at his best. He has no quarrel with the results of scientific analysis; only he insists that in order to be *understood*, these must be viewed in the light of other categories than those of science, that is, of categories which more fully express that spiritual nature in virtue of which alone are they at all attainable. The position is the familiar idealist one, but the illustrations adduced from Ethics, Politics, Æsthetics, Religion itself, are fresh and interesting. Mr Ritchie seems to expect the “hostility” of both parties for his endeavour thus to reconcile these two great interests, but probably he may lay fear aside. The “Hegelian” can have no concern in refusing to acknowledge any results to which the investigation of origins may lead; and as for the “Darwinian,” he must have given up this author long ago.

ALEX. MARTIN.

Aspects of Pessimism.

By R. M. Wenley, M.A., D.Sc. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 8vo, pp. 337. Price, 6s.

READERS of “Socrates and Christ” would expect anything else the author might write to be marked by keen insight, broad sympathies, and a vigorous style. Nor in this, so far as the present work is concerned, will they be disappointed. “Aspects of Pessimism” is a very able book, full of interest and suggestiveness. One of the sentences prefixed to it as a sort of motto is taken from Julia Wedgwood’s “Moral Ideal,” and the book often recalls that remarkably original writer alike in its spirit, its general strain of thought, and its frequent “triumphs of expression.” Nearly every page—particularly, perhaps, in the essays on “Jewish Pessimism,” “Mediæval Mysticism,” and “Pessimism as a System,”—contains some “aid to reflection” so tersely or vividly put as to fix itself in the mind. In estimating the book, it has to be remembered that Dr Wenley does not profess to be exhaustive. He has done little else than bring together a number of papers of occasional origin, and two more technical Essays, which “represent preparatory inquiries, not concluding deliverances.” This may explain the omission of all but a passing reference to what most people think of as the supreme

instances of Pessimism—the Indian religions. It may also account for a certain unevenness of treatment which renders some parts more popular and much more easy to read than others. The title, in fact, well describes the contents. We have not a complete study of Pessimism, but views of it sketched or drawn from various standpoints.

The first Essay deals with "Jewish Pessimism," illustrated, of course, mainly by Koheleth and the book of Job. Dr Wenley differs from those critics—Wellhausen, *e.g.*—who hold that the "inner logic of its creed condemned Judaism to end in Pessimism." Jahveh is not in the Old Testament the transcendent unapproachable being such critics assume. On the contrary, He is there presented as immanent in the universe, because "He watches over and controls the sustenance and life of plants and animals, and directs immediately all natural Phenomena." He is, moreover, the immanent originator of all the changes in Jewish history. Even the law, so far from dividing, was felt to be "the mediator between God and man." "God's wisdom, God's reality, conditioned all the circumstances" of Jewish life and thought. Hence Pessimism, in any absolute sense, could not be. When it came, it came through the difficulties connected with the "law of retribution, or with Providence in general." The basis was practical, not speculative. Whilst the belief prevailed—and facts seemed to warrant the belief—that righteousness always met with temporal happiness, and sin always issued in temporal evil, the Jewish temper was serenely Optimistic. Pessimism arose when the belief and the facts were seen to be at variance, when especially the accepted theory was found to be incapable of consistent application to the individual. Portions of the "Wisdom Literature," Job, and Koheleth mark steps in a process which gradually evolved a sense, if not a sight, of principles deeper in life than the traditional orthodoxy allowed. As to Job, he is a proof that Pessimistic feeling could only invade the soul of a pious Jew so long and so far as he lost touch with God. Hope died, not because he doubted God's absolute justice, but because God seemed turned to be his enemy. Hope revived, not because the problem of unmerited suffering was solved, but because God's presence was restored. "The presence of the Lord braces the man, for he learns that human injustice possesses no Divine sanction, while the apparent Divine injustice may assume another aspect when regarded from a higher standpoint." The author of Ecclesiastes, writing during one of the sad post-exilian periods in the history of Israel, approaches Pessimism more closely than the poet of Job. "Job's hope, leaning on the justice of God, accepts what, for this world, is the old solution, and rests contented." Koheleth perceives the impossibility of obtaining any reply beyond the ancient lines,

and is thoroughly conscious of the failure. He has no expectation, and so his Pessimism is not "touched to finer issues." Its source is to be found (1) in the fact of his "absorbing interest in the present life"; (2) in the absence of "a vivifying moral ideal"; (3) in the "individualistic or purely personal standpoint from which he judges everything." Yet, "when we speak of the Pessimism of Koheleth," we must not be understood to imply anything like the modern doctrine. Koheleth was no system-monger. He did not brace himself to account for the wretchedness of things. "He did not try to improve Deity out of existence, neither was it his aim to show that this must be the worst of all possible worlds. It would be truer to say that he gave utterance to the least hopeful, or perhaps, the most forbidding estimate of human life which a Jew, nurtured in the religion of Jahveh, could conceivably formulate." "Like the moderns, with whom he is so often wrongly classed, he sees all existence in the shadow of daily struggle." But "because he was a Jew, he could not be an Atheist like Schopenhauer and Hartmann, or even Omar Khayyam." And in the end his Theism, though "dashed with grey," came to the rescue. For him, as for the Jew generally, "Pessimism is ruled out of court, not because it is non-existent, but because resignation in hope, based on the conception of a *θεός* who cannot at the last oppose his own theocracy, quiets unrestfulness."

"A representative of the slowly-dying ancient world, he yearned for salvation; a Jew, he sought comfort in the ultimate presence of Deity; a man of the old time, he knew not God by wisdom. Yet it was the cry of Koheleth, and of such as Koheleth—it was their search for salvation, and their failure to divine its promise on earth, that prepared the way for the Christian revelation, nay, rendered it an imperative necessity." Such, in barest outline, seems to be the pith of a discussion which, for penetration and cogency, could hardly be surpassed.

Many readers will find the next Essay on "Mediæval Mysticism" the most attractive of all. Dr Wenley writes with a "verve," a fullness of knowledge, and a warmth of sympathy which go to show that here he is at home. His sketch of the historical conditions which occasioned the rise and development of Mysticism; of the leading Mystics, their characteristics and influence, their merits and defects, is at once concise, vivid, and true. Master Eckhart and Thomas à Kempis seem to be special favourites. One is tempted to linger, for almost every page has some sentence worth quoting; but it must suffice to indicate how Dr Wenley traces the connection of Mysticism with his subject. "Mysticism," he says, "may for a little be opposed to Pessimism; it must eventually produce it"; for the Mystics "distinctly taught that the world and life held

nothing worthy, and so they eliminated the one sphere in which man, the ideal-real being, can find the opportunities requisite to salvation. The best satisfaction they could offer to the widespread spiritual want of their age was, on the one hand, a passionate but negative precept to strangle self; on the other, an assurance that when self had disappeared a positive but momentary union with God might be obtained—a union in which sin had no place, because nothing remained whereto it might attach itself. Of this and such as this despair is the inevitable conclusion. For at the close, when man has achieved personal annihilation, the import of ecstasy comes to be nothing beyond the bare term. The initial Realism ends in an abstract Nominalism." . . . "This earth must be the worst of all worlds, because it forms the opaque veil excluding heaven; and heaven is so utterly lost in absence of earth's joys that, though it might well be hell, it must meanwhile continue to be nothing in particular."

Hence it is no wonder that Schopenhauer and Hartmann "claim the mystics as forerunners," or that Schopenhauer characterised Eckhart's teaching in comparison with that of the Gospels, as the "essence of wine to wine." Dr Wenley adds that in this Schopenhauer "extolled the least valuable portion of mysticism for his own purposes."

But when Schopenhauer says, "the will to live" must cease, and the "self" must be allowed to lapse into the universal essence concerning which—though he names it "will"—we are limited to a completely negative knowledge; and when Eckhart speaks of union with the unnameable "God who is above Godhead" as the last goal of all striving, there is surely a perilous likeness between the two. Indeed, mysticism of the speculative type, unrestrained by the historic facts which emphasise the Personal element in God, cannot logically fail to reach what is equivalent to Nothingness. But this is not the only type—as Dr Wenley, if he had been treating of Mysticism in general, and not merely of the mediæval, could of course have made clear. Hamlet—the theme of the next Essay—is taken to illustrate the subjective pessimism which would be certainly evoked if such a man as he were actually so circumstanced as Shakspeare represents.

Dr Wenley cannot see, with the Germans, that Hamlet is "in any full sense the mouthpiece of a Philosophical Theory." Rather is he "a type of those minds that are so crushed by the difficulties which evil places in the way of realising ideals as seldom to be able to rise to an appreciation of the indispensableness of conflict in the course of mental or moral growth." The interpretation is not new, but Dr Wenley works it out impressively, exhibiting no small power of fine psychological analysis.

That there is, according to the title of the next Essay, a "Pessimistic element in Goethe," may be strange to many who figure Goethe to themselves as the genius of cheerful calm. Nor does the author claim that the poet's Pessimism was anything more than a stage of his intellectual progress—an experience he thought out and left behind. He was neither driven by a personal sense of sin or pain to morbid views of the world, nor by the tyranny of a principle to conceive the universe essentially bad. He occupied a middle place between the mystic and the philosopher, and "sought an imaginatively conceived solution of the moral riddle." The optimism into which he finally settled was indeed "no cheap product of a lazy habit of contentment." It was something won. But the struggle out of which it came "found theatre in the realm of thought rather than of character." First there was "the youthful time of revolt, mainly negative, and consequently indefinite in its aspiration." This "saw little more than the setting of a problem." Then, for a space, at Weimar amid the whirl of court society, inner misgiving was stifled. In Italy, too, the poet was so continually externalising himself . . . that the higher moral issue had no immediate interest. Changed circumstances threw him back once more upon himself. Under the influence of Spinoza and a careful study of natural phenomena he perceives the inner unity of the world; and, thus affected, proceeds to attack, almost *ab initio* the obstinate uncertainties embedded in "Werther," "Prometheus," and the first part of "Faust." Finally, in "Meister's Wanderjahre," and especially in the second part of "Faust," he aims at a positive if poetical reply to the life-question in which there always is a pessimistic admixture. This, mostly in Dr Wenley's own words, is a summary statement of the theme which, in masterly fashion, the Essay sustains and illustrates. To the student of Goethe it will be delightful.

What remains, in the chapters on Berkeley, Kant, and Schopenhauer, is an admirable specimen of exact and incisive philosophical exposition and criticism. Written, apparently, at different times, the chapters somewhat overlap, and there is a certain amount of repetition. But the defect, if defect it be, is a gain in clearness; and so welcome. Dr Wenley, it is pleasant to see, does full justice to the position and influence and abiding work of Berkeley. He is, indeed, in his union of idealism with the "cautious and critical spirit" which seeks to take account of all the facts, a wholesome corrective to the current craving for systematic completeness of view at any price. But what has he to do with Pessimism? Nothing of course personally, nor did his thinking ever look that way. He did, however, after a sort, lead up to Kant and Schopenhauer. In his earlier writings he aimed chiefly at exploding the regnant doctrine of abstract ideas; and, in particular, at dismissing "that meta-

physical Brocken spectre, the Unknowable"—as represented by so-called material substance. Hume, carrying out this purely negative work of Berkeley, developed an absolute scepticism. But Berkeley, in the "Siris," went on to what may be named a dualistic idealism. On the one hand, he discusses the "ultimate unity of the universe in Reason, in a supreme moral or spiritual agent who is manifested in the natural world—immanent in, yet transcending, all so-called physical causes." On the other hand, while asserting that "all men share with Deity" in a common reason, he retains man's distinct personality, and makes no attempt to elucidate the "connection between human spirits and the Divine Being." Here Kant steps in. "Where Berkeley had left an unbridged gap—a dualism between finite minds and the Infinite mind—Kant attempted to construct a unity from the side of the finite, and furnished only with its scant resources." Schopenhauer was also an Idealist. But he had no sympathy with dualism. Recognising the identity of the essential principle underlying the individual with the essential principle of the universe, he sacrificed the former to the latter. Personality was simply a phenomenon. And hence it may be seen, as Dr Wenley says, that "the present value of Berkeley's philosophy, taken as a whole, is that it supplies a practical exposure of the fallacy, minted for contemporary currency by Pessimism, that things and principles are identical—have no individual persistence of their own—because they happen to be related to one another." The relation of Schopenhauer to Kant is complex, and the threads of the connection are subtly and lucidly laid bare by Dr Wenley. Most of these there is no need to notice. The main point is, how Kant influenced Schopenhauer in the shaping of his central doctrine. And this a sentence or two can make clear. According to Kant "man never knows realities, but only phenomena; yet realities exist." There is a reality of the object; there is, too, a reality of the subject. On the side of the object, there is a "thing-in-itself" beyond the phenomena of sense. On the side of the subject, there is a "thing-in-itself" behind the phenomena of thought. For just because the "ego transcends change, it is above experience." "The definite acts of imagination, perception, and the like" are all cognisable. "Their indispensable condition"—the ego—"remains ever hidden." Schopenhauer's task was to find what would resolve these "Kantian inexplicables." Accepting, then, from Kant his account of the categories, he points out first, that "causality" is subjective like the rest. Next, he satisfies himself that the *rest* are derivatives from "causality" alone, and argues that all seemingly external objects are "simply representations"—*Vorstellungen*—"constituted by the mind." The key to all reality, therefore, is to be discovered within. But what is "cause"? Something must belong to it as

its essential root. What is that? Schopenhauer finds it in the "continuous energising, unwearied effort to assert oneself," which is named Will. "The thinker is not a mere machine for finding out phenomenal representations; he is far rather a subject who wills. Will, the persistent and impelling power in all acts, is thus the ego beyond experience with which Kant failed to grapple. The fact that I exist is consequent to the fact that I will. I am I, because I will. So the unknowable 'I' of Kant is abolished." Everything, then, in the last resort is "an objectification of will"—from a stone to a mind. But this primal Will is blind. Somehow, by a strange contradiction, it is supposed to be *directed* at every stage of its manifestation by a kind of Platonic idea—i.e., the only real thing is supposed to be continuously under the sway of another real thing. In itself, however, it is "an impersonal and unconscious force." "Its one positive characteristic is that it is pregnant with indefinable desire." "It is fraught with pain and every species of imperfection, because in its ceaseless and frantic effort to find expression it is ever baffled." Consequently, all life is a misery. In man the general misery comes to a climax, because focussed in his consciousness. His crime—an unpardonable crime—is in being born. His virtue lies in striving "to divest himself of his own self-hood, and to be received back again into the unconscious reality of Will, where nothing is distinguishable." The counsel of Job's wife—"Curse God and die"—was sound. "Curse God"—who is so framed that he must have your existence, and this without taking one iota of responsibility for its inevitable evil. "Curse God"—who can do nothing to redeem you from the sin into which his efforts have forced you. "Die"—because death, being the negation of individuality, is the one goal of life. "Die"—for death alone can in any measure redeem you from the evil which is the very essence of your present existence. Quietism, or the state in which "the will to live" has become utterly indifferent, is the acme of morality. The absolute selfishness of self-annihilation is the regenerating grace which overcomes the relative selfishness of living.

There is no need to say that, though Kant gave Schopenhauer his philosophic starting-point, the process by which he reached this cheerful conclusion was due to other influences, and first among which, probably, should be placed his own temperament and circumstances. As to Hartmann, whose Pessimism is more systematic even than Schopenhauer's, only a sentence or two can be added. Dr Wenley truly says that it is fairer to consider Hartmann Schopenhauer's descendant than his disciple. "So far from being his disciple, he rather stands related to him as did Hegel to Kant. Indeed, the gulf between the two leading Pessimists is

wider than between the two great idealists." Three points of divergence are specially notable—(a) Hartmann's "Unconscious" first principle holds within itself Intellect as well as Will. Intellect is there to furnish Will with its "notional or ideal content." For he agrees with Aristotle, that there "is no volition without mental object"; (b) Hartmann is not like Schopenhauer, a subjective idealist. Under the influence of modern science he has been led to a form of "ideal realism" which enables him, however illogically, to assign a worth of their own to phenomena; (c) "this new doctrine respecting the world's reality" resulted in a theory of "man and his dwelling-place" altogether different from Schopenhauer's. So far from considering this sphere the worst possible, Hartmann declares that for all its misery it is the best that could be. Wretchedness truly is inevitable; but, as if to compensate, the plan for its removal can be put into execution only here and now. The extinction of pain is the sole reason for the being of this cursed globe and its thrice-cursed inhabitants. As a consequence, Schopenhauer's quietism becomes an absurdity. . . . As Hartmann himself says, "Real existence is the incarnation of deity; the world-process is the passion-history of God made flesh, and at the same time the way to the redemption of him who was crucified in the flesh. To be moral is to lend a helping hand in shortening the way of suffering and redemption." How vulnerable such a system is almost anyone can see, and Dr Wenley has no difficulty in exposing its weaknesses, while not denying that it presents some claims on our respect and even admiration. But this and much more must be passed by. Two closing remarks, however, may find place. (1) If, as not a few facts seem to indicate, pessimism, as a mood or as a philosophy, is spreading, especially among the educated, one could hardly wish for them anything better than to study this book. Perhaps no book can be expected to cure a *mood*, but at least it may show that the mood, so far as it appeals for encouragement to philosophy, is unreasonable. And this the present work is well fitted to do. (2) Let the following be quoted in evidence of Dr Wenley's own attitude:—

"While the consecrated life of Christ cannot, and was never meant to reverse 'laws of nature,' it nevertheless incarnates that kind of career in devotion to which man takes doubt and sin, difficulty and evil, as incidents in a more or less successful attempt to become what Jesus altogether was." "The modern man must needs fight under the ægis of the Holy One of the Jews. He so battles with certainty of ultimate success, in the name of Jesus alone." "Life is capable of cheating only those who, in the deepest sense, have never been alive." What could be truer, or better said?

FRED. J. POWICKE.

Les Origines Historiques de la Theologie De Ritschl.

Par Henri Schoen, Licencié en Théologie. Paris : Libraire Fischbacher. 8vo, pp. 155. Price, 3s.

THIS little work of H. Schoen's is perhaps the most serviceable yet published for giving anyone who desires an introduction to the theology of Ritschl in brief compass an insight into the main positions of the Göttingen theologian, as well as into the historical genesis of the ideas of his system. The author rightly emphasises in his introduction the preponderating influence which this new theology has exercised within the last decade on the development of religious thought in Germany, and finds the secret of its influence in the fact that Ritschl has succeeded in interpreting the latest aspirations of the age, and in giving expression "at the favourable moment" to all that was murmuring in the air around him. "To those discouraged by the assaults of criticism, he affirms that faith and salvation are independent of the results of our historic researches. To theologians wearied with dogmatic disputes, he presents a Christianity disengaged from all foreign metaphysics. To the learned trembling at the sight of theology succumbing under the attacks of the positive sciences, he points out a way in which all collision with the natural sciences becomes impossible. To students with a passion for history, he unveils the development of the primitive Church. To timid Christians he says, 'God was never angry with you ; he announces to you that you can return to him.' To *blasé* pessimists he exclaims, 'Work for the advancement of the Kingdom of God ; doctrine without the Christian life is nothing.' To ardent youth he shows the means of acting on the men of our time. In an age eager for liberty and equality, he founds a 'social theology' in which the individual disappears in the mass. . . . His theology is far from being the fruit of a spontaneous generation without relation to previous systems. It appears to us, on the contrary, as the result of a long preparation, as an important link in the evolution of religious thought in Germany" (pp. 8, 9). It is from this point of view that M. Schoen enters on his investigation of the historical origins of the Ritschlian system. He begins with Ritschl's "theory of knowledge," tracing it back to its roots in Kant and Lotze, and showing its developments in Ritschl's own writings. "One sees," he remarks, "that the synthesis between the elements borrowed from Kant and those which come from the metaphysic of Lotze remains imperfect. A double current traverses all the theology of Ritschl ; on one side, the Kantian idea that the thing in itself is incognisable by us, and a tendency to draw from this thesis the same affirmations as Fichte ; on the other, the desire of maintaining, with Lotze, the objective reality of the

'real' things" (p. 35). The "theological method" of Ritschl, and his view of the "sources of theology" are treated with thoroughness and interest in the same historical fashion. The aim of the theology is thus described—"To drive metaphysics and natural religion out of the proper domain of dogmatics, to proclaim that the faith of the Christian is independent of the variable and accidental results of philosophy, of historical criticism, and of the natural sciences, to make religion rest solely on Divine revelation, such is in its entirety the programme of the new school" (p. 36). The special ideas of the system of Ritschl are next taken up in detail—his ideas of God, of the historic person of Jesus, of the Kingdom of God, of the kingdom of sin, of justification and reconciliation, and are treated with great skill, care, and fulness of historical knowledge. Not only the general conceptions of the new theology, but every particular filament in these conceptions is traced back to its appropriate origin, and followed down its historical course, till it finds itself interwoven in an original synthesis with the other ideas of Ritschl's system. Nothing seems to have escaped the sharp eye of the author (unless it be Stählin's work, *Kant, Lotze, and Ritschl*, to which, though handling the same topics, he curiously never refers), and his expositions are set forth with customary French lucidity. The last few pages are occupied with summing up results, and stating a few criticisms, most of which seem well justified by what precedes.

JAMES ORR.

Notices.

THE seventh section of the *Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften* is to hand. It contains an *Einleitung in das neue Testament*¹ by Professor Adolf Jülicher of Marburg. In this we have first brief statements on the idea, place, and literature of this particular branch of study. The history of the several books which make up our New Testament is then taken up, the Pauline Epistles forming the starting-point of the inquiry. To this are added sections on the History of the New Testament Canon and the History of the New Testament Text. The book suffers at certain points from the necessity of comprising three subjects, each of wide extent and great complexity, within the limits of a single volume of moderate size. The notices of the literature of the different topics, for instance, are meagre throughout. The Textual Criticism is given so briefly and fragmentarily that it might almost as well have been dispensed with. A very imperfect use, too, is made of the works of English scholars. On the other hand, the volume is well written; it gives a careful and reliable digest of

¹ Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 404. Price, M. 6.

facts; its conclusions are very lucidly reasoned out; and its method is good. One of the best things in it is the concise account and careful criticism of the Tübingen school. What it has to say on the hypercriticism represented by Steck, Pierson, Loman, and others, is well said. It is interesting to observe that Professor Jülicher reckons 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Philippians, Philemon, and Colossians among the genuine Pauline Epistles. In the case of the Epistle to the Ephesians he concludes against its being a letter addressed originally to the Ephesian Church, but holds that on the whole it may be accepted as Pauline, not indeed with assurance, but at least with the feeling that the opposite supposition has greater difficulties. The Petrine authorship of 1 Peter is controverted by a line of argument which so overshoots the mark as to leave the traditional view little to appeal to beyond the insertion of the name *Peter* in the inscription. A good *résumé* is provided of the course which opinion and argument have run on the Synoptic problem. With respect to the Fourth Gospel Professor Jülicher makes a complete break with the traditional view, holding that we can say nothing about the writer or his residence, and that the writing itself must be understood as a philosophical composition with a religious tendency which comes from the third generation of Christians. There is much to provoke dissent in the book. It is written, however, with great ability from the author's standpoint, and has many of the qualities which are of greatest service for the purpose of an Introduction.

With the third edition of his well-known *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*,¹ Dr Samuel Davidson takes his leave of the public. A peculiar interest belongs to a book which comes to us as the final effort of a veteran, and has been prepared for the press "amid the increasing infirmities of age and with failing sight." The book, too, has a value which we cordially recognise. It is a great repertory of facts and opinions, which it is always convenient to have beside one. It gives a fair representation and a strong defence of the main positions of the older Tübingen school on the literary history of the New Testament writings. It contains many criticisms both of generally accepted views and of the speculations of scholars, which are both cogent and pungent. And there is a consistency about it which is in its own way impressive. For the venerable author has altered his position but little since he made the great change from the first edition to the second. But with all that can be said in this way, there is much to say on the other side. The warmest of Dr Davidson's admirers will scarcely affirm that the book has ever fairly come up to its profession to be

¹ London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. xvi. 563 and 599. Price, 30s.

an Introduction at once critical, exegetical, and theological. Neither will it be easy to defend the general attitude of the book. It is an attitude of scorn for everything that does not fit the Tübingen criticism—a scorn that turns the back on much that is of real value, and deliberately ignores it because it proceeds from orthodox pens. That was one of the great defects of the second edition, and it is one of the great defects of the third. In the Preface Dr Davidson sneers at the work of Dr Salmon of Dublin, and frankly tells us that he has not even consulted other books advocating traditional views, because he thinks them unimportant or polemical against himself. The determination to look only at one side is not the way to reach the truth. So it happens that Dr Davidson seems to have learned little from all that has been written since he published his second edition. At times, indeed, he exhibits a laudable independence of Baur. He gives up Baur's criticism in the case of First Thessalonians, for example, and in those of Philipians and Philemon. But there are things he adheres to where it has been most severely shaken, and where other members of the school have withdrawn from it. This is especially the case with the Fourth Gospel, which he still places at about 150 A.D. Lengthened as is his discussion of the historical evidence available for this Gospel, it is certainly very far from being up to date. The same must be said of other parts of these volumes. The new aspect, for instance, which has been given by Professor Ramsay and others to the question of the *Galatia* of the Acts and Epistles, and to the date and authenticity of First Peter, receives no consideration.

Christian Doctrine and Morals viewed in their Connection is the title of the Twenty-fourth Fernley Lecture, now published. The Lecturer, Professor George G. Findlay of Headingley College, has had a congenial subject, and he does it justice. His book is a most timely one, a book with a high purpose, a healthy, bracing book, written with the force of strong conviction. Professor Findlay begins with a statement of the seriousness of the present moral condition. He shows the gravity of the change which has taken place since Dr Dale delivered his discourse on *The Evangelical Revival* and Dr Wace wrote his *Christianity and Morality*. What we are face to face with is no longer an attack on Christian doctrine under the idea that Christian morality will remain, or with a view to secure the acceptance of that morality. It is an open and deliberate attempt to discredit the Christian morality itself, and reinstate the morality of the old Greek and Roman world. In presence of the advance of anti-Christian thought, and the assault which is headed by men like Belfort

¹ London : Wesleyan Methodist Book Room. 8vo, pp. xvi. 260. Price, 2s. in Paper Covers ; 3s. Cloth.

Bax, Karl Pearson, and Grant Allen, Professor Findlay holds it all-important that the connection between Christian doctrine and Christian morality be understood. He takes up, therefore, the Christian doctrines of the Fatherhood of God, the filial character, the incarnation, the indwelling and gifts of the Spirit, the sin of the world, the expiation of the Cross, Resurrection, Judgment, and Eternal Life, and shows how each of these is ethical in its character, and carries with it ethical results and an ethical inspiration. The statements both of the doctrines (signally so in that of Christ's expiation), and of the moral principles, are excellent in themselves and in their adaptation to the purposes of the lecture. Among other admirable estimates of the writings of other authors we notice with pleasure the cordial commendation of Mr Kidd's *Social Evolution*.

Professor Hermann Strack of Berlin issues a new edition of his *Einleitung in den Thalmud*,¹ into which he has worked certain improvements. Few men have the qualifications of Professor Strack for work of this kind, and we rejoice that the book has received the recognition which is implied in the demand for a second edition. It is a scholarly, compendious, and most useful introduction.

Professor Swete publishes a timely volume on *The Apostles' Creed; its Relation to Primitive Christianity*.² His purpose is to "enable educated members of the English Church who do not possess the leisure or the opportunities necessary for a fuller study of the subject to form some judgment upon a recent controversy which ultimately concerns all who have been baptised into the faith of the Apostles' Creed." He has done this, and much more. Beginning with some statements regarding the attitude of the English Reformers towards this creed, the effects of the modern critical method on current estimates of it, and the importance of the issues raised, he takes up the clauses of the *Apostolicum* one by one, gives their history, and explains their original intention. In doing this, he pays special regard to Professor Harnack's recent declarations, and subjects them to a careful criticism which demands attention. On the great question of the Sonship of Christ, for example, Harnack's contention is that in early Christian thought the pre-existence of Christ was not connected with a Divine Sonship, that originally there were two distinct Christologies, one pneumatic and another adoptionist, and that it is not till Hermas that the two are seen to have become one. This whole position is traversed by Professor Swete, and the adequacy of the evidence for it is challenged. The German Professor again asserts

¹ Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. viii. 135. Price, M. 2.50.

² London: C. J. Clay & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. 110. Price, 3s.

that the Apostles' Creed deviates from the primitive tradition in the place which it gives to the Ascension. His English critic examines, point by point, the arguments which are given in support of this, and shows how little there really is to warrant the statement that the Ascension formed no part of the oldest Christian teaching. The running criticism of Professor Harnack's various positions is the most interesting part of the book, and will be felt to carry weight at more than one point. In an Appendix we get a useful collection of forms of the Baptismal Creed, both Western and Eastern.

Canon Tristram's *Eastern Customs in Bible Lands*¹ is a delightful book to read, and one, it needs scarce be said, of intrinsic value. His *Land of Israel*, *Land of Moab*, and other well-known writings, have been a great help to all who wish to understand the regions and the customs amid which the Biblical narrative moves. This book will be among the most popular of the veteran traveller's contributions to our knowledge of the Holy Land. It illustrates the way of journeying in the East, the dwellings, feasts, and life of the East, its pastoral and agricultural habits, its marriage and burial customs, its costumes, its military system, its social fashions, its jurisprudence, its trade, taxes, money, &c. It takes up the simplest and most every-day incidents, explains and describes them so that they stand out unmistakeable to the reader, and through these makes many a Scripture page spell itself out with a new force. We owe much to Canon Tristram, and not least for this last and most instructive book on the East.

In the Apostolic Age, by Robert A. Watson, M.A., D.D., forms one of the *Books for Bible Students*,² edited by the Rev. Arthur E. Gregory. Its object is to trace the development of Christianity during the Apostolic period, embracing the progress of doctrine and the history of institutions as well as the outstanding events, the disorders and heresies, and the rise of the literature. It is a large task, and the field is vast. But Dr Watson has succeeded in a very marked degree in his object. He has caught the most essential points in the development, has set these vividly before the reader, and has excluded most irrelevancies, however tempting. There are things in his book which seem to us too easy readings of great problems. But the general view of the history is in accordance with the best results of recent scholarship. The places of Paul and John in the development, the history of the Gospels in the Church, the relations of Law and Gospel, and similar questions are handled with skill. All is given in a telling style.

¹ London : Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 262. Price, 5s.

² London : Charles H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 270. Price, 2s. 6d.

Vol. IV.—No. 4.

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To the "Life Indeed" Series, Professor R. Waddy Moss contributes a volume on *The Discipline of the Soul*.¹ It consists of fourteen discourses on the Aims and Methods of that discipline, dealing to some extent with doctrinal and more largely with practical subjects. The sermons, written in a vigorous and unaffected style, make a profitable and very readable volume. They contain much strong and reverent thinking. Some of them deal with topics of great difficulty, the relation of the will to character and destiny, human responsibility, and divine grace, and others akin to these. Such questions are handled with discretion and insight, and with a forcible statement of their practical bearings.

We have the pleasure of receiving four parts of *Studia Sinaitica*, another important series to be issued by the Cambridge University Press. No. I. contains a *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai*.² We owe it to Mrs Agnes Smith Lewis, to whose enterprise, scholarship, and liberality, together with those of her sister, Mrs Margaret Dunlop Gibson, we are indebted for other important additions recently made to our knowledge. A visit paid by these two ladies to the convent in the beginning of 1892 resulted in the notable discovery of the palimpsest containing the Gospels in old Syriac. Another visit a year later was rewarded by a permit to examine, under certain conditions, all the Syriac and Arabic books in the convent. The time at Mrs Lewis's disposal was too short for so heavy a task as the compilation of a complete list. But with the help of Professor Rendel Harris she succeeded in coming near that, and this handsome volume, beautifully printed, and enriched with illustrative plates, is a monument of useful and well-directed work. No. II. comes from the hand of Mrs Gibson. It contains an *Arabic Version of the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, with part of the Epistle to the Ephesians, from a Ninth Century MS.*³ The Arabic text, which is most carefully printed, is preceded by an Introduction giving an account of the discovery of the MS., and a series of brief Notes on particular readings and renderings. These Notes call attention to some interesting things. In Romans v. 20, for example, the translator is found to have read *οὐ* for *οὗ*; in viii. 20, he has punctuated after *ἐπ' ἐλπίδι* instead of before it. Mrs Gibson takes the MS. itself to have been not an original translation but a copy from an older one. No. III. contains a *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai*.⁴

¹ London: Charles H. Kelly. Cr. 8vo, pp. 234. Price, 3s. 6d.

² London: C. J. Clay & Sons. 4to, pp. x. 131. Price, 10s. 6d. net.

³ 4to. Price, 5s. net.

⁴ 4to, pp. 138. Price, 6s. net.

It is also the work of Mrs Gibson, who has done all that the assiduity of an expert could do in the short period of forty days in making a complete list, and in indicating the contents of the several volumes. No. IV. gives a *Syriac Version* of Plutarch's Tract *De capienda ex inimicis utilitate*.¹ It is enough to say that Eberhard Nestle is the editor. His careful transcription is accompanied by a translation and critical notes. Scholars will look with eager interest for the continuation of a series which is so admirably inaugurated by these four parts.

We already owe to Mr T. H. Bindley a scholarly edition of Tertullian's *Apologeticus*,² which was published by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press in 1889, and has been found very useful. It is now followed by a similar edition of the same Father's *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, together with the two addresses, *Ad Martyras* and *Ad Scapulam*.³ In an appendix is also given the *Adversus Omnes Haereses*, which is supposed to be an abridged Latin translation of the *Σύνταγμα* of Hippolytus. The book is an excellent piece of work. The authorities for the text are carefully given. An Analysis and a Synopsis are prefixed. The footnotes are concise and helpful, particular attention being paid to the explanation and illustration of the great African's Latinity. The Introductions are concise, but give all that is really needful for the purpose of such an edition. The volume will make an admirable class-book.

We have yet another issue of Weizsäcker's much appreciated translation of the New Testament.⁴ In this edition considerable improvements have been introduced. Besides the correction of some printer's errors, the rendering itself has been altered, as the translator believes, for the better, in eighty-eight places.

All interested in one of the most remarkable figures in the religion of the day will be indebted to Mr Elliot Stock for an excellent and extremely cheap translation of Count Tolstoi's account of his early days.⁵

¹ 4to. Price, 2s. net.

² "Quinti Septimii Florentis Tertulliani Apologeticus adversus Gentes pro Christianis." Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by T. Herbert Bindley, M.A., Merton College, Oxford. Clarendon Press. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxx. 172. Price, 6s.

³ Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by T. Herbert Bindley, B.D., Merton College, Oxford, Principal of Codrington College, Barbados. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. vi. 177. Price, 7s. 6d.

⁴ Das neue Testament übersetzt von Carl Weizsäcker, D.Th. Sechste und siebente verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Small 8vo, pp. vi. 471. Price, 3s. 6d.

⁵ Tolstoi's Boyhood. Written by himself. Translated by Constantine Popoff. London. Crown 8vo, pp. viii. 480. Price, 1s.

The author of former volumes of *Practical Reflections* on certain books of Scripture issues another on the same plan on *Isaiah*.¹ The remarks will be found useful for devotional reading. The Bishop of Lincoln writes a Commendatory Preface, as the late Canon Liddon did for previous volumes.

M. Roger Hollard writes a brief but lively and attractive essay on *Some Aspects of the relation between Religion and Morals in Christianity*.²

In *A Lie never justifiable*,³ Mr H. Clay Trumbull brings together a surprising amount of pertinent and interesting matter on a question of practical duty which has many applications. The ideas of the leading peoples of antiquity on the question of *lying* and *deception* are noticed; the Bible standard is explained; definitions are examined; the plea of "necessity" is considered; a survey is made of "centuries of discussion" on the subject; and a statement is given of the evils, personal and social, which inevitably flow from the admission that lying can in any case be allowable. The book is an acute and most readable study in ethics.

The old subject of the Ossianic poems is treated with great freshness and ability by Mr Bailey Saunders in his *The Life and Letters of James Macpherson*.⁴ These poems are of interest for their religious conceptions as well as for other things. In connection with a biography of Macpherson himself, the controversy which so long agitated the literary circles of England and Scotland is reviewed here with care and moderation. Mr Saunders recalls the case of Lönnrot and the *Kalevala*, and that of Snorro-Sturleson and the *Edda*. In these, as well as in the *Nibelungenlied*, he finds analogies to Macpherson and his Ossian. In each there is the case of a number of Epic Songs preserved by tradition from a remote antiquity, and ultimately fused into a definite whole by the hand of a collector and editor in a way not necessarily implying anything spurious or wrong. Mr Saunders points out in particular how close is the parallel between the Ossianic poems as we have them from Macpherson and the *Nibelungenlied* as it came to us from the close of the twelfth century. "The matter of both," he says, "is a mixture of myth and of history, and both are based on songs and ballads of uncertain date and origin. In the one and in the other a fresh and alien element is superinduced; in the *Nibelungenlied* the ideas of the age of chivalry refine the gods and heroes of an early

¹ *Practical Reflections on every Verse of the Prophet Isaiah*. London: Longmans. Crown 8vo, pp. xxii. 281. Price, 4s. 6d.

² *Foi et Devoir*. Paris: Fischbacher. Small 8vo, pp. ix. 122.

³ Philadelphia: Wattles & Co. 12mo, pp. xii. 237. Price, \$1.

⁴ London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. xi. 323. Price, 7s. 6d.

mythology ; in the Ossianic poems, a literary elegance obscures what was rough and harsh in the old Celtic legends. In either it cannot be determined how much was drawn from ancient lore, and how much was added by the collector ; but there seems to be as good a case for the authenticity of the Ossianic Poems as for that of the *Edda* or the *Nibelungenlied* ; and with the old writers who gave these works to the world Macpherson is fairly entitled to rank." The book contains much that will interest and repay the reader, both as regards Macpherson himself and as regards those singular poems, which, though now so little considered; once appealed, as the writer remarks, "to the feelings of all the cultured classes in Europe, and excited the enthusiasm even of a Goethe, a Byron, and a Napoleon."

Three parts of H. Holtzmann's *Theologischer Jahresbericht*¹ come to hand. One completes the record of literature for 1892, the others give the chronicle of the leading publications in Exegetical and Historical Theology for 1893. Aided by a large number of *collaborateurs*, each interested in some special department, the editor produces, from year to year, an invaluable register of Theological literature. Naturally, it is most exhaustive in its report of German works, but it is wonderfully full even in its list of English and American books. It cannot fail to be appreciated wherever it is used.

Professor T. K. Abbott's *A Reply to Mr Supple's and other Criticisms* having gone into a second edition, he publishes now, in separate form, a *Preface*² to that edition. The point at issue is the sense of the "Do this," in the words of institution, "Do this in remembrance of Me." In this *Preface* the Dublin Professor answers objections which have been taken to certain historical and exegetical statements made in his argument.

*Church Work and its Means and Methods*³ is a series of Addresses by the Bishop of Manchester to his clergy. Their object is practical. They contain pertinent and sensible counsels on such matters as the use of the Lord's Day, the methods of Preaching and Catechising, the Lord's Supper, the Sunday School, Recreation. A few of them go beyond that, and give some good thoughts on the ideas of the Church and the World, and the Development of Doctrine.

¹ Zwölfter Band, enthaltend die Literatur des Jahres 1892. Vierte Abtheilung : Practische Theologie und Kirchliche Kunst. Bearbeitet von Ehlers, Woltendorf, Kind, Dreyer, Hasenclever und Spitta. Braunschweig : Schwetschke und Sohn. 8vo, pp. vi. 453-649. Price, M. 6.—Dreizehnter Band, enthaltend die Literatur des Jahres 1893. Erste Abtheilung : Exegese bearbeitet von Siegfried und Holtzmann. Pp. 148. Price, M. 5.—Zweite Abtheilung : Historische Theologie bearbeitet von Lüdemann, Krüger, &c. Pp. 149-392. Price, M. 7.

² London : Longmans. 8vo, pp. xxviii. Price 3d.

³ London : Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 231. Price 3s. net.

The most recent addition to the *Guild Text-Books* is Professor Henry Cowan's *Landmarks of Church History*.¹ The volume is written on the plan of selecting "outstanding events, movements, and personages," and grouping the most important facts round these. Both the selection and the grouping are done with skill. The period covered extends all the way from the Apostolic Age to the death of Calvin. To comprise within the narrow limits of a book like this the most essential facts in the history of the Church through all these centuries, is a task of no ordinary difficulty. Dr Cowan has succeeded in avoiding all that confuses, and in giving a clear, sharp, and very readable sketch. His is one of the best volumes in the series.

Molinari's treatise on *Religion*² is a book well worth reading, with much vigorous thinking on the past of the Christian religion, its relations to morality, science, and the social crisis, the conditions of its progress, the future to which it has to adapt itself, the good to come by the separation of Church from State, and the obstacles in the way of that event. It is a plea also, as its writer states, "in favour of the independence and liberty of creeds." The value of the book lies largely in the fact that these and other problems of our time are looked at from another point of view than that to which most English people are accustomed. The translator might have spared some crude and one-sided statements he makes in his Introduction. He has done his work, however, well.

An edition of the *Acta S.S. Nerei et Achillei*³ is contributed to Gebhardt and Harnack's series by Dr Hans Achelis of Göttingen. The Greek text, recovered in the Vatican Library by Albrecht Wirth, is carefully reproduced. The main questions regarding the sources and historical worth of this curious writing are considered at length, and a good statement is given of what it contributes to the knowledge of the Roman Catacombs and Martyrology. The *Geschichte des Dominus Mâri eines Apostels des Orients*⁴ is translated from the Syriac by Richard Raabe. The interest of the writing lies largely in the fact that this Mâri is one of the two Apostles or Missionaries, to whom the Assyrian Church is supposed to owe its origin. The writing, which was edited in Syriac only some nine years ago, is full of signs and wonders, and requires a more critical investigation than it has yet received. A much larger volume, and

¹ London : Adam & Charles Black. Pp. ix. 154. Price, 6d. net.

² Religion, by G. de Molinari. Translated for the Second (enlarged) Edition with the Author's sanction, by Walter K. Firminger, B.A., Merton College, Oxford. ("Philosophy at Home" Series.) London : Swan Sonnenschein. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 195. Price, 2s. 6d.

³ Leipzig : Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. 70. Price, M. 3.

⁴ Leipzig : Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. 63. Price, M. 2.

one which will be greatly valued by the limited circle of scholars to whom it appeals, is Dr Carl Schmidt's edition of *Gnostische Schriften in Koptischer Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus*.¹ This volume represents an immense amount of work. Everything about it appears to be done with the utmost thoroughness. An Introduction of thirty-seven pages tells all that is needful about the manuscript. The Coptic texts are given; German translations follow; and many pages are devoted to critical and historical investigations into the composition and relations of the documents, and to a statement of their ideas. The author's studies in this abstruse region will contribute much to the understanding (if understood they can be) of some of the most curious of the Gnostic speculations on the worlds of light and æons, the Cosmos, the under-world, the mysteries, the being of man, the last things. The Gnostic Soteriology is very fully expounded, with its detailed teaching on the Person of the Redeemer, His pre-existence, His descent to this world, His birth and His life on earth. An important section is given to the consideration of the relation of all this to Scripture. Nothing is left undone indeed to make the inquiry complete. It is a mine of matter for the student and historian of doctrine.

An important contribution to the history of the religious houses of Mount Athos is made by Herr Philip Meyer.² While ministering to the German Church at Smyrna, he was able to make two visits to the Mount, and succeeded in getting access to a number of original documents belonging to the monasteries. He now publishes these. Most of them are given for the first time to the public. They are twenty-four in number, including the *Typikon*, *Testament*, and *Hypotyposis* of Athanasius, narratives of the period of the Emperors Alexios and Johannes Komnenos, the *Typikon* of Manuel Palæologus II., and others, down to the pronouncement of the Patriarch Joakim III. on the Russian question in 1875. Admirable sketches are also given of the early development of Greek monasticism, the legislation of Justinian, the fortunes of the monasteries, the changes through which they have passed, the controversies which have troubled them, the constitutions given them, and much else that is of interest in their history.

An important history of another kind comes from M. Philippe Berger—the *Histoire de l'Écriture dans l'Antiquité*.³ The book is a very handsome one, tastefully written, and illustrated by numerous plates and drawings of marked excellence. The first section of the

¹ Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. xii. 692. Price, M. 22.

² Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster, &c. Von Ph. Meyer, Studiendirector des Predigerseminars auf der Erichsburg. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. viii. 301. Price, M. 10.

³ Paris: Fischbacher. 8vo, pp. 389.

book gives an account of the origin of writing, mnemonic signs, stickmessages, wampums, and the like. Then some chapters are devoted to the various forms of the hieroglyphic, as seen not only in the great systems of the ancient world, but also among the Mexicans and others. Concise statements are next given of Chinese, Japanese, Persian, Cypriote, Egyptian, and Hittite modes. The rest of the volume is occupied with the origin and development of the alphabet, the different forms which it has taken, the derivatives of the Greek and Aramæan modes, and the main questions which have arisen in connection with this subject. The book is one of great interest and value, pleasant to read, careful and measured in its statements, and full of information. Among other sections of very special interest we may refer to those which deal with the date and origin of the alphabets of India, the Nabatean alphabet, and the Ogham writing.

The papers read at the first Conference of the Scottish Church Society are published.¹ They are brief, but range over a great variety of subjects—Devotional Life, Education, Evangelistic Work, Social Questions, National Religion, and others. Some of them make a great deal of the Sacraments, and the Observance of the Christian Year; others occupy themselves with the Divine Order of Finance, and the Historic Continuity of the Church of Scotland. Some of them are disfigured by flings at other Churches, and particular men or classes of men in these Churches; others are better informed, and of a better spirit. Some curious things are said of Religious Equality and National Religion. Misconceptions, which seemed to be past and gone on these topics, re-appear in their first fresh *naïveté*. A suggestive paper is contributed on the Training of the Clergy by the late Professor Dobie.

The tenth volume of the Fourth Series of the *Expositor*² contains many admirable papers on a variety of subjects by men like Professors Beet, Dods, Harper, Macalister, Smith, and Nestle, Prebendary Whitefoord, Messrs Wright, Watson, Rendal, and others. It gives a continuation of Professor Bruce's instructive studies in Paul's doctrine, those on the great Apostle's conception of the *Holy Spirit*, and his purpose in speaking of Christ as "in the likeness of sinful flesh," deserving special notice. Great interest is also given to this volume by Mr Locke's papers on Sayings of our Lord not recorded in the Gospels, and, above all, by the discussions on the Galatian question, which are contributed by Professor Ramsay, Mr Chase, and Mr Rendal.

¹ Scottish Church Society Conferences. First Series. Edinburgh: J. Gardner Hitt. 8vo, pp. 200. Price, 4s. 6d. net.

² Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 475. Price, 7s. 6d.

The fifth volume of the *Expository Times*¹ is to hand. To say of it that it will compare favourably with any of its predecessors, is to say much. The Editor's own work is always done with taste and point, and he has the assistance of many competent writers. Some of the papers, especially those on the Theology of Isaiah, by Professor A. B. Davidson, stand out conspicuous. But there are others, too many to particularise, which make interesting contributions to a wide variety of subjects—the interpretation of difficult texts, the estimate of notable theologians, the study of the Prophets, the criticism of the Gospels, and others. The needs of the busy minister are a special subject of consideration in this valuable magazine.

We have also to notice the following:—*Le Christianisme de l'Avenir*,² a series of reflections, suggestive and in excellent style, on the transformation of the Christianity of the Churches; a searching criticism of certain parts of Nietzsche's philosophy, by Professor Ludwig Stein of Bern;³ a short criticism of Professor Drummond, by Dr Hornburg, of Stralsund;⁴ an interesting historical sketch of the use of dialogue in Apologetics, by Professor Zöckler, of Greifswald;⁵ an Address on the *Divinity of Christ*,⁶ directed to believers and unbelievers, by Eugen Heinrich Schmitt, of Buda-Pesth; the completion of the new edition of the late Dr L. Bonnet's *Épîtres de Paul*,⁷ an exposition which, by the point and lucidity of its Notes, and its useful Introductions and Analyses, has won large and well-deserved acceptance with French readers; a volume containing some good aphorisms on matters of religion, by the late Stephan Ronay,⁸ edited by Eugen Heinrich Schmitt; the first part of Dr Johannes Bachmann's edition of the Ethiopic Version of the Minor Prophets,⁹ prepared on the basis of manuscript

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 568. Price, 7s. 6d.

² Par Frank Duperrut. Paris: Fischbacher. Cr. 3vo, pp. 258. Price, F. 2.50.

³ Friedrich Nietzsche's Weltanschauung und ihre Gefahren. Berlin: Reimer. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 103. Price, M. 1.80.

⁴ Henry Drummond, der Naturforscher unter den Theologen. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 19.

⁵ Der Dialog im Dienste der Apologetik. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 69.

⁶ Die Gottheit-Christi im Geiste des modernen Menschen. Leipzig: Jansen. 8vo, pp. 76.

⁷ Troisième Édition, revue et augmentée. Lausanne: Bridel et Cie. 8vo, pp. 588. Price, F. 10.

⁸ Das natürliche Christenthum: Aphorismen. Leipzig: Jansen. 8vo, pp. 62.

⁹ Dodekapropheton Æthiopum, &c. Heft I. Der Prophet Obadia. Halle: Niemeyer. 8vo, pp. 52. Price, M. 2.

authority, and furnished with critical notes ; Dr Richard Kraetzschmar's admirably printed unpointed edition of the Masoretic text of Isaiah ;¹ two further instalments of the *Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen-und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften*, carefully edited by Professor D. G. Krüger of Griefswald, and well adapted for use as Class-books ;² Professor Remigius Stölzle's edition, important as the primary edition, of Abelard's *Tractatus de Unitate et Trinitate Divina*³—the treatise condemned at Soissons in 1121 ; a pamphlet by E. Cremer, giving some sound criticisms of the views of Frank and Herrmann on the subject of Christian Certainty ;⁴ a very readable essay on *Preaching : the Matter and the Manner*,⁵ by the author of *The History of Preaching* (1880) ; a Second Edition of Professor Hermann Cremer's vigorous defence of the Apostles' Creed ;⁶ a Second Edition also of Archdeacon Perowne's *Our High Priest in Heaven*,⁷ a defence of the Evangelical doctrine of Christ's Priesthood as against the extreme High Church view ; a sketch of the recent History of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, by Arnold Rüegg,⁸ intended mainly for the help of the practical theologian, and showing a wide and appreciative acquaintance with the subject ; an able and interesting pamphlet (which narrowly escaped destruction by fire in the publisher's premises), by the Rev. Robert C. Jenkins, written at the request of Cardinal Newman, and throwing important light on the development of the Nicene Creed into the form it took at Constantinople ;⁹ a Second Edition of Dr James S. Dennis's *Foreign Missions after a Century*,¹⁰ a Course of Lectures delivered in connection with a new foundation in Princeton Theological Seminary, and dealing in a fresh and forcible way with the message, meaning, conflicts, problems, and successes of the Foreign

¹ Jesaia, &c. ; für den akademischen Gebrauch. Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. 48. Price, M. 1.

² Des Gregorios Thaumaturgos Dankrede an Origenes, &c. : herausgegeben von Dr phil. Paul Koetschau. Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. 78. Price, M. 2.—Ausgewählte Sermonen des heiligen Bernhard über das Hohelied. Herausgegeben von Otto Baltzer. Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. 104. Price, M. 1.80.

³ Freiburg i. B. : Herder. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 101.

⁴ Ueber die Entstehung der Christlichen Gewissheit. Gütersloh : Bertelsmann. Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. Pp. 43.

⁵ London : Elliot Stock. Pp. 32.

⁶ Warum können wir das apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss nicht aufgeben ? Berlin : Wiegandt u. Grieben. Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 48.

⁷ London : Elliot Stock. Pp. xii. 114. Price, 1s.

⁸ Zürich : Füßli. 8vo, pp. 97. Price, M. 3.

⁹ From the Death of St Athanasius to the Death of St Basil and the Council of Constantinople. London : David Nutt. 8vo, pp. 48.

¹⁰ New York : Fleming H. Revell Company. Cr. 8vo, pp. 368. Price, \$1.50.

field of the present day ; an acute and discriminating essay by Professor Henri Bois of Montauban, on *Le Dogme Grec*,¹ discussing, among other points, its relation to Science, to Civilisation, and to the essence of Chistianity, the question of the Evolution of Dogmas, and the views of the late Dr. Hatch,—a volume deserving a more extended notice than our limits at present allow ; *Discipleship : The Scheme of Christianity*²—a shorter and more popular statement by the author of *The King and the Kingdom* of the positions argued out in that work ; *A Help for the Common Days*³—a series of short papers by Dr J. R. Miller on matters of practical religion—simple, devout, unpretentious, with much good counsel for the Christian use of common days ; *Modern Spiritualism*⁴—a reprint of five racy discourses delivered by the Rev. Edward White at the *Merchants' Lecture*, in which the system is judged in the light of Divine Revelation, and set forth in its hostility to Christianity ; Mrs Sydney Buxton's *Side Lights upon Bible History*⁵—a series of well-written chapters on Babylonia, Egypt, the Assyrian Revival, the fall of Nebuchadnezzar, and on dynasties, records, and events through which the Bible history is connected with the histories of other nations than the Israelites ; another addition to the *Ethical Library* published by Messrs Swan Sonnenschein & Co.—viz., *Short Studies in Character*⁶—a series of papers on the Cardinal Virtues, Ideals of Womanliness, Moral Education, and kindred topics, lively in style and suggestive ; the fifth edition of Professor Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*,⁷ and in connection with this an *Appendix*⁸ issued in separate form, in which the corrections and additions (consisting mostly of notices of new literature) embodied in this new edition are considerably, and at a small cost, put at the service of those who have the earlier issues ; two important additions to the *Porta Linguarum Orientalium*, an *Egyptian Grammar*⁹ and a *Coptic*,¹⁰ each the work of an expert, both printed with

¹ Paris : Fischbacher. 12mo, pp. 299. Price, F. 3.

² London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. ix. 323. Price, 2s. 6d.

³ Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 320. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁴ London : Elliot Stock. Crown 8vo, pp. 80. Price 1s.

⁵ London : Macmillan & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. 299. Price, 5s.

⁶ By Sophie Bryant, D.Sc. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. 247. Price, 4s. 6d.

⁷ Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 565. Price, 12s.

⁸ Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. 21. Price, 1s.

⁹ *Ägyptische Grammatik*, &c. Von Adolph Erman. Berlin : Reuther u. Reichard. Crown 8vo, pp. xiv. 270. Price, M. 16.

¹⁰ *Koptische Grammatik*, &c. Von Georg Steindorf. Berlin : Reuther u. Reichard. Crown 8vo, pp. xviii. 314. Price, M. 13.20.

great care, and fully furnished with tables, chrestomathies, indices, and all that is needed to facilitate the student's course ; Friedrich Schwally's *Das Leben nach dem Tode*,¹ a Biblico-theological study of the thoughts of ancient Israel on an after-existence, prosecuted in the historical spirit, instructive on many points of the exegesis, and giving a useful and informing conspectus of the ideas found in the Hebrew Scriptures, the opinions which prevailed in the later literature of Judaism, and the popular faith of the Jews of our Lord's time ; the Rev. George A. Gordon's *The Witness to Immortality in Literature, Philosophy and Life*²—a rich book, giving in attractive style the fruits of much independent study of the subject, as well as the results of a wide, scholarly, and sympathetic acquaintance with the best that has been written on it by poet, philosopher, and theologian. The chapters on the teaching of the Hebrew prophets, St Paul, and our Lord Himself, on Immortality are of especial value. In admirable form they present the broad outlines of the Biblical doctrine in its essential import, its historical position and progress, and its relation to faith, feeling, and reason ; Professor Charles Carroll Everett's *The Gospel of Paul*,³ which undertakes to establish a new reading of Paul's doctrine of the Atonement. The Harvard Professor founds this on a very literal and restricted interpretation of one or two passages, especially Gal. ii. 19, 20, iii. 13. It amounts to this, that the Mosaic Law, which pronounced him cursed who was hanged on a tree, cast out Christ when He was crucified, and so all relation between Christ and the Law ceased and determined ; that Paul, in identifying himself with Christ, passed into the same position, but found at the same time a new sense of reconciliation and pardon, and a new moral power made his through this connection with Christ, apart from the Law. All beyond this, and, in particular, the whole conception of a substitutionary sacrifice, must be regarded as later speculation. Professor Everett's heaviest task is to empty the Pauline Epistles of the great ideas of vicarious offering, and in this we cannot say he has succeeded ; Richard Kabisch's *Die Eschatologie des Paulus*⁴—a book somewhat hard to read, but containing some acute reasoning. It is an attempt to interpret Paul's teaching on the Last Things in its connection with his general system of doctrine, as found in 1 Thesalonians and the four great Epistles accepted by Baur. With

¹ Giessen : Ricker. 8vo, pp. 204. Price, M. 5.

² Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 310. Price, \$1.50.

³ Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. 307. Price, \$1.50.

⁴ Göttingen : Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 338. Price, M. 7.

much that deserves consideration, the book follows too often a somewhat forced exegesis, and commits itself to results (for example, the purely physical sense of *life* and *death* in the Pauline writings) which it will be difficult to reconcile either with the general scope of Paul's teaching, or with the general tenor of Scripture. This is due in large part to the imperfect recognition of the relation of Paul's terms to those of the Old Testament.

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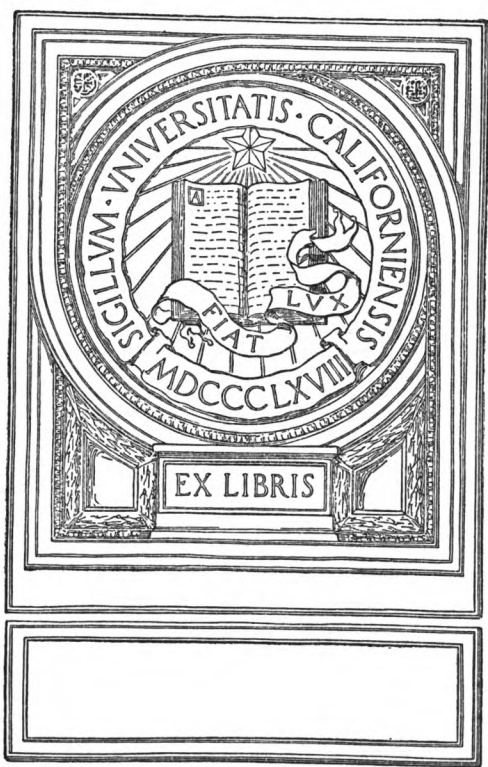
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History, Prophecy, and the Monuments.

By James Fred. McCurdy, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in University College, Toronto. Vol. I. New York and London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xxiv. 425. Price, 14s.

THIS is the first part of a work in two volumes, the second of which will soon appear. The present volume ends with the destruction of Samaria by the Assyrians, B.C. 722; and the second will carry on the history to the downfall of the Persian Empire before Alexander, when the rule of the Eastern world passed from Asia to Europe. From the title of Professor McCurdy's work it might have been surmised or feared that it was merely another of the many efforts to exploit the monuments of Babylon and Assyria in the interests of Apologetics. Even if this had been true, the book would have been worthy of attention, because the author, being himself able to read the monuments, would have given us a first-hand and trustworthy account of their meaning and bearing. The dispassionate spirit also in which he writes, and the entire absence of any straining to discover coincidences with Scripture, or confirmations of its statements, would have given the reader confidence, and been a guarantee to him that his guide was a historian and not a partisan. But, though the author's interest no doubt centres in Israel, even Israel is regarded broadly as a member of the great Shemitic race, though its place in history and the contributions it made to the thought of mankind may require that it be oftener contrasted than compared with the other members. The author's work might fitly have been designated a History of the Shemitic World. This world consists of the compact square or parallelogram of territory bounded on the east by the line of mountains extending from the Persian Gulf through Elam, Media, and so on, north to the neighbourhood of Lakes Urmia and Van and the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates; on the north by a line running from the sources of these rivers west to the head of the Mediterranean; on the west by the Mediterranean and the Red Sea; and on the south by the ocean between the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. This world was mainly inhabited by Shemites, and mostly ruled by them, till the Persians came upon the scene and fell heir to the empire of the Chaldeans. Of course the Shemitic empire, whether the early Babylonian one, the Assyrian, or the later Babylonian (Chaldean), often exceeded the limits of this well-defined area, grasping at the kingdoms of Elam and Media on

the east and incorporating them, and, when its western career was checked by the sea, rolling its forces south till it overran Egypt and even Ethiopia. But these conquests were temporary, and they had their counterpart in the fact that the mountaineers of Elam and the Kasshites occasionally invaded and ruled for long periods the primitive seats of the Babylonian kingdoms between the rivers, and, wielding their resources, entered into their ideal inheritance as far west at least as the Jordan valley and North Arabia, as in the case of Chedorlaomer.

Agreeing with many good authorities, Dr McCurdy argues that the immemorial home of the Shemites was Arabia. In a far distant antiquity they formed what he calls *hordes*, speaking a language in common, which in process of time developed into several well-defined dialects under climatic and other influences. Even before the dawn of history he considers that they must have crystallised into tribes which, though living side by side, had already to some extent differences of speech, religion, and manners. Some of these tribes moved eastwards, throwing themselves upon the swampy lowlands of the Babylonian plain between the rivers, and founding the earliest Babylonian city-kingsdoms. From there a colony moved northwards, and laid the foundation of the new Assyrian state (Asshur). Other tribes moved up the Euphrates, concentrating themselves in the fertile regions watered by the Chabor, the plain known as Mesopotamia or Aram of the two rivers, with its sacred city Haran. These were the Arameans, who, however, sent off swarms westwards, founding a number of small kingdoms in the north of Syria, and eventually the powerful state of Damascus, so long the dangerous rival of northern Israel. While, finally, other tribes moving possibly up the Jordan valley or the sea coast, seized the valleys of Palestine as Canaanites, and the narrow plain on the coast further north as Phenicians. Aramean tribes are found at all times hovering on the borders of the Babylonian plain on both its sides. A family, possibly of Aramean descent, migrated from Ur (Mugheir, *i.e.*, Mukayyar, Bitumen Town), and after lingering for a time about Haran, finally settled east of the Jordan as Ammonites and Moabites, and south of the sea as Edomites; while their kindred, the Israelites, after a long sojourn on the borders of Egypt, entered Canaan, and settled beside them at a very recent date.

It is the history of this Shemitic world which Dr McCurdy has undertaken to present—the history of its peoples, its institutions, its manners, its religion, and its worship, no less than the history of its wars and conquests, and varying external form and fortunes. It is this wide scope that gives the author's work its interest. Because, whatever differences may appear between one family of this race and another, the resemblances common to all far outweigh them;

and in reading the history of the Babylonians we are acquiring conceptions and securing points of view which form the best preparation for reading with real insight the history of Israel. There are several things which distinguish all these peoples—one is their political incapacity, another their commercial instinct, and a third their extraordinary religiousness. Without the instinct of political articulation or organisation, they were incapable either of governing or being governed. The city was the largest conception they possessed, and citizenship in the sense that all the inhabitants united should, through representatives, share in the government, or in the sense that the ruler should delegate his power to the people and share with them the rule of the commonwealth, was an idea never reached. Hence the territory of a city was not enlarged by peaceful combination with another city, but by conquest of it. Even the Assyrians in their palmiest days, under Tiglath Pileser and the strenuous rulers of the house of Sargon, never founded an empire in the sense of a homogeneous organism. The cohesion was no closer than that the conquered peoples acknowledged suzerainty and paid tribute. This was largely because the instinct of unity was wanting to the race. Hence, whenever the Assyrian ruler died, a fever of revolt spread through the whole states or cities subject, the yoke was thrown off, and his successor had the work of subjugation to accomplish over again. And if some of the Assyrian monarchs did rise to the idea of a cohesive and homogeneous empire, they could perceive no means of securing homogeneousness but the barbarous expedient of tearing up populations by the roots and transplanting them among a distant and alien race, a policy continued by the last great Shemitic state, the Chaldeans. But even this policy failed, as the history of the Jews in Babylon shows, and indeed their whole subsequent history up to this day. And if this was owing in some measure to religion, it was scarcely due to the distinctive character of the religion of Israel, but to some deeper instinct of race; for the people of Cutha, who were transferred from Babylon to the city of Samaria, amalgamated so little with the surrounding population that Samaria was virtually a heathen city in the days of the Maccabees. Dr McCurdy signalises Israel as affording the only instance of a Shemitic state arising by the voluntary confederation of a number of tribes. There were possibly other examples. But even in regard to Israel any reader of the Book of Judges can perceive how readily the unity of the tribes secured at the exodus fell asunder on their entering Canaan, and how difficult it was to secure, even in the face of the greatest dangers, co-operation or common action. And even when the danger of complete subjugation at the hands of the Philistines united the tribes under a monarch, the inherent propensity to indi-

vidualism revealed itself after two or three reigns, and the united state broke across into two.

Dr McCurdy is inclined to ascribe much of the political feebleness of the Shemites to their religion. Not quite in the same way as Renan, for the latter attributed the form of their religion, their monotheism, and all their other defects, political and artistic, to a certain simplicity and monotony of mind, which could not rise to the varied or the complex. Dr McCurdy does not go so far back, but, starting from the nature of their religious ideas, endeavours to trace the influence of these upon their social and civil evolution. The god or deity was the bond of union; the city or state was one because the deity was one. But the neighbouring city or tribe was a unity for the same reason, and its god was another. And the Shemitic gods were intolerant. It was not the God of Israel only that was a jealous God. Asshur was equally impatient of other gods, and more contemptuous toward them. Hence, so long as the god existed, the people who worshipped him was indestructible. It must be confessed that we enter a very difficult region here. The author, in a few condensed but well considered sentences, gives his view of the origin of the conception of god and its development. He traces religion to several sources—animism, reverence for dead ancestors and for heroes of the tribe. Of necessity much must be conjecture. By the time we meet with these religions in history they are greatly developed, and the gods have been endowed with qualities of the spirit of man not originally belonging to them. The gods of the eastern Shemites seem mostly either cosmogonic or elemental to begin with; but when we meet with Asshur first in history, has he not become in good measure the reflection of the spirit of his people, the Assyrians? Not, of course, that any people created a god by projecting their own spirit into objective existence; they heard him in the wind or perceived him in the sweet influences of the skies, or felt him in the predominance of the spheres; but having found him, did they not proceed to fashion him after their own likeness? This, at anyrate, can be said, that all over the Shemitic world religion is the same, the relation of people and god is alike; the religiousness of Israel did not differ from that of the other members of the race,—the difference lay in the conception of its God to which Israel had attained from the beginning, in the ethical nature of Jehovah. And if the repulsive features of Shemitism were modified or almost effaced in Israel, this was not due to a different conception of the relation of god to people, institutions, and the life of men, but to a different idea of the Spirit of Him who was the God of the people, who inspired their institutions and animated their life. As Dr McCurdy describes the early Babylonians,

religion appears to have been the occupation of their life. If they carried war to the Mediterranean, it was that they might cut down timber on Amanus or Lebanon, and hew stones on the western mountains to rear temples to the god; if they harried Arabia, it was to secure spices to offer as sweet incense to him, or precious jewels to deck his image. The king or ruler was merely the representative of the god. A delegation of his power to others was therefore impossible; if he had governors in distant cities they were mere collectors of tribute,—a share in the rule could not be given them, much less to the people. The conception of citizenship was wanting; and freedom could not broaden slowly down, for the idea of popular freedom could not exist. Thus the author attributes the rudimentariness of the political idea to the exaggerated predominance of the religious idea. His reasoning may not convince every one. Religion, no doubt, reacted on all other elements of the people's life, but whether defect on the one hand was due to exaggeration on the other, or whether defect and exaggeration alike were not due to some more fundamental characteristics of the race, is a question worth considering. At anyrate, the predominance of the religious idea was characteristic of all branches of the race. The Jews desire a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom. All development to the former is theurgic, every momentum of progress due to a divine *coup*; progress by ethical development, by the free expansion on all its sides, social, moral, and ideal, of the human mind, was an idea foreign to the East. Yet this emphasis, even though one-sided, on the divine is just the imperishable contribution made by this race to the common life of man; and when the other side, the free development from within of the human mind, the search for wisdom, is brought under the unbroken guidance of the divine Spirit, human perfection will be reached.

It is when Dr McCurdy begins his actual narrative in his second book that his history becomes of absorbing interest. His work has not, of course, the same wealth of illustration as that of Hommel, but by avoiding confusing details he tells a more intelligible story than either Hommel or Tiele. And were the story not read from contemporary monuments it would be incredible. Exploration of the mounds and buried cities of the Euphrates has not only added a new family to the great Shemitic race, but has shewn that this family has the oldest historical civilisation of them all. The first Sargon must have begun to reign about 3800 B.C. Hommel attaches to some carved articles which he figures in his pages the presumable date 5000 B.C. From the earliest times these eastern rulers seem to have regarded the Shemitic world as their natural heritage, for Sargon not only penetrated to the ocean, but appears to have sailed to Cyprus. Phenician bottoms must have carried

him and his troops, a proof that these maritime settlers were already traders at this early period. But though this antiquity be imposing, it is not impossible but that the eye can catch behind it the dying sunset of an antiquity more remote still. Assyriologists are divided on the question whether the Shemites were the first to people the Babylonian plains, or whether they did not impose themselves upon an older population of a different race (the Shumerians), whose science and literature and religion they partly appropriated and assimilated. Dr McCurdy argues the question with great fairness ; and though he admits much intermixture of other races with the Shemitic inhabitants, particularly in Babylon,—for Asshur remained the purest type of the Shemite,—he is inclined to deny the existence of a non-Shemitic aboriginal population and language. A stranger can hardly venture to intermeddle in these esoteric disputes. The question turns largely on the cuneiform script. The characters of this writing in their oldest use were ideograms, that is, to the eye signs of objects, but of course to the ear expressing the sound of the name of the object. Later, these ideograms were used phonetically or syllabically. Now, if these ideograms had been invented by Shemites their phonetic value would naturally have been Shemitic sounds. But this is not the case. The ideogram for “house” does not sound *bû* but *é* ; and so the phonetic value of the sign for “god” is not *ilu*, or something similar, but *an*. To an outsider this appears conclusive, and Dr McCurdy’s answer to the argument is hardly convincing ; and when he expresses the opinion that the cuneiform writing is a very sufficient means of representing Shemitic sounds, one who judges solely from transliterated texts can only reply that, if so, Babylonian Shemitic had already become considerably debased, and suffered from a confusion of sounds not unlike what prevailed in Galilee in the beginning of our era. Such names of deities, too, as Anu, Ea, Nergal, and even Maruduk (Merodach) have admittedly a very unshemitic look. No doubt a satisfactory etymology has not yet been found for Ishtar, though the masculine form of the name appearing in South Arabia and in Moab, and the feminine form in Palestine, the word is probably Shemitic. If it be not, its diffusion reveals not only an action of Shemites on other races, but a reaction of these races upon the Shemites, at so early a time that it affected every branch into which they became divided.

The history of the Shemitic world, as Dr McCurdy records it, must be read in his own pages. His work is clear, enlightening, and eminently suggestive. Space will allow a reference to one other thing only. The history is mainly a record of untiring energy and conquest. But there were times when the tide of energy was checked or receded—points in the history of the great predominat-

ing states when, from internal paralysis, their grasp of distant provinces was relaxed, or when some two of them formed a counterpoise to one another. These were the opportunities of weaker states, and often turning-points in their destinies. There are no more instructive parts in the author's work than when he signalises these pauses and shews their significance. About the time when Israel was entering Canaan a paralysis had fallen on all the great world powers. The Amarna tablets shew that the grasp of Egypt on Palestine was even then becoming feeble, and shortly after, or at least before the exodus, it was altogether relaxed. In the north the Hittite power had been greatly shattered by attacks which are not very well understood. And on the east, Assyria, which had supplanted Babylon in the rule of the kingdom of the rivers, was passing through such a period of internal decline as more than once occurred in its history. No great power barred the way into Palestine or guarded its gates on any side. Another turning-point was much later. The sudden efflorescence of Israel, both north and south, in the eighth century, under the contemporary monarchs Jeroboam II. and Uzziah, always appears singular. No doubt both were very able rulers. But Israel had been reduced to such a low ebb by the protracted wars with Syria (which had so gained the upper hand as to leave the King of Israel no more than ten chariots and fifty horsemen) that its brilliant expansion and recovery of the ancient boundaries, from the entering in of Hamath to the brook of the Arabah, was doubly remarkable. The explanation is partly that Damascus had been reduced to impotence by the Assyrians.

In the earlier chapters the author's style is perhaps a little heavy, but when he comes to his history proper it flows on in a clear and stately stream. He is never very animated, but, so far as we remember, he only once visibly nods,—when he says that “Judah was less than one hundred times as large as the realm” of Sennacherib, meaning apparently that Judah was a hundred times less than Sennacherib's realm (p. 75). He is little affected by the peculiarities of his near neighbours on the south. No doubt we have “locutions” for phrases or expressions. Also the characteristic “aside from.” “Aside from” may be as ancient and as correct, for anything we know, as “apart from” or “besides,” but it always gives one a turn, and is a vile “locution.” Errors are very few. On p. 199, “creditable” seems a mistake for credible; p. 229, Asshur should be Asher; p. 396, Hystaspis would be better; and everywhere Coele-Syria rather than Coelo-. The publishers have set forth the work in a style befitting its importance.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

Die Literatur des Alten Testaments nach der Zeitfolge ihrer Entstehung.

Von G. Wildeboer. Unter Mitwirkung des Verf. aus dem Holländischen übersetzt von Pf. Dr. F. Risch. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1895. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo., pp. x. 464. Price, Mk. 9.

PROF. WILDEBOER's excellent work, *De Letterkunde des Ouden Verbonds*, has quickly naturalised itself in Germany, and German being the second language of most well-trained theological students, we may hope that it will become known to many busy but studious clergymen and laymen. The idea of treating the component parts of the Old Testament, not as they have come to us from the hands of the latest arrangers and editors, but as they are now redistributed by most critics of what is conventionally called a more or less "advanced" type, is a good one, and it has been well carried out by Prof. Wildeboer. Readers of the *Critical Review* do not need to be told that the author is not merely a critic, but keenly interested in the continuous development of the Church on its historic lines, but the appearance of this German translation justifies, if it does not require, a fresh commendation of his work to all those who regret the tardiness with which the results of sound criticism are adopted into our educational systems. The work in its present form has, however, another claim on the attention of students. Early in the present year Prof. W. H. Kusters, who has succeeded to Kuenen's chair at Leyden, published an important work entitled *Het herstel van Israël in het Perzische tijdvak*, in which the subject of the chronology of the Persian period of Jewish history, already discussed by van Hoonacker, Imbert, Kuenen, and (lately) Sir Henry Howorth, is treated with the coolness and sagacity of a disciple of Kuenen. Prof. Wildeboer (in the *Theologische Studiën*) was perhaps the first scholar to recognise the cogency of his Leyden colleague's arguments. He differs from Prof. Kusters only in thinking it probable (for critically admissible evidence there is none) that a small number of Jewish exiles returned to Judæa under Cyrus or Darius, but he agrees with him that the real builders of the Second Temple were the Jews who had never been to Babylon, and that most of the exiles who returned at all came under Ezra (about 433 B.C.). The Chronicler's statement that some 40,000 exiles returned under Zerubbabel in the time of Cyrus, thus becomes an immense exaggeration, or, as Kusters would say, a pure fiction, the offspring of an unhistorical and prejudiced mind. In the original edition of the *Letterkunde* Prof. Wildeboer could not take account of these arguments; thus the German translation obtains an independent

value of its own. It is as yet only the section on Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah which has been modified in accordance with these results, with a bold confidence that Kusters' conclusions will be at once accepted by moderate critics like himself. But I cannot entertain a doubt that the section on Isa. xl.-lxvi. will be equally affected by them in a new edition. At any rate I have myself found the necessity of adapting my own explanation of that large part of Isa. xl.-lxvi. which has been written (as I hope that I have satisfactorily proved) by the post-Exilic successors of the Second Isaiah, to the results of Kusters, and take this opportunity of mentioning the fact before my own work can appear. Prof. Wildeboer's modification of Kusters' theory seems to me sound, but it produces no appreciable effect on our general view of the course of history. In other respects I see no very striking alteration. In section 9 (p. 136) a reference to the complication introduced into the criticism of the passages in Genesis assigned to the second Yahwist by the discovery of the el-Amarna tablets would have been in place. In section 23 (Proverbs and Job) the reader might have been told that in accepting the speeches of Elihu as a genuine part of the original poem of Job, Prof. Wildeboer ceases to represent what may be called the average opinion of moderate critical scholars. But the objections which an honest critic would probably have to make to some of the details of any attempt such as Prof. Wildeboer's are slight indeed compared to his grateful recognition of the sterling value of this useful work.

T. K. CHEYNE.

The Oracles ascribed to Matthew by Papias of Hierapolis : A Contribution to the Criticism of the New Testament.

*With Appendices. London : Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. 274.
Price, 6s.*

THE writer of this book undertakes to examine the exact meaning of Papias in the sentence *Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δύνατος ἕκαστος*, which we would render, "Matthew procured the compilation of the Utterances (of our Lord), and each man translated them according to his ability."

There was room in English theological literature for a new work on Papias, for nearly twenty years have passed since Bishop Lightfoot penned his famous Essays for the *Contemporary Review*; and the progress which has been made during the intervening period in the historical criticism of the Gospels has inevitably

caused much of what he wrote to need reconsideration. We cannot think, however, that this treatise has supplied the want. The author does not seem to us to possess the necessary qualifications. For example, he tells us, "The word ἡρμῆνευσε (= interpreted) may be taken to mean either 'explained' or 'translated,'" and he finally decides in favour of "explained." Now, I put it to any one, whether "John wrote a treatise in French and William interpreted it," can mean anything but that William translated it, or paraphrased it, or in some way made it intelligible to the English reader. In Greek, where antithesis is the back-bone of composition, the necessity for so understanding the sentence is much greater, and we cannot think highly of the critical insight of an author who does not feel this instinctively.

Again, it is clear from these pages that the writer has no knowledge of Aramaic or even of Hebrew. This is surely a serious defect in treating of Papias, and many a weary page does it needlessly inflict upon us. A man cannot satisfactorily deal with the Septuagint without some knowledge of Hebrew. Look also at the following extract: "Aramaic was not a learned language. The Christians of Palestine, whose mother-tongue it was, understood it perfectly. The Greek Christians did not understand it at all. Where then is the meaning that 'every one interpreted it as he was able'?" (p. 4). Now, we admit that Palestinian Aramaic was in a very formless and fluctuating state, but Papias does not assert that "every one" translated it. The verb is in the singular, and the distributive ἕκαστος is used. If three or four persons attempted the task, the language will be sufficiently accounted for. If Papias himself was one of them—and he talks elsewhere of his translations of the Utterances—those who have ever tried to render Aramaic into Greek will feel the force of the self-depreciatory, apologetic way in which he speaks of his efforts.

But if our author is seriously handicapped by his ignorance of Semitic languages, what must we think of his Greek scholarship? Examine the following examples:—

(1) οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων, "not as making a systematic disquisition upon the Dominical oracles" (p. 2).

(2) Ματθαῖος τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, "Matthew wrote on the (Messianic) prophecies" (p. 83).

(3) καὶ ὃς ἂν μεθοδεύῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου, "and whosoever shall pervert the oracles of (concerning) the Lord" (p. 67).

(4) διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν, "having thoroughly established the truth concerning them" (p. 9).

(5) "The word *exotericus* has a recognised meaning which appears very apt for the interpretation of this passage. It means that

which is contained in writing as opposed to mere oral instruction " (p. 18).

These translations are either careless or perverse, and yet they are thrust on us when much depends upon them. We shall presently maintain that our author's main argument rests on a false rendering of a Greek sentence, and that in another place he takes up a most important position in defiance of the fundamental rules of Greek syntax.

After stating the problem which he proposes to solve by an entirely new method, the writer proceeds to discuss the date at which Papias published his "Exposition of the Utterances of our Lord." This he places at "not earlier than A.D. 80, or later than A.D. 98. About A.D. 90 would seem to be the most probable date" (p. 31). Bishop Lightfoot had given "A.D. 130-140, or even later," and other authorities, who differ widely from each other, have accepted this. But our author argues from the tenses of the Greek verbs which are used, that Papias must have written during the lives of Aristion and John the Elder, who had been disciples of the Lord and therefore cannot have lived much later than A.D. 100. The tenses of the verbs, however, merely shew that these two men were living at the time when Papias was pursuing his inquiries.¹ The context shews that he did this in the early days of his episcopate, or even before his consecration, a whole generation before he began to write. Why else should he speak of it as a chapter in his history which had long been closed? Why else should he insist on the pains with which he had learned the traditions by heart, and on the excellence of the memory by means of which he had retained them? Here, then, we perceive a mistake so fatal to the whole argument, that were it not for the extreme importance of the Papias question, we might well decline to pursue the subject any further.

¹ The rule in English Reported Speech is that the leading verb affects all the verbs in the speech following. Thus, "I *am* glad to see you. It *was* a fine day yesterday. You *will* be glad to hear that I *shall* commence harvest to-morrow," becomes, "He told me that he *was* glad to see me; it *had been* a fine day yesterday. I *should* be glad to hear that he *would* commence harvest to-morrow," "should" and "would" being not subjunctives but past tenses of the indicative. But in Greek, when the leading verb is in a past tense, although the mood of the verbs following may be changed into the optative or not at the option of the writer, the tenses *must* remain the same as they were in the direct speech. Therefore the only correct way to translate the quotation from Papias is, "And if at times I was visited by one of the pupils of the Fathers, I would examine him upon the discourses of the Fathers, as to what Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, Matthew, or any other of our Lord's disciples (once) *had said*, or what Aristion, or the presbyter John, our Lord's disciples (still) *said*." And upon this way of translating this crucial passage we must insist.

The Emperor Caius is said to have expressed a wish that the whole Roman people had but one neck, that he might have had the pleasure of severing it. And a certain class of critics trace everything back to Papias, in the hope that if they can discredit him, they may shake the foundations of early Church history. In this chapter the real question is the date of the Apostle John's death, which our author tries to put thirty years earlier than ancient authorities place it. It was John the Presbyter—not John the Apostle—who (we are assured) lived till nearly the close of the first century, and most people ignorantly or wilfully confused him with the son of Zebedee. In particular, Irenæus, the pupil of Polycarp, had been led in his youth to believe that Polycarp had conversed with the beloved Apostle. In later life, he discovered the deception. What was he to do? If he confessed the truth, he would sink in the popular estimation; if he told a lie, he would imperil his soul. He resolved at last to act a lie. Throughout his writings he calls John the "disciple" of Jesus, never the "apostle." Those who were in the secret knew that John the Presbyter is sometimes intended, but the mass of readers are deceived into supposing that it was always the Apostle.

We should have thought that Irenæus (like Papias, the author of the Muratorian fragment on the Canon, and other early writers), borrowed the title "disciple" from the Gospels, especially from the fourth Gospel. But in any case we cannot allow the existence of the Christian Church to be ignored. In 180 A.D. there must have been hundreds of Christians in Asia Minor and elsewhere who had derived from tradition a tolerably correct idea of the date of the Apostle's decease, and who would thus have had a guide to the meaning of Papias which we no longer possess. It is impossible to suppose that Polycarp, Papias, and Irenæus, even if they had wished to do so, could have misled the whole Church.

The next point of discussion is the meaning of the word *λόγια*. Our author complains that the early Latin Fathers perversely translate it by *verba*, *eloquia*, or *sermones*, connecting it with the idea of words, oratory or discourses; not till we come to Rufinus is the proper rendering *oracula* given, which connects it with oracles, Scripture, and inspired records.

Now, the early writers include S. Jerome, who was a practised translator, and possessed a competent knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. It seems to me that his rendering is perfectly right. For *λόγια* is properly an adjective, the neuter plural of *λόγιος*, which means "an eloquent man." And although in profane authors *λόγιον* is sometimes applied to an oracle, it is rather as the utterance of the god than as the *χρησμός*. Our author confesses that he can see no difference between *λόγια* and *λόγοι* in

the Septuagint. We should as soon look for a difference between "he spake" and "he said."

If we turn to the Hebrew, we shall find this reasoning corroborated. λόγιον commonly represents הַגִּידָה, a poetical and rather rare word, derived however from the commonest verb in the language, הִגִּיד, "to say." In the LXX., therefore, λόγιον simply recalls τὰδε λέγει ὁ Κύριος, and this is the meaning which underlies the word not only in the LXX. but in Philo, Josephus, and the early Christian Fathers. The context alone can decide whether the "Utterances of the Lord" are the Utterances of Jehovah or the Utterances of the Lord Jesus. We deem it therefore superfluous to examine the twenty-six passages which our author has laboriously collected. As well might we collect examples to prove that *text* always means a verse of Scripture. In a certain class of writers it invariably does so, but if you look beyond them, you will find the wider meaning asserting itself.

Papias uses the word λόγιον three times in the few fragments of his work which have reached us. I agree with our author that there is a presumption that he uses it always in the same sense, but I insist that in the fragment about S. Mark we *must* translate (s.v.l.) "not as though he were making a catena of our Lord's Utterances," and therefore I should claim this rendering for the two other passages also. "S. Matthew" therefore "procured the compilation of the Utterances of our Lord," and the title of the lost work of Papias was "An Exposition of the Utterances of our Lord," nor do I know of any reason why this rendering should be called in question. Much has been said about the silliness of Papias, but if he, on writing a treatise upon the Messianic prophecies taken from the Old Testament, instead of calling it ἐξήγησις τῶν περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προφητειῶν, deliberately preferred the title ἐξήγησις λογίων Κυριακῶν, so far from sneering at the mental calibre of Irenæus for understanding him to mean "An exposition of the words of our Lord," we should say that no Greek could have taken the sense to be otherwise. Dr Resch, in his *Agrapha*, has gone so far as to use λόγιον in the singular for every Utterance which he can discover of extra-canonical sayings of Jesus, and we think that he is perfectly justified in doing so.

But our author, following the early Tübingen school, has very much to say about the heterodoxy of this primitive bishop. Papias was not only a credulous fool, but he warned his readers against expecting to find any spiritual food in S. Paul's Epistles. He wrote things which Eusebius dared not, or would not, quote. His book perished because it was shocking to post-Nicene orthodoxy.

Now, the quotations which have reached us from Papias are not always very pleasant or satisfactory reading, but we have no right

to suppose that they are fair samples of the bulk of the five books. Take a similar case. The fragments of the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" are far from satisfactory, but they owe their preservation to their very strangeness. The work as a whole was so orthodox that S. Jerome, after transcribing it, and translating it into both Greek and Latin, pronounced it to be the original of S. Matthew, and similarly the orthodox divines of the post-Nicene period gave Papias the title of the Great. Should his work ever be discovered—and who can say that it will not be?—we feel sure that it will not shock the Christian conscience. Destructive criticism, we are confident, will profit as little by it as by the discovery of Tatian's *Dia Tessarôn*.

Bishop Lightfoot, following the old commentators, argued that Papias, in his allusions to S. Matthew and S. Mark, was describing the genesis of our first and second Gospels. As far as S. Mark goes, he may well have been right. Of course our author says that this cannot be so, for Papias complains of lack of order, whereas S. Mark's Gospel is as orderly as any. The answer is easy. As long as men fancy that Papias—or his authority—preferred S. John's order or S. Matthew's to S. Mark's, the observation made by John the Presbyter will be perplexing. But if they will look at the reasons which the Presbyter himself produces, they will see that the criticism is a far-reaching one. The lack of chronology was inherent in the method of compilation. The Gospel of S. Mark consists of a number of detached lessons, issued originally by S. Peter, without any regard to chronological sequence, and subsequently strung together by S. Mark with only the rudest attempt to recover the true sequence. Long consideration of the subject has convinced me that this is the true account of the matter. S. Mark's arrangement is altogether wrong, and therefore the other Synoptists, who follow his arrangement, are wrong also. John the Presbyter may well have pointed out this from personal knowledge and conversation with eye-witnesses.

In the case of S. Matthew's Gospel it is not so easy to believe that Dr Lightfoot was right. Historical criticism has convinced us of the priority of S. Mark to S. Matthew. It follows from this, that S. Matthew's Gospel is a composite work of which the Apostle can only have written some parts, and the presbyter is probably speaking of those parts only. But what parts did he write? The *Logia*, we reply; by which we understand those "Utterances of the Lord" which go to make up the Sermon on the Mount and other discourses and parables which are absent from S. Mark, but are found in the first Gospel, and large portions of them in the third. Our author holds that S. Matthew wrote only those eleven quotations from the Old Testament which are

peculiar to the first Gospel, and are mostly introduced by the editorial phrase, "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophets, saying."

Of course, our author holds that S. Matthew's supposed collection of prophecies was larger than this. Papias can hardly have written five books to explain eleven texts. And other Gospels, which have perished, may have incorporated the whole, or nearly the whole of S. Matthew's treatise. In particular, the Gospel which Justin Martyr is assumed to have used, is supposed to have been much richer in this department.

If such a collection did exist—whoever was the author—it seems to me more probable that Justin quoted from it direct than from any supposed gospel containing it. But what I wish to point out is, that these eleven quotations in our first Gospel are no part of the original work. They are comparatively late accretions, never essential to the narrative or really blended with it. The narrative is older and independent. If, therefore, S. Matthew died, as our author insists, about A.D. 63, having already compiled this book, how much older may the other parts of the Gospel be.

It is clear that the study of Messianic prophecy was an absorbing topic of the time. Every preacher would contribute something to it, and no subject was more popular in sermons. We hold that the collection of Messianic texts was a gradual growth, and that the antiquity of narratives embedded in our Gospels may sometimes be tested by their lack of this element.

Justin Martyr's Gospel quotations present a large number of very interesting problems, but we see nothing in the partial examination of a few of them, with which our author is content, to set aside the account by Dr Abbott in his article on the Gospels in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. We go even beyond the Rev. J. A. Cross, in holding that during the oral stage every considerable church must have had a Gospel of its own, identical with those of other churches in many points, but differing from them, sometimes considerably, both in contents and in wording. With S. Luke i. 1-4 before us, we can hardly deny that some of these Gospels had been partially committed to writing, enough perhaps to account for the language of 1 Tim. v. 18, but we see insuperable objections to the idea that Justin in the middle of the second century, when, as he informs us, the Gospels were already read in churches, used any other Gospel than the four which we possess.

ARTHUR WRIGHT.

Judaistic Christianity.

A Course of Lectures by F. J. A. Hort, D.D. Cambridge and London : Macmillan & Co., 1894. 8vo, pp. xii. 222. Price, 6s.

THIS compendious little volume has a claim on the notice of all Biblical students. For its theme must remain, as Baur showed once for all, one of our chief criteria in the appreciation of the New Testament writings. Its central problem is this : By what stages did the Jewish particularism which so largely animated the early Jerusalem community give way to the universalism of S. Paul, which alone answered to the genius of the Gospel of Christ? We have, as Harnack pointed out some years ago,¹ become "richer in historical points of view" on this question. But we have not yet attained more than an approximate answer to any but the broader issues involved. Accordingly, a fresh discussion from a master in mature and balanced criticism is most welcome, and even opportune. The method of exposition is eminently constructive, and the real religious problem is ever kept well to the front ; while side-lights break forth incidentally almost on every page.

With characteristic thoroughness Dr Hort begins at the real beginning, and in Chapter II., entitled "Christ and the Law," handles a very delicate topic with consummate skill and insight. Specially fine is the section on His attitude to John the Baptist. But every student of the Gospels will feel surer of his ground after reading all the pages in which hard texts like Matthew v. 17 ff., ix. 14 ff., xi. 2-19, xvii. 24-27, xxiii. 2, along with xv. 3-6, as well as those dealing with the original limitation of the Gospel to Israel, are made lucid, and fitting into a subtle harmony become deep water-marks of the historicity of our sources.

The results may be stated as follows :—Christ was the "fulfiller" of the Law and the Prophets, "in that He sought to give effect to their true purpose and inner meaning. He indicated that for Himself and His true disciples, the old form of the Law had ceased to be binding ; but He did not disobey its precepts or even the precepts of tradition, or encourage His disciples to do so, except in so far as obedience would have promoted that Pharisaic misuse of the Law and of tradition alike which called for His warmest denunciations. Nay, He did homage to that (for its time) right service of the old order, which was represented by John the Baptist, though He at the same time proclaimed its entirely lower and transitory character."

The shades of distinction here so briefly summarized will not fail to be valued by those whose patience has been at any time tried by

¹ *Contemporary Review*, August 1886, pp. 222 ff.

the laborious onesidedness of men like Geiger and Grätz, when they try to handle the same theme. They will also follow our author when he proceeds: "The fundamental point, a fulfilment of the Law, which was not a literal retention of it as a code of commandments, was, as it is still, a conception hard to grasp: it was easier either to perpetuate the conditions of the old covenant or else to blaspheme them.¹ Again, there was ample matter for apparent contradiction in the *necessity for a time of transition*, during which the old order would live on by the side of the new, not Divinely deprived of its ancient sanctity, and yet laid under a Divine warning of not distant extinction. This period of transition was prefigured in the Baptist's own testimony: 'He must increase, but I must decrease'—decrease, not simply give way and be gone. . . . The great point to remember is, that it was hardly possible for either aspect to be forgotten in man's recollections of the original Gospel at any period of the Apostolic age, however vaguely and confusedly both might be apprehended" (pp. 36-38). Surely in such a passage we have already in germ an analysis of the actual conditions of thought in the Apostolic age. And when we consider how modern Jewish writers have failed to interpret this twofoldness of the expressed mind of Christ, we shall cease to wonder that early Jewish Christians should have found the problem of Continuity amid Progress, as involved in the Gospels and evolved by Stephen and Paul, all too high for them at first.

To the sympathetic unfolding of this drama, well-nigh tragedy as it was at times, of primitive Christianity, Chapter III. is devoted. It is refreshingly historic in spirit,² untinctured by the subtle intrusion of later ecclesiastical associations, which is, alas, still all too common even with certain scholarly writers. Acts ii. 42 is very frankly handled; ἡ κοινωμία has a full-blooded sense assigned to it; while "the 'breaking of the bread' is, of course, what we call the Holy Communion in its primitive form, as an Agape or Supper of Communion," held too in private houses (κατ' οἶκον). But this and the next chapter, which carry us down to the Jerusalem Conference—that great turning-point in our subject—are practically a running paraphrase of the first half of the Acts, and simply teem with points. Thus, in Acts xi. 20, Dr Hort cannot accept the easier "Greeks" in place of the better supported "Hellenists," as those addressed by Cypriots and Cyrenians at Antioch. The latter,

¹ The *media via* marked out by Hort appears very vividly in the well-known saying in *Codex Bezae*, addressed to a man found working in the field on the Sabbath.

² Some may perhaps think that Dr Hort takes the numbers of the growing Church rather literally, and might desiderate a little more recognition of the possibly diverse sources underlying the Acts.

he supposes, may here include "the fearers of God, or proselytes of the less strict sort, such as Cornelius and probably the eunuch had been (xi. 3); but no one as yet preached to men entirely heathens." Then, touching Peter's weakness at Antioch, as recorded in Gal. ii. 11-14, he also holds a view slightly different from the usual one. Peter is at first inclined to treat on terms of perfect equality Gentile believers, so recently recognised as brethren, on the basis of the Precepts enjoining abstinence from Idolatry, Impurity, and the use of certain forms of food specially abhorrent to Jewish sentiment—so "answering to the renunciations which early became a condition of baptism." But subsequently he was terrorised by the public opinion of the Jerusalem Church, with which James sympathised at least to the extent of urging a certain "opportunism" of reserve as expedient. This, of course, argued an inferiority of Gentile Christians, which Paul could not tamely tolerate; and Dr Hort thinks that the Jerusalem authorities most have confessed him to be strictly in the right; but he thinks also that the necessity of actual communion of the closer order was avoided by tacit mutual consent, each type—the actually circumcised and the uncircumcised Christians—taking its own course for the time. Yet the resultant Dualism was temporary, and was modified by the influence of "the Dispersion"; in principle, moreover, S. Paul had already won the day. But that he was not the man to push the advantage gained for born Gentiles in a *doctrinaire* way, alien to the spirit of 1 Cor. ix. 19 *f.*, appears from the case of Timothy, adequate practical reasons for whose circumcision are supplied in Acts xvi. 4.

Touching the Galatians, we may note that while our author wrote in the pre-Ramsay stage of the subject, he feels that the reasons given by Lightfoot for dating the Epistle after, rather than before, the Epistles to the Corinthians are "not all equally good." In fact, his own views, as here stated, could easily be fitted into Ramsay's scheme; and, indeed, the "calm and deliberate manner" in which Paul "sums up the Judaistic controversy" in *Romans* seems to point to the lapse of several years between it and *Galatians*. For "we can now see that the crisis of Apostolic Christianity was virtually over when S. Paul wrote" to Rome, on the eve of his perilous mission to Jerusalem. On the other hand, the "persecution of S. Paul by unbelieving Judaism" was about to reach its climax. Arrived at Jerusalem, he was indeed welcomed by the more representative men among "the brethren." Yet it seems clear that the need of circumspectness had been already felt: the advice of the *zekênim*, with James at their head, implies that ugly rumours had gained wide credence with the "Christian Jews living mixed among the general body of Jews." The ultimate source of such calumnies was probably unbelieving Judaism,

especially that of Asia Minor (xxi. 27). The attempted refutation by object-lesson, as suggested by the *zekénim*, Dr Hort accepts as quite consistent with the Apostle's own practice as a Jew, and supports his view by Acts xxiv. 17 (*προσφοράς*).

Passing now to Rome, Dr Hort explains the ignorance of the leading Jews as to Paul's person by the lapse of time during his stay at Cæsarea, which might make his enemies less apt to dog his steps with slander. He finds, too, no signs as yet of a Judaizing party among Roman Christians. But he does not explain how otherwise Phil. i. 15 ff. is to be taken; nor can the party there referred to be regarded as something of very recent growth. All the more strange is it that in Phil. iii. 17 ff. (*cf.* Rom. xvi. 17-20) our author should refuse to see, with Lightfoot, any "antinomian tendency" as menacing the Philippians, and prefers to contrast "the visible *πολίτευμα* to which they (Judaizers) cling, with the true invisible Christian *πολίτευμα* in the heavens." *Aliquando dormitat Homerus!*

Far more convincing is the discussion of the "Colossian Heresy," expressed generically in ii. 8, and specifically in ii. 16-23. Having shown that the latter passage has no clearly non-Judaic features, Dr Hort paraphrases *τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ κενῆς ἀπάτης* by "that philosophy of his which you know of" (*cf.* 1 Cor. i. 21), which enjoined subservience to human tradition and the rudiments of the world (*cf.* 20, 22); and concludes that the theory of "some sort of theosophic speculation" is needless. The 'philosophy' would thus be "merely a fresh example of a widely-spread tendency of that age to disarm Western prejudice against things Jewish by giving them a quasi-Hellenic varnish. Angel-worship might easily be treated as an esoteric lore, and distinctions of foods and days as the perfection of a refined morality above the level of the common multitude." For "the disposition to treat ethics as the true substantial philosophy" was already abroad, and during the third century at least gave rise to a technical use of *φιλοσοφία* for the anchorite life and principles. Hence the *ταπεινοφροσύνη* here censured is "a grovelling habit of mind, choosing lower things as the primary sphere of religion, and not *τὰ ἄνω*, the region in which Christ is." And this same temper, applied to the unknown sphere of angelic being (ii. 18), tended at once to create rivals to Christ Himself (v. 4)—a thing quite easy where current Jewish conceptions as to Messiah were not expanding in the light of the real Messiah, Jesus.

An instructive parallel to part of the facts at Colossæ, and a contrast to the treatment there called for, is found in Romans xiv. (*cf.* xv. 1-13). The recrudescence of certain tendencies abroad among "the Dispersion" is involved in either case. But we follow Lightfoot as against Dr Hort in believing that Essenes or Therapeutæ,

whose Egyptian branch is depicted in Philo's *De vita contemplativa*,¹ supply just the type of antecedent training which even he feels inclined to assume.

So, too, with the Pastoral Epistles, which our author regards "as genuine, and that not merely in parts; the theory of large early interpretations does not work out at all well in detail. . . . The real difficulties lie in the field of language, and of ideas as embodied in language." As to the false teaching implied in them, he starts from a modified acceptance of certain distinctions laid down in Weiss' recent commentary, and then observes that "several obvious marks of Judaism are present," yet not of Pharisaic Judaism — Paul's old enemy. *Ψευδώνυμος γνώσις* must be taken relative to the context in which it appears, and this as determined by *μύθοι καὶ γενεαλογίαι ἀπέραντοι* (=Haggada of type seen in *Book of Jubilees*) and *νομοδιδάσκαλοι* (where *νόμος*=Halacha), would seem to be Judaistic. Read, then, in this connection, *ψευδώνυμος γνώσις* may easily refer to "the distinctive lore of a class of canonists and casuists" (so the *ἀντιθέσεις* attributed to it), "a special knowledge limited to experts or initiated persons" like the "Wise Men" of the Talmud (cf. John vii. 49). As for the traces of a nascent tendency to ethical dualism in 1 Tim. iv. 1 ff., this has at any rate no philosophical basis, but may well have its roots in some sentiment among the imperfectly known Dispersion, akin to Essenism. It is surely a merit of the view here taken of the Pastorals, that it finds in early Christianity traces of that Rabbinic factor in Judaism which might *a priori* be expected to come to the surface. Finally, as regards the New Testament, a chapter is devoted to the Epistle of James, 1 Peter, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse, all of which, and in the order named, are assigned to c. 60-70 A.D. They are all shown to be free from Judaistic limitations. Indeed, we are not sure whether Dr Hort makes quite enough of the men of Jewish birth or training among the "Diaspora" churches addressed by James and, as it would seem, by Peter also. We suspect that the traces of "heathen converts" in 1 Peter have been unduly magnified, if we take into account the parallels with the Judæo-Christian Epistle of James. But the point cannot here be argued.

Lecture ix. opens the account of extra-canonical witness to Judaizing Christianity. It deals summarily with "The Church of Jerusalem from Titus to Hadrian," and brings together most happily

¹ Mr F. C. Conybeare's forthcoming work will probably serve to justify this statement. The Therapeutæ were more philosophic in temper than the Essenes, whose system is yet called by Philo *ἡ δίχα περιεργία* 'Ἑλληνικῶν ὀνομάτων φιλοσοφία' (*Omn. prob. lib.* 13), and more deserve to be styled Gnostic Jews (cf. Lightfoot, *Coloss.* p. 91).

matter generally found only πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως; such as the Christianity of Hegesippus, the Episcopal Succession at Jerusalem, the religious position of the Christians at Pella, and that of the Church of the Circumcision at the time of and after the war under Hadrian. Then come two lectures dealing with "The Judaizers of the Ignatian Epistles" and "Cerinthus, 'Barnabas,' Justin Martyr." And finally, the Palestinian history is resumed under the form of Ebionism. Here the true nature of the misused distinction between "Ebionites" and "Nazareans" is laid down with a firm hand (much as in M'Giffert's note on Eus. H. E. iii. 27); and the peculiar Essene Ebionism of the Book of Helxai is traced to the circles whence proceeded, early in the third century, the Clementine Romance (Περίοδοι Πέτρου), variously redacted in the Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*. For the detailed justification of these latter positions we shall eagerly await the special series of lectures on the subject. Meantime, it is enough to have drawn attention to Dr Hort's study of Ebionism, a topic to which the new Sinai Gospels lend a fresh interest.

VERNON BARTLET.

Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie.

Von Dr Wilhelm Nowack. Erster Band: Privat und Staatsalterthümer. Zweiter Band: Sacralalterthümer. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig, 1894: Akademische Verlagbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xv. 396, viii. 323. Price M.16.

LAST April I gave an account in the pages of this *Review* of a new work on Hebrew Antiquities by Dr Benzinger based on the latest and best ascertained results of Semitic Archæology condensed into a compact and handy treatise without sacrifice to freshness or clearness. It now falls to my lot to review in these pages another work on the same theme from the pen of Professor Nowack, published, moreover, by the same firm, though on a larger scale.

The first impression produced upon the reader is the great similarity of plan that characterises both works. Both are not only well illustrated, but in many cases contain identical illustrations. Both are also founded upon the same presuppositions of the Higher Criticism, for the critical standpoint in both is that of Wellhausen. Lastly, a glance at the table of contents exhibits a striking correspondence as to order of treatment and classification of subject-matters. The writer of the later and larger work, Professor Nowack, fully acknowledges this similarity, and confesses also his indebtedness to

the earlier work of Dr Benzinger: "I was, in the summer of last year, just bringing my work to a conclusion when I was informed that Benzinger's treatise was in the press. Through his kindness I have had the opportunity of glancing at the sheets of his book before publication, and have thus availed myself, in my last revision, of Benzinger's admirable pages, and in certain places have made reference to them. Although we have started from the same historico-critical conceptions, and have in this way arrived at the same results, it is to be hoped that my work will not be superfluous in addition to his—indeed, the plan of his outline rendered the employment of a more extensive range of scientific materials impossible."

These words correctly indicate one contrast as we compare these two excellent works. Moreover, Dr Benzinger's considerable experience as a Palestinian explorer gives a special value to all his topographical references, as well as to those which concern climate, fauna and flora, and existing Oriental usages. On the other hand, Dr Nowack's reputation as an Old Testament scholar and critic had long ago (1880) been established in the days when he was Privatdocent in Berlin and produced his learned and interesting commentary on Hosea. Indeed, it is not difficult to see that the studies of that early date have been utilised in the present volume. The useful note on the שִׁפְפָּר and חֲנִצֵּרָה in his comment on Hosea v. 8. (p. 96 in the commentary) may be compared with the remarks on the same subject in the present work (Vol. i. p. 277). Compare also the notes on Hosea vii. 4 (p. 122) concerning the Hebrew *Tannûr* or "oven" with the instructive and well-illustrated treatment of this topic in the present *Lehrbuch* (Vol. i. p. 144).

It must not be supposed that because Professor Nowack's work is on a much larger scale of execution than that of Dr Benzinger, it is therefore more discursive in treatment. Such an inference would be wholly contrary to fact. An immense mass of information has been accumulated by the most painstaking industry and careful sifting of materials, and finally compressed into these two encyclopædic volumes of Nowack's treatise. In fact, condensation is perhaps a more noticeable feature of the larger than of the smaller treatise. Moreover, the Hebrew student will be thankful for Dr Nowack's scholarly footnotes—*e.g.* for calling attention to some Massoretic textual changes occasioned by religious scruples¹ (Vol. i. p. 12), to a useful summary of the discussion on Ophir and references to literature (Vol. i. p. 248), an apposite reference to Exodus iv. 25 on p. 168, an instructive note on the significance of the Hebrew

¹ See also Benzinger's work, p. 374, on the "terebinths" (plural) of the Masoretic text (Gen. xiii. 18 ; xviii. 1).

התן 'bridegroom' on p. 162 *fol.* In Vol. ii., on Religious institutions, the footnotes become much more frequent and voluminous. See especially those upon pp. 46, 63, 79, 92, 94, 105, 114 (footnote 1), 175, 185 *fol.* ('Azazel), 211 *fol.* as examples out of a large number, where some of the best results of exegetical scholarship or the most ingenious hypotheses are either described or referred to. Such a work as this will save the Hebrew lecturer many an hour of midnight toil in the mechanical search over indexes and tables of contents, for these footnotes are crowded with exact references to the best literature on each subject that is dealt with. It is in this *Second Volume* we notice the most striking contrast in Nowack's treatment as compared with that of Benzinger. For the 130 odd pages devoted by the latter in his much smaller octavo to the subject of *Sacralalterthümer* or Antiquities of Religion, we possess in Nowack's work an entire volume dealing exclusively with this subject, consisting of 315 much larger octavo pages.

The introduction to Vol. i. is excellent. Especially satisfactory are the clearly-marked and well-arranged sections on the sources of information from which Hebrew Archæology is derived. The paragraphs devoted to monuments, graves, inscriptions, coins, etc., are set forth with good judgment and with due proportion. The author, however, appears to lay too little stress in these introductory pages upon the influence of Babylonia on the early life and civilisation of Palestine, and therefore mediately on that of Israel. The lessons taught us by the discoveries at Tell el Amarna and Tell el Hesi would surely dispose an archæologist to reverse the order of the paragraphs *a* and *b* (p. 11). We contend that the influence of Babylonia upon the early civilisation of Palestine, 1500-1400 B.C. and previously, was even deeper than that of Egypt, though Egyptian influence over Phœnicia at this and at a later period was unquestionably strong (see Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, pp. 270-277). We certainly do not attempt to set aside the indications which point to Egypt as probably the source from which Canaanite and Israelite alike borrowed circumcision and the alphabet. Viewed in this light, the relation of Canaan to Ham (Gen. x. 6) is not without significance. And yet, when we give full weight to considerations such as these, and to the traditions of very early contact between the Hebrew race and Egypt (Gen. xii. 10; xvi. 16; xxxix. *fol.*), our surprise is all the greater to find the traces of Egyptian influence over Hebrew institutions and ideas to be so meagre. Even the derivation of the Hebrew ark of the Covenant from Egyptian sources is by no means clear, though Egyptian parallels (ark of Khons, Amon, etc.), may be immediately suggested. On the other hand, the earlier and far deeper influence of Babylonia, to which the author does justice on a subsequent page (p. 98), is

strongly suggested in the pre-exilian Hebrew document J, whose narrative begins Gen. ii. 4b—iv. 26, and is continued at intervals in chapters vi.-xi. As we read these records of early human culture our eyes are continually directed to the Euphrates and Tigris, scarcely ever to the Nile. The historical elements underlying the ancient narrative, Gen. xiv., as well as the references in Joshua vii. 21, Judges iii. 8, only confirm the impression which the recent discoveries in 1887 and 1892 have served to deepen. Respecting Phœnicia, see Pietschmann's work referred to above, pp. 143-147, 260-264.

Where there is so much to commend and admire, criticism seems out of place, and in truth I find little scope for criticism in these pages. Yet it may legitimately be asked whether a somewhat broader basis of comparison might not have been sought in the vast fund of illustrative materials disclosed by Assyriology, and made acceptable to the non-Assyriologist by means of such transcribed texts as Schrader in his *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* and Delitzsch in his *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* have published. It is somewhat strange that Dr Nowack hardly ever quotes from the large and valuable store of epigraphic material accumulated in the *Corpus Inscr. Semit.* Note by way of contrast the constant citation from this work in the pages of Bâthgen's *Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Robertson Smith's "Religion of the Semites," and in Driver's unequalled "Notes on the Text of Samuel." It is quite true that Schröder's work on the Phœnician language, with its serviceable store of facsimiles and reproduced texts (published just a quarter of a century ago), is occasionally quoted, and we are thankful for the reference to the term כִּלְיָ in the Marseilles tablet (Vol. ii. p. 215, footnote 2). And it should also be mentioned, in justice to Dr Nowack's treatise, that the works of leading Assyriologists are cited in all the more important cases. Thus, on the subject of the Sabbath and seven-day week, we have an excellent discussion (Vol. ii. pp. 141 *fol.*), and the reader is glad to have the views of Jensen unearthed from the *Sunday-School Times*. The same remark applies to the discussion as to the origin of the Purim festival both in name and rite (pp. 197-200). Similarly, the sections devoted to Measures, Weights, and Alphabet (in Vol. i.) leave little to be desired. This we say in due qualification of the general impression left upon our mind by a perusal of this elaborate and painstaking work of a scholar whose speciality lies in Old Testament Exegesis, and whose relation to the original documents of Semitic Archæology appears to be rather too indirect, though the references to literature are plentiful. Thus, when we turn to the subject of baking (Vol. i. pp. 111, 118, and 240), and still more when we read the reference to the cakes in

honour of Ashtoreth (אשתרת Jer. vii. 18) in Vol. ii. p. 309, we are surprised to find no reference to the interesting Phœnician inscription discovered in Cyprus, with its table of expenses for the month Ethanim. Similarly, the function of the Assyrian king as *patesi* (šakku) or *šangu* in the very earliest times, might have been usefully cited as a parallel to the priestly functions discharged by Hebrew kings (Vol. i. p. 310). Also on the subject of Slavery, and the usual price paid for a slave, useful hints might have been derived either from Professor Sayce's recent work on "Social Life among the Assyrians," or from Tiele's "History of Babylonia and Assyria," p. 507. A careful search among the Assyrian annals from the fourteenth to the ninth century shews, from the records of captured spoils, that both in Canaan and Syria, and other countries that bordered upon the Ninevite Empire, we are moving during that entire period in the midst of the age of bronze. Iron was comparatively rare, and seems to have been chiefly confined to the head or point of instruments. To what extent the chariots of the Canaanites consisted of iron (Judges i. 19) we cannot tell. Thus we note the considerable quantity of bronze as well as of gold and silver vessels sent by Toi, King of Hamath, to David (2 Sam. viii. 10, 11), and the very interesting parallel in the annals of Tiglath Pileser I. (col. iv. 1 *fol.*). On the other hand, the mention of iron in Assyrian, as in Hebrew literature referring to this period, is extremely infrequent. It is not till the close of the ninth century we read that Rammân-nirâri III. took as spoil 5000 talents of iron from the King of Syria (1 Rawl. 35, No. 1, line 19). These facts might be usefully set forth to illustrate Vol. i. p. 243 *fol.* As coming from a contemporary civilisation and a neighbouring Semitic people, they are of far greater value than the modern institutions of civilised Islam, which are the ultimate product of older civilisations—including Greek, Roman, and Saracenic, to say nothing of the later influences. Here a distinction must be drawn between the usages of peasant life or of the primitive nomadic society of, say, the Sinaitic Bedouin, on the one hand, and those of town life, especially among the wealthier classes in Damascus or Cairo, on the other. The primitive conditions of life among the fellahin, as among the nomads, change as slowly as do the features of the landscape in which they dwell. It is otherwise with the town-civilisation. Therefore, while the illustration of a modern Syrian plough (Vol. i. p. 230) is a fairly safe guide, we deprecate the insertion of the elaborate specimens of modern Arabic bolts and keys (Vol. i. p. 142) which Nowack and Benzinger alike borrow from Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, borrowed in turn by that work from Lane's "Manners

and Customs of the Modern Egyptians." It is curious to note that the numbers conscientiously reproduced in the engravings of Benzinger and Nowack, and scarcely referred to in the text, are adequately elucidated in the original English work. To suppose that the key that opened Eglon's chamber nearly resembled the elaborate contrivance portrayed in Lane's pages makes too great a demand upon our faith. It is probable that the simpler *clavis laconica* figured in the pages of Rich's "Antiquities" would be a safer guide.

On the subject of pottery (Vol. i. p. 265 *fol.*) we have an excellent section in which the researches of Perrot and Chipiez, as well as of Flinders Petrie (in his recent work "Tell el Hesi"), are turned to full account (as in Benzinger's treatise). In this book, which is remarkably free from misprints, we notice a bad typographical error in the English citation on p. 265, footnote 2, Vol. i.; also on p. 319 the Hebrew word מִשְׁפָּטִים is misprinted in the initial consonant. See also Vol. ii. p. 301, footnote 2.

Before passing from Vol. i. we would call attention to the excellent paragraphs devoted to the political institutions of Israel (pp. 300-357), and to the carefully drawn historic perspective in which the whole subject is presented in successive sections—viz., the constitution of the pre-regal period, of the regal period, and of the post-exilian times. This last section is specially useful.

On religious institutions, to which a special volume is devoted, there was less scope for original work. For here the labours of an army of writers for the last thirty years have supplied abundant materials. Among these the chief workers have been Baudissin, Kuenen, Wellhausen, Stade, and Robertson Smith. The influence of Stade is perhaps the most conspicuous in the pages of this treatise, as well as in that of Benzinger. This was inevitable. For no History of Israel can be compared with that of Stade, in comprehensiveness of treatment as well as in insight into archaeological problems, displayed in his treatment of the early pre-exilian period of Israel's history. Stade's grasp of his subject in its organic relation to the larger related subjects of primitive culture, as expounded by such writers as Tylor, and of primitive Semitic religion, as illuminated by the researches of Wellhausen and Robertson Smith, ensures his work a permanent place among the authorities on the history of Israel. Stade's researches upon the palace and temple of Solomon, based on the textually difficult materials contained in 1 Kings vi. vii., are laid under contribution in the pages of Nowack. We are glad to see that a wholesome scepticism is displayed towards Benzinger's theory of Egyptian influence in the design of Solomon's temple (p. 34). Benzinger's comparison of the plan of the temple of Amon Rê at Karnak

Nowack considers illusory, and rightly holds that Syrian (or Hittite) influence is clearly evidenced in numerous details, especially in the porticoes. The inscriptions of Sargon (Cylind. insc. line 64, Khorsab. 161-2) bear invaluable testimony to the fact that it was from the land of the Hittites (here probably Phœnicia) he borrowed the *bît hilāni* or "portico." "Hittite" was loosely used in Assyrian inscriptions as a geographical expression meaning Syrian, Phœnician, or Palestinian. The term *bît hilāni* was evidently Phœnician in origin, and occurs twice upon the cylinder of Ašurbanipal (col. vi. 123; x. 102), in whose reign (seventh century) it was evidently a term in common use among the Assyrians. This is only one among innumerable indications that exist of the surpassing technical skill possessed by this interesting maritime race. Not only were Phœnician ships and sailors employed by the civilised races of Western Asia from the days of Solomon to those of Sennacherib, and, later still, of Xerxes, but Phœnician skilled workmen were the admiration even of the Greeks. Herodotus pays his express tribute to the superior intelligence and capacity of the Phœnicians in his account of the construction of the canal that was cut across Mount Athos: "they showed their skill in this as in other operations" (vii. 23). These considerations dispose us to reject Benzinger's theory respecting Egyptian influence. It is quite possible, however, that there may have been a remote and indirect Egyptian influence operating through Phœnicia. Respecting the early migrations of the Phœnicians and their contact with Lower Egypt, consult Professor Fritz Hommel's *Semiten*, p. 125. Compare also Pietschmann's instructive pages (pp. 270-277).

A very useful Appendix on the Canaanitish cults that were prevalent in Israel concludes the second volume. The list, however, is incomplete. Some reference to 'Ashtar-Cemôsh of the Moabite stone, to Hadad-Rimmon (Zech. xii. 11), and to the Shêdim and Lilith of popular beliefs, should be included in the survey. Did not the Hebrews recognise a male *Asher* similar in character to *Gad*? Respecting *Asherah* (see Vol. ii. p. 19 *fol.*) we do not consider that the sceptical attitude of the writer in presence of the testimony of the *Abd-Ašratum* of the Tell el Amarna tablet, ought to be maintained (p. 307, footnote 2). Among the authorities to which reference is made we are surprised to find no place given to such worthy contributions as Sayce's Hibbert Lectures, and Bâthgen's *Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*.

But enough and more than enough of criticism upon small details in a massive work of enormous erudition based upon the most accurate exegetical scholarship and the very best results of critical and historical investigation. Nowack's treatise is and will remain the greatest and best text-book on Hebrew Archaeology.

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Personality, Human and Divine.

Being the Bampton Lectures for the Year 1894. By J. R. Illingworth, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xvi. 274. Price, 8s. 6d. nett.

ALTHOUGH an author is, in many points of view, undoubtedly the best judge of his own work, Mr Illingworth will, perhaps, permit one, at the outset, to take some exception to the too depreciatory statement made in his Preface. "The following Lectures," he says, "make no claim to originality; they are simply an attempt to arrange and summarise what has already been expressed with greater amplitude and fuller authority elsewhere, in the hope of attracting some, whose leisure in these eager days may be limited, to reconsider the important question with which they deal" (p. vii.). It may be said at once that, if Mr Illingworth has his due, this book will attract the attention he desiderates. But, for this very reason, the disclaimer about originality needs interpretation. While it is true that the Bampton Lecturer adds little or nothing to what has already been said by idealists of the Green school, to which he apparently affiliates himself, it is also true that his presentation of the subject under discussion, taken as a whole, is fresh and highly instructive. The importance of plan and method in approaching matters so vital, and so keenly debated, has been fully realised, and the result is as clear and, to some minds, probably as convincing a statement as could be framed. The value of the work centres most of all in its scheme, and this may be taken as an original contribution to the debate. It has the great merit of focussing the points at issue, of fairly presenting the basal conceptions, and of carrying out a constructive and consecutive argument from philosophical premises and from historical observation.

So far as this systematic procedure is concerned, the eight Lectures divide themselves naturally into *five* portions. The *first* contains an account of the gradual growth of man's recognition of his own personality, and furnishes a somewhat exhaustive analysis of the elements constitutive of this very complex conception. Still following what may be called an anthropological method, the *second* traces the evolution of the idea of God's personality to its culmination in the doctrine of the Trinity, and thereafter proceeds to disengage the contents of the idea mainly by consideration of the "proofs" of the being of God. These two sections supply the groundwork of the entire argument, and, as is fitting, one half of the work (Lectures i.-iv.) is devoted to them. In the *third* part, the conceptions of human and divine personality are brought into explicit relation to one another, with the object of showing that knowledge of Deity is conditioned by the possibility

of moral intercourse. That is to say, God and man can hold communion only on condition—if *condition* it be—that both are persons. *Fourthly*, and coming now to the more specifically synthetic or constructive portion of the argument, on the basis of the notion that Deity is personal man inevitably raises the expectation of a revelation. "It is natural that, in proportion to the strength of our belief in a Personal God, we should expect that He would reveal Himself to man; not merely to a favoured few, but to the human race as such. For the desire of self-communication is, as we have seen, an essential function of our own personality; it is part of what we mean by the word; and we cannot conceive a person freely creating persons, except with a view to hold intercourse with them when created" (p. 138). Signs of this expectation are next sought (*a*) in the earliest religious manifestations, which are mainly "prehistoric," and (*b*) in the great pre-Christian religions. Occasion is taken to point out that, in both cases, the Theist has a title to approach the records of the past from a certain point of view. "The Theist, then, is entitled to approach religious history with an initial presumption, provided that he do so with care. He believes in a Personal God, and the need of self-communication is part of what he means by personality. He believes that persons were created that God might hold intercourse with them and they with Him; prayer and its answer being two sides of one spiritual fact. Consequently, he expects to find religion universal from the time that man first was man; and assumes that wherever its human manifestations occur, their divine counterpart must have been present also. This belief does not rest upon history, but upon his analysis of his own personality and religious experience; and he brings it with him, not as a disguised induction, but as an antecedent expectation, to the study of historical facts" (pp. 142-3). The difficulties which this conviction has to encounter in the most primitive religious forms are argued with admirable skill in the sixth Lecture, while the cumulative evidence for revelation is pressed with learning and dignity in the seventh. In the *fifth* and concluding section of the demonstration, it is maintained that the long expectation of mankind, the origins and gradual crystallisation of which have been traced, found final satisfaction in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. The essence of personality as a trinity in unity, the nature of God which personality demands, and the entire course of history from which the elements of the relation between human and divine personality may be gathered, are conjointly adduced as "invincibly strong *a posteriori* evidence of this stupendous event." The author's sobriety, yet warm sincerity, are striking characteristics of the final discourse. What we would submit is, that this method of pre-

senting the argument has all the merits of originality, that it is carried out with a learning and good sense which go far to heighten its persuasive effect, and that, within certain limits, it is hard to deny the cogency of the demonstration. The book will unquestionably add to the reputation of one of the most distinguished of the *Lux Mundi* group.

The historical purpose to which Mr Illingworth has confined himself (*cf.* Preface and page 9), though probably that most suited to his argument and to his occasion, precludes detailed consideration of several important points. The ontological aspect of personality which, after all, is the fundamental one, has been too little emphasised, and at the present juncture, especially in a work likely to be widely read, this is to be regretted. It has recently been held, with extraordinary acuteness, that personality is nothing but an "appearance," a limitation, and cannot therefore be regarded as fundamental either in application to God or to man. It has been urged that those "who insist on what they call 'the personality of God,' are intellectually dishonest. They desire one conclusion, and, to reach it, they argue for another. . . . The Deity, which they want, is of course finite, a person much like themselves, with thoughts and feelings limited and mutable in the process of time." Mr Illingworth's restriction of his outlook mainly to history appears to have precluded him from meeting such contentions. The chief omission from his otherwise admirably planned scheme lies here. The analysis of the basal conception might have been more exhaustive, more distinctly speculative. Of course Mr Illingworth may reply, with perfect justification—first, that he had no such intention; and, second, that within the limits of Christian theology this inquiry was unnecessary. Nevertheless, without any desire to find fault, I think that the general cogency of his argument—and it is cogent—would have found extended application, and would have acquired even further intensity, had he introduced these considerations specifically. Complete as it is, his presentation of the evidence for human and divine personality yet leaves us with a certain sense of helplessness and passive wonder in face of the doctrines that "the self is no doubt the highest form of experience which we have, but, for all that, it is not a true form," or that "whether personality in some eviscerated remnant of sense can be applied to the Absolute is a question intellectually unimportant and practically trifling."

At the same time, the general line—psychological so far as concerns analysis—adopted by the Bampton Lecturer suggests the answer to these ontological problems. A purely intellectual treatment of the universe, such as critical metaphysic gives, so transforms everything we once knew for truth that nothing seems to be any longer

certain ; and this perplexity remains, even if our metaphysic conclude with the allegation that all reality is spiritual. So we are left with a notion that religion must somehow supplement morality, but with only the vaguest conception of the object of religion. At this juncture we have no resource but to turn to personality—the ideal unity of the reasonable for a reasonable being—and accept the terms which it dictates. What, then, are these? Personality conditions expectation, or the power of projection into a more really true world than that now realised. It also conditions the forces by whose operation the interval between grasp and reach is diminished. And, more characteristically than either, it conditions the construction of this better world ; that is, it is the source of the faith that plans the content of the ideal and mirrors it as realisable in some sense. Now, all this is neither more nor less than another way of saying that personality, so far from being an illusion, rather furnishes the very ground of our judgment of reality, and so far from being limited, rather affords the sole standard whereby a being, constituted like man, can in any degree measure infinity. The criticism which reduces personality to illusion insists that what appears in a setting of relations must be finite, but it forgets that, so far as we can know, the emptiness or fulness of appearances must be determined by personality, and that, accordingly, any judgment of finitude or illusion cannot but be according to a standard of infinity or reality which personality itself supplies.

There is a large infusion of faith in this. The person cannot prove his own infinity, except by being himself, nor can he defend the reality of his ideal world, except by striving to actualise it. Thus faith is of the web of fact for him, because these two vocations—the one practical, the other theoretical—complete his organic activity. Personality, viewed as the principle of connection between the two, acts upon faith, in the sense that, although it is possible to cast doubt upon the finality of the separate parts which are day by day brought piecemeal, as it were, from out the ideal, yet belief in the ultimate reality of the ideal itself cannot be shaken. Personality finds its most eminent exhibition in that faith in an ideal order which is the motive force at once of the extension of knowledge, of progress in morality, and of the deepening of the need for worship. In this way it points also to the one means whereby we can commune with God, and presents the sole analogue under which a being such as Deity can be worthily conceived. History may be a witness to this, or it may not. The truth remains that personality is individual, or complete as man can know completeness, because it can neither be described nor defined ; and that it is unique, because in its self-developing activity it reads itself into everything. Hence the analytic of personality would tend to show that it is no true

limitation, but rather that it affords the single way of escape from limitation. Thought without a thinker is impossible, and reality without a person who adjudges it is unmeaning. So reality—the true, like God—the morally whole, is bound up with personality. We ascribe personality to God for reasons identical with those which lead us to condemn a friend's faithlessness as we never do the fall of a chimney-can. There is a shattering of ideals in the one case that has no place in the other. Faith conditions resentment. And in this faith, by which we live from dark to dawn in our changing sphere, we project ourselves into another realm where is no darkness, and where One abides in whom faith ever must have been sight. Thus our ideals speak to us with authority. Our imperfect system, which we call experience, is yet a system, and derives its systematic nature from a perfect whole that we see in part. The former we rule, because we are persons; the latter, we are led to conclude, God informs; both we regard as one in principle. So, the more we lay hold upon our own personality and glean its meaning, the more completely we find ourselves constrained to believe in the personality of God. Mr Illingworth's discussion involves these premises, but, in some of the aspects just noted, he does not explicitly state them. They may, however, be gathered by the way (*cf.* pp. 24, 82, 90, 101, 122, 190, 208). It would have stiffened his contention had he included some such theoretical analysis. He would have vindicated more thoroughly the view which he calls Theistic, and would accordingly have been in a better position to use it as an instrument for interpretation of historical evolution.

One can so unreservedly agree with this work that one is jealous of it, not for critical, but for constructive purposes. And if, at the outset, there be some uncertainty about the basis on which the absoluteness of personality in human experience is to be set, there is no want of crisp statement at the close. "No positive hypothesis can be offered as a substitute for a personal God which is not either an abstraction from personality, and therefore demonstrably unreal, or an abstraction inconsistently personified, and therefore demonstrably untrue" (p. 209). This explicitly states the truth for which we have been contending. Man as man is at once confined within personality, and is free in it alone—for nothing else within his experience voids its own limits and thus directly reveals that which possesses the principle of infinity, as well as foreshadows God Himself.

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Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien.

Zweites Heft. Paralleltexte zu Matthæus und Marcus gesammelt und untersucht von Alfred Resch. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 456. 1894. Price, M. 14.50.

THIS is the third volume which Dr Resch has contributed to that remarkably erudite series of works, edited by Drs von Gebhardt and Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*. There are other volumes by our author still to follow; and the whole will constitute one stupendous undertaking, to make from ante-Nicene literature an exhaustive collection and incisive comparison of the citations of the sayings of the Lord Jesus. The first volume, entitled "*Agrapha*," contains on a scale altogether unprecedented an examination of those utterances which, in the writings of the Primitive Church, are ascribed to Jesus; but which are *not* found in the canonical Gospels. The third volume (the one before us) takes up, in order, more than two hundred passages in Matthew and Mark; in each case exhibits in full the "extra-canonical parallel texts" gathered from early church literature; and offers remarks, sometimes lengthy and very valuable, on the points of divergence between the canonical and extra-canonical readings. The second volume, which was reviewed by the present writer in the *Critical Review* for January 1893, is really an introduction to the one before us, and to its companion volume on Luke and John, which is to appear shortly. Dr Resch claims for himself in the treatise before us (page 435), that what Tischendorf specified in 1842 as one great desideratum of New Testament criticism—namely, "the exploration and employment of patristic literature—has, through the present work, received its fulfilment with a completeness hitherto unknown"; and every one who realises the amount of research, at once comprehensive and microscopic, which the production of this volume has involved, will readily concede that the author's claim is in the last degree a modest one. Whatever estimate may be formed as to the value of Dr Resch's comments and favourite theories as they are appended to each group of parallel passages, there can but be one opinion among scholars of all persuasions, that in the collection and clear exhibition of the parallel texts, Dr Resch has rendered a service to scholarship which is simply invaluable.

Though, as we have said, the second volume was designed to be preparatory to the present one, Dr Resch has still found it necessary to devote some fifty pages to matters of introduction. The first two sections of introductory material are devoted to the earliest attesta-

tion to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark in the writings of the Fathers; both sections are very exhaustive, but do not call for special comment. The third section treats of "the composition of the εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον." Resch is so far a follower of Weiss as to believe that Mark drew largely on a Semitic primitive Gospel translated into Greek, but there are some points on which the two scholars differ. Resch maintains strongly that this Urevangelium was written in Hebrew; Weiss (as also Nestle) inclines to Aramaic. Resch finds indications of the pre-canonical Gospel throughout the whole of Mark; Weiss maintains that it did not contain the narrative of the Passion and the Crucifixion. From the Matthaean Urevangelium, the Gospel of Mark was evolved by the following process:—(1) Omission of sundry parts—especially of the *sayings* of our Lord; (2) amplification of some passages with historic details; (3) change of form of some of the sayings of Christ; (4) rearrangement of the material as to the sequence of events. This, our author contends, is precisely in accord with the testimony of the presbyter John as preserved by Papias, assuming that it is the pre-canonical Gospel that was in the presbyter's possession. The next introductory section is devoted to "the composition of the εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον," which, in our author's judgment, is built up of *five* component parts. (1) A pre-canonical source for chapters i. and ii.—a Greek document, translated from a Hebrew original. (2) The canonical Mark, which, speaking generally, is taken over into our first Gospel. (3) The *Urevangelium*, from which the author derives the Discourses of our Lord, which it did not fall in with Mark's design to appropriate, though he used the same "source." The chief argument on which Resch relies in support of (2) and (3) is the existence of Doublets (14 in all), *i.e.*, the occurrence twice over of the same "saying" on different occasions; one drawn from Mark, and the other direct from the *Logia*. (4) Bits of tradition as to the events of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, somewhat related to those recorded in the Gospel of Peter, as *e.g.*, xxvii. 3-10, 52-3, 62-6; xxviii. 9-15. (5) The work of a Redactor, to whom we are indebted for the insertion of twelve quotations from the Old Testament. "The hand of the redactor shows itself (*a*) in the fact that in Mark and Luke no trace of these citations is found; (*b*) in the independence which the evangelist [*?* redactor] handles the Hebrew original; and (*c*) in the precise sameness with which these quotations are introduced." In almost every case we have ἵνα (ὅπως) πληρωθῇ τὸ ρηθέν. Our author next devotes a few pages to the gospel-fragment from Fajjum, and gives a reconstructed text which seems in some respects an improvement on any hitherto suggested. Then follows a really admirable essay on the recently discovered fragment of the *Gospel of Peter*. The evidence for its

existence in the early church ; the allusions to Docetism in 1 John, Clemens Al., Ignatius, &c. ; and the Elements of Docetism in the Petrine fragment, are displayed with a thoroughness perhaps hitherto unequalled. One may reasonably demur, however, to the inclusion of the clause *Ποτίσατε αὐτὸν χολήν μετ' ὄξους* among the indications of Docetic colouring, merely on the ground of this phrase being found in the Docetic writing, *Περίοδοι τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων*. As a matter of fact, the use of "vinegar" for "wine" is found in patristic writings that are quite free from Docetism, and is by no means unusual, as Dr Swete has shown (the Akhmîm fragment, p. 8). A brief section giving a cursory glance at theories which differ somewhat from those of our author (including the Aramaic theory of the present writer) brings the learned introduction to a close.

The body of the work is, as we have said, taken up with the citation of passages, parallel to those found in Matthew and Mark, from early Church Literature, including the Apostolic Fathers, the Apocryphal Gospels and Acts, and patristic literature generally, down to the end of the third century : and the object which Dr Resch keeps steadily in view throughout the work, in the comments which he appends to the lists of parallel passages, is this—to show that the citations were in most cases made, not from our canonical gospels, but from the pre-canonical Gospel—from one or other of several Greek translations of the primitive *Hebrew* gospel. This document was composed within twenty years of the death of Christ, was in the hands of Paul (either in the original Hebrew, or a Greek translation) before the composition of his first epistle, and is identical with the *Logia* of Matthew mentioned by Papias and others. The so-called *Logia* was, however, in our author's esteem, far from being a collection of "Utterances" of Christ. It contained a large amount of History, and included the account of the Crucifixion. There are many points of affinity between this part of Dr Resch's work and the theory of a primitive Aramaic Gospel, as advocated by me in the *Expositor* and elsewhere. But there are also several points of divergence between us. (1) I have not yet seen sufficient evidence to suppose that the *Logia* contained the account of the Crucifixion and Resurrection. Dr B. Weiss, by an entirely different line of proof, has come to the same conclusion. (2) I seriously question whether Greek translations of the *Logia*, other than what are embedded in the Synoptic Gospels, circulated in the Churches with the freedom Dr Resch presupposes. (3) I hold that the primitive Gospel was composed in Aramaic and *not* Hebrew. Dr Resch does not seem quite so confident on this point as he was two years ago. In the Introduction, which bears evidence of having been written after the body of the work, our

author says (p. 49): "The theory of a Hebrew as distinct from an Aramaic 'Source' seems to have met with much opposition. Yet this question is of subordinate importance, if one will concede a *Semitic* source. And if, through further investigations, the Aramaic should gain the victory over the Hebrew as represented by me, yet I should be content with the consciousness of having brought the question under notice, and nearer to a decision." Then on the following page Dr Resch magnanimously says, with regard to myself, that he hopes I shall not desist from my investigations, but in a new manner undertake them afresh: and he would welcome it with joy if some German scholars would devote themselves to this important subject. As regards myself, I take the opportunity here of assuring Dr Resch and others that nothing is further from my intentions than to desist from my investigations. My silence recently on the subject is due simply to the fact that I have undertaken the study of all the Aramaic portions of the Jerusalem Talmud. (4) My principal point of divergence from Dr Resch is as to his method of proof. I cannot concede that his arguments amount to a demonstration. He depends exclusively on the occurrence of synonymous words in the canonical and extra-canonical texts, and from these he infers that the synonymous indicate translation from a common source, and that source Hebrew. *E.g.* Because in Matt. vii. 6 instead of the verb *ῥηγγύναι*, Theodoret uses *ρίπτειν*, our author infers that the Greek text in possession of the two has been translated from a Hebrew text which contained the word *רָחַץ*. Similarly we are assured that *πέπρακεν* in Matt. xiii. 46 alongside *ἐπώλησεν* in Cod. D proves an original *כָּרַח*; that *βλέπουσιν* in Matt. xviii. 10 = *θεωροῦντες* in the Clementine Homilies = *δρῶντας* in Clem. Al. proves the existence of an original Hebrew text containing *רָאָה*; that in Matt. xxv. 41 the presence of *πορεύεσθε*, alongside *ὑπάγετε* in Hippolytus and Justin is traceable to an original *כָּבִד*. I venture to think that this kind of evidence, taken alone, *proves nothing at all*; but I have delivered myself at some length on the matter in reviewing the previous volume in the *Critical Review* for January 1893, and therefore forbear to make any further allusion to it.

In the review just mentioned, reference was made to Dr Resch's *criteria* for determining the original evangelic text. With him antiquity of authorship is everything. A neutral text he never so much as mentions. BCN being all post-Nicene productions, are with him of no more value than any other contemporaneous writings. It is the coincidence of Syr-Cu, Vetus Itala, the Diatessaron, and Codex Bezae which, in his regard, fixes the original text infallibly. It can hardly fail to be of interest to New Testament

scholars who have supposed that the Revised Text was as near an approximation to the autographic text as we are likely to possess for a generation, to see what results are arrived at by the application of these principles. We need scarcely refer to cases in which Resch prefers what Westcott and Hort would regard as an inferior reading, adopting it because it has the support of D and Syr-Cu. We will confine ourselves to instances where Resch *adopts readings which have no support whatever in Greek uncial MSS.*, solely on the ground of patristic evidence.

In Matt. v. 17 he reads οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι on the authority of *Didascalia*, *Constitutions*, Eusebius, Macarius, Clem. Al., and Epiphanius. In Matt. x. 17 he adopts the reading of Ignatius: "Be thou wise as the serpent ἐν πάσιν, and harmless εἰς αἰεί as the dove." In Matt. xi. 29: "I am meek and lowly of heart," Ephr. Syr. and Hermas add a third adjective ἡσύχιος="at rest." Resch adopts this, and then maintains that the words were originally spoken to the weary disciples on their return from their first mission. In Matt. xv. 22, on the authority of Clementine Homilies, he would insert into the text the name of the Syrophenician woman, Justa. In Mark iv. 35, on the same authority, he would read τὰ μυστήρια for πάντα in the words, "He explained *all things* to his disciples privately." As to Matt. xvi. 27, "He shall render unto every man according to his deeds," several of the writings of the early Church, *Acts of Thomas Constitutions*, Hegesippus, Epiphanius, quote, in conjunction with this passage, the words ὁ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν. *Ergo*, they belong to the original text. In Matt. xxvi. 13 the coincidence of Ephraim, the Diatessaron, and Syr., in giving "wherever *my* gospel is preached," is deemed to prove beyond doubt that "my" belongs to the original text. And similarly in Matt. xxvii. 25, the coincidence of Tertullian, Ps-Petrus, and Testament of xii. patriarchs in reading ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἡμῶν, or its equivalent, in preference to ἐφ' ἡμᾶς is deemed sufficient evidence for the originality of the former.

There are other instances in which patristic evidence induces our author to regard *readings extant in all Greek uncials as lacking in originality*, and the insertion of a later redactor. The first case of this sort which we would cite is Matt. xvi. 18: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." Here Dr Resch smartly cuts in twain the Gordian knot which generations of theologians have striven to untie, by boldly asserting that the words σὺ εἶ Πέτρος and ταύτη are of late insertion. The reasons assigned for this are as follows:—(a) Paul cannot have known of the prerogative thus assigned to Peter, or he would never have spoken of him as "seeming to be a pillar," or "withstood him to the face."

(b) In the entire literature of the second century, the verse, as we have it, is never once quoted. The *argumentum e silentio* is confessedly precarious, but that Justin and the Clementines should nowhere cite a passage so laudatory of Peter is remarkable. (c) The oldest witnesses for the ordinary text are Tertullian and Origen. In the same connection Resch maintains with far less show of evidence that "the word as to the Keys of the Kingdom was originally directed to the Apostles collectively." Our author also contends that Matt. xviii. 17, "If he refuse to hear them, tell it to the Church: and if he refuse to hear the Church, let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican," is not a genuine saying of Christ, but of late insertion. The reasons assigned are, (a) that nowhere in early literature is a *triple* effort at reconciliation alluded to; first, privately, secondly, before one or two witnesses, thirdly, before the Church. Two *νοθεσίαι* are often mentioned, but never the third. (b) The *τελῶναι* and the *ἔθνη* are never elsewhere spoken of by our Lord with such disparagement.

Dr Resch's criticism of Matthew's account of the eschatological Discourse in chapter xxiv. may now receive brief mention. He notes that Matthew makes no reference to "the Man of Sin," "the Antichrist," but the malefic portents, and the dire deception which 2 Thess. ii., the Didaché, the Constitutions, Origen, &c., ascribe to one arch-deceiver, Matt. xxiv. 24 ascribes to many *ψευδόχριστοι* and *ψευδοπροφήται*. The conclusion which our author draws is that 2 Thess. ii. &c. correctly represents the primitive gospel, as does also Apoc. xi. sqq., but that the author of the first canonical gospel "generalises," changing the singular into a plural (page 291). The same disposition led him to speak of *two* blind men in chapter ix. 28 (peculiar to Matt.) whereas Aphraates only speaks of *one*; of *two* demoniacs, viii. 28; of *two* blind men, xx. 30; and of *two* asses, xxi. 2, where the other Synoptists do but speak of *one*.

A very important and valuable part of Dr Resch's work consists in the connection he traces between Paul and the Synoptic Gospels. There is a general agreement amongst scholars that our canonical gospels were written *after* Paul's Epistles, and that consequently Paul was not much indebted to the Sayings of Jesus; indeed, several German scholars have maintained that in some cases the originality lies with Paul, and that the Gospels are "coloured" from Paul's writings. Dr Resch admits the late origin of our present Gospels, but contends that there was a pre-canonical Gospel, translated into Greek, and that of this Paul was a diligent student. (This position was maintained by me in a fugitive paper in the *Expositor* for July 1890.) We will now place some of the cases before the reader in which Resch claims that Paul manifests acquaintance with Christ's sayings, and leave him to judge of their

cogeny. In Matt. xi. 29, "I am meek and lowly of heart," having settled from Hermas that there were originally *three* adjectives here (see above), Resch finds confirmation of this in 2 Cor. x. 1, *πραΐτητος καὶ ἐπεικείας ὅς . . . ταπεινός*; as well as in James iii. 17, *εἰρηνική, ἐπεικής, εὐπειθής*. In Mark iv. 27 (. . .), Resch questions whether Mark has preserved the correct form of the Logion ("So is the Kingdom of God as a man who cast seed on the earth and sleeps and rises night and day"). It is highly probable, we are told, that the original words were "The Kingdom of God is as seed which a man cast on the earth, and it sleeps (*i.e.* decays) and rises, and grows night and day." So modified it is equivalent to, if not identical with, John xii. 24, and is the source of 1 Cor. xv. 36, "That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die." Much more self-evident is the derivation of *θησαυροὶ ἀπόκρυφοι* in Col. ii. 3 from the *θησαυρὸς ἀποκεκρυμμένος ἐν τῷ ἄγρῳ* of Matt. xiii. 44, and of Titus i. 15 from Matt. xv. 18 = Mark vii. 20. Dr Resch is also of opinion that the long list of vices in Mark vii. 21 is the source of the similar lists in Gal. v. 21, Eph. v. 5, and 1 Cor. vi. 9, especially as in connection with each one of these lists we have the synoptic phrase, "inheriting the Kingdom of God." He also traces Paul's words (Rom. i. 16) "to the Jew *first*," to Christ's saying, "Let the children *first* be filled," and with much more probability, he recognises in Gal. i. 16, "When it pleased God . . . to reveal his Son in me . . . I conferred not with flesh and blood," an echo of Matt. xvi. 11, "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven." The reference in 2 Cor. x. 8, *ἐξουσία εἰς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ εἰς καθαίρεσιν* to Matt. xvi. 19, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, &c.," is indisputable, and almost equally probable is the connection between Mark ix. 49, "Every one is salted by fire," and 1 Cor. iii. 13, "The fire shall prove every man's work." Dr Resch occupies firm ground in maintaining that Paul's words "Ye being gathered together in the name of the Lord Jesus . . . with the power of the Lord Jesus" (1 Cor. v. 4) reveal a familiarity with Christ's promise, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in their midst" (Matt. xviii. 20); and equally so when he insists that Paul's injunction forbidding divorce, 1 Cor. vii. 10, is based on Matt. xix. 6. But it can only injure a good cause to maintain that the phrase Gal. vi. 17, *κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω* shows Paul's acquaintance with Matt. xx. 13, where Syr. Cur. reads: "Friend, do not trouble me," which in Baethgen's reconstructed text is *ἐταίρε, μὴ μοι κόπους παρέχε*. Of quite another character is the evidence given for Paul's familiarity with Christ's eschatological Discourse in Matt. xxiv. 30, 31. The reappearance of Christ, the accompaniment of the angels, the sound of the trumpet, the

gathering of the elect, all find repeated mention in Paul's writings, especially in 1 Cor. xv. and 1 Thess. iv.

I have left myself too little space to dwell at length on what is perhaps the most valuable piece of work in the whole volume. I refer to Dr Resch's treatment of the trinitarian baptismal formula in Matthew xxviii. 19: "Baptising them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." It seems to be regarded as an axiom in some theological circles that these cannot be the literal words of the Lord Jesus, but are "a comparatively late product of the dogmatic development of the Church." In rebutting this position, Dr Resch gives us fourteen pages of quotations from very early Christian literature, orthodox and heretical, showing the universal use of this formula. The arguments which our author then adduces in favour of the genuineness of the Logion are in brief these: (1) In the ministry of John the Baptist the trinitarian conception is discernible. "God (ὁ θεός) is able from these stones," &c. "He that cometh after me is mightier than I." "He shall baptise you in the Holy Spirit." (2) The trinitarian parallels in Apostolic writings. The examination of these is reserved for a prospective work, *Canonische Evangelienparallelen in den apostolischen Lehrschriften*. (3) Quotations from the oldest patristic literature, beginning with Clement of Rome, who has three palpably trinitarian passages, of which one is, "We have one God and one Christ and one Spirit of Grace who was shed upon us." Ignatius has four passages equally explicit. Then comes the *Didaché*, which gives us the earliest citation of the baptismal formula outside the Canon, "Baptise ye into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, in running water (ἐν ῥέματι ζῶντι)." Aristides and Justin are then quoted, and many others. Dr Resch is particularly impressed by the unique formula contained in the *Constitutions*, v. 7—

λαβόντες ἐντολὴν . . . βαπτίσαι
εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον
ἐπὶ αὐθεντία τοῦ θεοῦ ὅταν ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ πατήρ
καὶ μαρτυρία πνεύματος, ὅς ἐστι παράκλητος.

Our author is of opinion that the words εἰς τὸν τοῦ κυρίου θάνατον go back to an utterance of Jesus Himself. (4) The most striking proof of the veritable authenticity of the words is the prevalence of the trinitarian baptismal formula amongst all heretical sects—even amongst sects whose tenets were not in accord with its implied teaching. This, Dr Resch rightly thinks, shows *am allerfrappantesten* how deeply the trinitarian confession of faith is rooted in primitive Christianity. For example, among the Jewish Christians, where a unitarian rather than a trinitarian conception of God is

discernible, as in the so-called Clementine Homilies, the trinitarian baptismal formula nevertheless was in constant use. The tendency of doctrine among them was foreign, nay hostile, to Trinitarianism, but the "trina invocatio" was too venerable to be dispensed with. Similarly, in the Gnostic systems, the Triad of Matthew xxviii. 19 plays an important part; and even the perverse Gnostics used the trinitarian baptismal formula for their sacrament of initiation, "manifestly only in order that they might not altogether lose connection with the common consciousness of the Church and the right to the Christian name." Monarchianism, Montanism, Manichæism, however hostile they were to the trinitarian conception of God, never repudiated the baptismal formula; and this could only be because it had existed from the beginning. No one could assign a moment in the development of the Church when this tradition did not exist. It was the bond of union between all who claimed the Christian name; the one thing which, amid a thousand divergences of creed and practice, never changed; the one thing *common* among all so-called Christians, orthodox and heretics alike.

Having passed the work thoroughly in review, it will be seen that it has its strong points as well as its weaker ones. Notwithstanding one or two very precarious theories, of constant recurrence, and some doubtful arguments, it is a book which will long be indispensable to the student of Textual Criticism and Ecclesiastical History.

J. T. MARSHALL

Lectures on Human and Animal Psychology.

By Wilhelm Wundt. Translated from the second German edition by J. E. Creighton and E. B. Titchener. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. x. 434. Price, 15s.

THE appearance of an English translation of Wundt's "Lectures on Psychology" may be read both as a sign and as a result of the increased attention which, of late years, has been given to psychological enquiry. In our own country and in America, there has been a most strenuous attempt to define the sphere of psychology, and to solve its problems. We need refer only to such works as those of Professors James, Ladd, and Bowne, published in America; to the works of Sully, Bain, and Ward, at home; and to the numerous articles in *Mind*, and in the various publications of societies, to show that psychology was never more keenly studied than at the present moment. Without further reference to psychological study as a whole, let us look at Wundt's book, for it is a book with which we have to reckon.

Wundt's aim is to derive every mental process from some other mental process ; to derive the most complex from the less complex, and the less complex from the simpler, and to discover the mental laws of this interconnection. He starts with the simplest elements of mental life, and from these he seeks to build up the whole structure. It may be, in fact, Wundt thinks, that the simplest elements are themselves complex, and that sensations are really compounds built up out of unconscious elements. These, however, so far, elude analysis, and he begins with sensations which manifest themselves in consciousness. The first step is the explanation and defence of Weber's law as modified and extended by Fechner, and this may be regarded as the basis of Wundt's psychological theory. Having shown Weber's law, as he contends, "to be a mathematical expression of the principle of relativity of mental states," he proceeds to refer the "ideational connection in sense perception and spatial connection of memorial images" (in other words, space and time) "to the laws of association." The laws of association are connection by likeness and connection by contiguity, and by the application of these two principles Wundt says he has built up out of sensation the various processes and products of our mental life. The feelings, too, take their place, under the guidance of the same laws, "as terms in a developmental series, extending from the simplest forms of impulse to the most complicated expressions of self-initiated, voluntary activity." Thus Wundt claims to explain the process by which thoughts, feelings, volitions, in their most complex and highly-developed articulation, have been built up out of simple sensations.

As we read these thirty lectures, and turn from problem to problem, each of which has occupied the thought of successive generations of thinkers, we are struck with the seeming simplicity of each problem as stated by Wundt, and the fascinating ease with which the solution is set forth. It was a difficulty with many thinkers to conceive of the connection between physical processes in the brain and mental processes. How is this to be expressed? The answer of Wundt is easy if only we can understand it. "The connection can only be regarded as a *parallelism* of two causal series existing side by side, but never directly interfering with each other in virtue of the incomparability of their terms." The two processes are somehow co-ordinated with one another, but we are not to think, says our author, of the one as the cause of the other. Thus we are left by Wundt in the presence of a hopeless dualism.

Again, some philosophers have stated that it is hopeless to conceive of a mental life without a subject whose life and experience it is. We have strong statements to this effect from the Hegelians ; and others than Hegelians have seen that without reference to a

self experience is not possible. We are familiar with the phrase "self-consciousness is the highest category," and it is really difficult to see how we are to get on without it in our psychological enquiries. We are familiar, also, with the attempts which have been made in order to explain the genesis of a "self," and to show how this illusion has grown up. But every such attempt is wrecked on the fact that we cannot even state a possible process without presupposing the activity of the self, and the reference to the self, the existence of which we profess to explain. In this respect Wundt is no more successful than some of our English psychologists have been. Some of his statements are indeed amusing. "The self," he tells us, "is nothing more than the way in which ideas and other mental states are connected together, since, further, the manner of this connection at any particular moment is conditioned by preceding mental events, we tend to include under the term 'self' the whole circle of effects which have their causes in former experiences. The 'self' is regarded as a total force, which determines particular events as they happen, unless, of course, they are occasioned by the action of external impressions, or of those internal processes which we experience just as passively as we do the external. And, since the principal effect of the preconditions of consciousness is the determination of the appearance and degree of clearness of ideas, we further bring the 'self' into the very closest connection with the process of apperception. The self is the subject which we supply for the apperceptive activity," pp. 230-31. "The self is nothing more than the way in which ideas and other mental processes are connected together." There is, at least, this more, that we are aware of the fact that our mental processes hold together. The process is aware of itself as a process. We notice, also, that in the foregoing quotation, the word "we" is used more than once. What is the "we" in the sentence "the self is the subject which we supply for the apperceptive activity?" Wundt seems to restore by the use of "we" those characteristics which he denies to the "self."

Something ought to be said on Weber's law, but instead of criticising the law and the use of it made by Wundt, we shall give the estimate of it formed by Professors Bowne and James. Professor Bowne says:—"Fechner's formula taken absolutely leads to psychological nonsense. Mathematically expressed it would read— $S = K \log E$ when k is a constant and E is the stimulus. Hence for $E = 1$ we should have $S = K \log E = 0$ and for $E < 1$ we should have $S =$ a minus quantity; and finally, for $E = 0$ we should have $S = -\infty$. That is, for the unit of sensation we should have no sensation; for anything less than this we should have negative sensations; and finally, for zero stimulus we should have an infinite negative sensation. That is, in the name of a mathematical formula psychology

is weighed down with a meaningless absurdity.”—"Bowne's Introduction to Psychological Theory," New York, pp. 52-3. Professor James having shown that Weber's law is probably purely physiological, thus proceeds—"It is surely in some such way as this that Weber's law ought to be interpreted, if it ever is. The Fechnerian *Maasformel* and the conception of it as an ultimate 'psychophysical law' will remain 'an idol of the den,' if ever there was one. Fechner himself indeed was a German *Gelehrter* of the ideal type, at once simple and shrewd, a mystic and an experimentalist, homely and daring, and as loyal to facts as to his theories. But it would be terrible if even such a dear old man as this could saddle our science for ever with his patient whimsies, and, in a world so full of more nutritious objects of attention, compel all future students to plough through the difficulties not only of his own works, but of the still drier ones written in his refutation. Those who desire this dreadful literature can find it; it has a 'disciplinary value,' but I will not even enumerate it in a footnote. The only amusing part of it is that Fechner's critics should always feel bound, after smiting his theories hip and thigh, and leaving not a stick of them standing, to wind up by saying that nevertheless to him belongs the *imperishable glory* of first formulating them, and thereby turning psychology into an exact science."—*The Principles of Psychology*, by William James, Vol. I. p. 549.

JAMES IVERACH.

The Theory of Inference.

By the Rev. Henry Hughes, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 8vo, pp. 256. Price, 10s. 6d.

MR HUGHES has already written two volumes on "Natural and Supernatural Morals," which have been received with favour and approval. In pursuing his investigations into religion and morals, and into Nature and the supernatural, Mr Hughes has been led to think of the "theory of inference" as it has been expounded by writers on logical method. He has come to the conclusion that this "exposition has grave defects." He has written this volume to set forth these defects, and to show what the true theory of inference is. In addition to what is known as the methods of Induction and Deduction, he proposes the method which he calls "delation and illation." As the former method proceeds on the principle of the uniformity of nature, the latter proceeds on the principle of the continuity of nature. The former deals mainly with nature, the latter with history. "Delation is a recognition of the fact that there is continuity in nature. It consists in

arriving at knowledge of an event by means of the consideration that it must, in respect of the time and manner of its experience, maintain the traditions of past experience." Illation is the discovery of a cause or an effect by means of associating with the phenomenon a number of other facts, and formulating some event which explains them all in congruity with past experience.

We have read the book with care, and are persuaded that Mr Hughes has so far made good his case. He has succeeded in pointing out a grave defect in logical method. His criticism of John Stuart Mill's logic, and specially of the Mills' "four methods," is unanswerable. But we are not sure that his own method is good, or that he has been able to remove the defect he has pointed out. We are not sure that his distinction between the "uniformity of nature" and "continuity in nature" can be maintained. Is it possible to conceive a uniformity which is not continuous, or a continuity which is not uniform? Is not uniformity often put in these forms, "our expectation of the constancy of Nature," "our expectation that the future will resemble the past"? And if this be legitimate, the uniformity of nature implies its continuity. Other remarks of a similar kind might be made. We do not indeed see the necessity of bringing into logical method two new processes, nor need we burden ourselves with these two new names. The same end may be accomplished by a more ample recognition of the two-fold process of science. Alongside of the description of the process by which we are enabled to rise from one law to another until we arrive at the widest possible generalisation, we have to place the description of the process by which we recognise differences until we come at last to that particular scientific act by which we recognise what makes a thing a thing. Both processes are illustrated in any competent scientific text-book; though in works which describe logical method in general, the later process has dropped out of sight. This also seems to us to be what Mr Hughes has mainly in view. But his addition to our logical method does not seem to us to supply what is needed in order to remove the defect.

JAMES IVERACH.

Völter's Problem der Apokalypse.

Das Problem der Apokalypse. Von Dr Daniel Voelter, Professor an der Universität Amsterdam. Freiburg im Breisgau. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. viii. 528. Price, M.10.

THIS work, even if it settles but few of the many questions it discusses, will for some time to come be an invaluable companion to those who take in hand the criticism or exegesis of the Apocalypse. In the history of this immemorably arduous task, the work

of the last twelve years certainly marks an important epoch. For a generation or more previously the traditional date, which had been accepted since the utterance of Irenaeus on the subject, had been set aside in favour of internal evidence which, to the majority of critics of very opposite schools, appeared to fix the book within a very few years of the death of Nero, and prior to A.D. 70.

As the earliest Christian document outside the Pauline writings the date of which was common ground between scholars of conflicting views on most other points, the Apocalypse was agreed to be a priceless monument of early Jewish Christendom, in its transition form doubtless, and transplanted both locally and mentally from its Palestinian soil, but none the less fundamentally important as historical evidence for an obscure factor in the history of the Apostolic age.

The Neronian date of the Apocalypse fairly held the field, while yet the early tradition for a later date remained unaccounted for.

Since 1882 all has changed: the hypothesis either of a composite origin, or of successive editions of the Apocalypse, hinted at by earlier critics (Grotius, Schleiermacher, Schwegler, and others) has taken definite form, and challenges investigation as a preliminary to any use of the Apocalypse as historical evidence, or the adoption of any clue to its interpretation.

It was Dr Völter, in his work *Die Entstehung der Apokalypse* (1882, second ed. 1889), who first formulated the problem on its existing basis. He came forward with an hypothesis which in the work before us has been further elaborated, but which in its broad outlines remains unchanged. A Christian Apocalypse, comprising about four-sevenths of the present Apocalypse, and contained in cc. iv.-xix., was written, quite possibly by the Apostle John, in Palestine somewhere near the year 62. Just after the death of Nero, its author made some additions,—the *βιβλαρίδιον*, x. 9, 10,—consisting roughly of chapters x., xi., xvii., and xviii., with a few verses elsewhere. This enlarged Apocalypse, written possibly in Aramaic, was brought to Asia Minor by a person, very probably [?] Cerinthus, who during the reign of Titus subjected it to a recension; his main additions are xii. 1-10, and xix. 11—xxi. 8, with the exception of a few verses and the addition of a few more. Under Domitian a second editor inserted xiii. and other passages, embodying a vehement protest against the worship of the emperors. A third recension under Trajan, “universalist” and monarchian in its spirit, is responsible for vi. 16 (“the wrath of the Lamb”), and a number of other small but very homogeneous additions. Last of all, the lingering reluctance of the Asian Churches to accept the Revelation was overcome by a final editor, who during the reign of Hadrian added the letters to the Seven Churches, the reference

to Patmos, the most remarkable references to the *πνεῦμα*, and the highest Christology of the book (Α and Ω, the Λόγος in xix., &c.).

Assuming the legitimacy of the problem, it must be said that Dr Völter's solution of it outruns all possibility of certain knowledge. Such a detailed analysis as his must remain in the region of hypothesis: but perhaps it is a good thing that hypothesis should be presented in as clear-cut a form as possible, and this Dr Völter has certainly done. But the interval between his first essay and the present volume has seen many contributions to the problem, and, with the partial exception of Erbes (1891), Völter can scarcely boast of a solitary supporter of his own scheme. The best-known rival is Vischer, as to whose attempt (1886) readers of this review need no information. It may be here useful to register the broad divisions of opinion. Of the ten or more scholars who accept the general idea that the Apocalypse is a composite work, Völter and Erbes, and, in so far as he entertains the possibility at all, Mr G. A. Simcox (p. 234), are the only defenders of its exclusively Christian origin. The rest assume a Jewish, non-Christian element. To Vischer and Pfeiderer, and, with modifications, to Weyland, the Christian element has been grafted on a Jewish original. On the other hand, Sabatier (*Origines littéraires de l'Apoc. de St Jean*, 1887), Weizsäcker, Schön, and Spitta (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes untersucht*, 1889) assume in common a Christian original, amplified from independent and perhaps earlier Jewish sources. To enter into the details of this maze of hypotheses, or to follow Dr Völter through his elaborate discussion of them, is, of course, outside the scope of this notice. His plan, which makes the book as heavy reading as it is useful for reference, is to go through the Apocalypse section by section, first giving an abstract of the contents; then an account of the treatment of the section by the several critics; lastly, his own construction. The book would certainly have gained in effectiveness by a less exhaustive and cumbrous treatment, but Dr Völter has preferred completeness, and has gained it at some expense of nerve and "go." The most readable and interesting section is the last (pp. 447-528), where he gathers up the results, going through each of his six strata in turn, discussing the purpose, character, and homogeneity of each, and estimating their respective relations to the Old Testament, both Hebrew Text and Greek Versions (a most important matter), and to the other New Testament books, as well as to extra-canonical apocalypses.

I have aimed at putting fairly before the readers of this review the leading features of Dr Völter's book; to give a more definite idea of it without an inordinate amount of detailed discussion is not easy. I must content myself with giving general impressions on a few detached points. The book is ably written, and the dis-

cussions of individual points are often sober and convincing (*e.g.*, pp. 82, 83, 429, &c.). In particular, his strictures on Vischer's method appear reasonable. In a work which in its present form is Christian through and through, it is surely the right method to ask, not whether this or that section can have been originally Jewish, but can it not have been written by a Christian? I can see nothing (not even cc. xi., xii.) in Vischer's original Jewish document which is intractable to the latter test. But Völter appears to greater advantage in criticising the systems of others than in working out his own. It creates an uneasy feeling to find our author setting aside inconvenient evidence by airy assumptions of interpolation, even where any shadow of documentary evidence is lacking. When we find his plausible analysis of the Apocalypse keeping company with the abjudication of 1 Cor. xi. from St Paul (p. 438), with the assumption of interpolations at Gal. iv. 26, 1 Cor. xv. 25-28, and, to say nothing of Philippians and Colossians, with the bringing down of 1 Thessalonians to the time of Hadrian (p. 520) or later, we are rudely reminded that what rank as *verisimilia* in Holland are not always what we should describe by that name. A number of passages, again (*e.g.*, pp. 168, 29, 40, 58, 207, 404), involve assumptions with regard to the relations of the Imperial Power to Christianity in the first century which require reconsideration in view of recent discussion on the subject. I miss in Dr Völter's discussion of the references to persecution of Christians any adequate appreciation of the present phase of the historical question as affected by the researches of Mommsen, Neumann, and Ramsay.

On the whole the proper attitude toward the results submitted to us in the present book would seem to be one of reserve. The ingenuity and fair-mindedness with which the system is argued out step by step does not overcome one's sense of one-sidedness and readiness to adopt precarious assumptions on the writer's part. That the question must be studied with full recognition of "Apocalypse" as a characteristic form of Jewish literature,—that our Apocalypse is one of a class, although as a vehicle of religious thought and feeling very far above its class, will be generally allowed. That both the book itself (i. 1, 3; xxii. 6) and the analogy of prophecy, to say nothing of reasonable principles of historical exegesis, postulate the closest correlation of the book to the history of its age, and that this correlation wherever identifiable is a certain guide to the date of the book as a whole and of its several parts, is to the present reviewer an elementary axiom. Accordingly, if cogent grounds demand a composite origin for the Apocalypse, well and good. But so many of the historical references appear still to leave room for doubt, and the purely internal tests of recension seem so

open to other interpretations, that I think sober and unprejudiced scholarship will for mere prudence sake continue to treat the Apocalypse as a homogeneous work until criticism has reached a more final result. Dr Völter's surest tests of "Bearbeitung" are apparently the passages characteristic of the penultimate revision, marked by the correlation of a high Christology with a religious cosmopolitanism contrasting strongly with the strictly Jewish-Christian horizon of the older strata (p. 87). The passages are, among others, v. 6^b, 9^b, 11-14; vi. 16^c ("the wrath of the Lamb"); vii. 9-17; and the main ground relied on for their segregation is the adoration of the Lamb, and his close identification with God. It is true that the assignment of the passages in question to a separate recension was not part of Völter's hypothesis in its original form; but he has all along regarded them as manifest interpolations. But his test will scarcely satisfy any but those who take the Ebionism of the original apostles for granted, and in any case imports a subjective element into the whole basis of the construction. Without at all disputing the possibility of some facts in the composition of the Apocalypse which may do justice to the internal grounds for an early and the external tradition of a late date, I read Völter's pages, like those of Vischer, with interest rather than with conviction. It may be worth while to mention one or two points of interest bearing on questions of detail. The four horses of ch. vi. correspond to calamities in the latter part of Nero's reign, beginning with a defeat of the Romans under Paetus by Vologeses I. in 62. The rider on the white horse is accordingly not to be understood of Christ as in xix. 11, which verse Völter ascribes to a later hand. The martyrs of ch. vi. are those of the year 64. The sixth emperor of xvii. 10 is Galba, the beast who was one of the six and is to come back as the eighth being of course Nero. Verses 16, 17, an interpolation of uncertain date, reflect a popular belief that on his return Nero would take vengeance on the Imperial city. The Woman clothed with the Sun, whose glories Völter is tempted to explain with Dietrich (*Abrahas*, 1891) from the Greek myth of Leto (p. 168), is part of the third stratum or "first recension," where Völter suspects the hand of Cerinthus. The difficult Messianic chapter xii. is explained by reference to the theology of Cerinthus, as also is the section xix. 11-xxi. 8, which Völter regards as the direct continuation of xii. 1-10. He insists, as he is perfectly entitled to do, on the testimony of Caius and the "Alogi" connecting Cerinthus with the Apocalypse. But in selecting these particular passages as Cerinthian in their Christology he challenges a jealous scrutiny of the grounds for a conclusion so repellent to ordinary Christian prepossessions.

The war of the beast (xii. 17) against the seed of the woman

is the persecution of Christians by Domitian, with whom also, viewed as a re-appearance of Nero, the beast of c. xiii. is identified, the ten crowned horns being the emperors from Augustus to Titus, who are also reckoned, omitting Galba Otho and Vitellius, as seven heads. The second Beast or false prophet who speaks like the Dragon is the provincial governor enforcing the worship of the emperor. But the number of the Beast (vv. 18, &c.) is the later interpolation of some one who now saw in Hadrian the dreaded *Nero redivivus*. In this way Völter combines the convincing "gematria" נרן קסר with a reference to Hadrian, whose name "Trajanus Hadrianus" can also be so transliterated into Hebrew as to give the requisite numerical total. Passing to the reign of Hadrian, we find the indications of date somewhat closely bound up with a surely belated view of the date of the Ignatian letters (which Völter has elsewhere maintained to be not earlier than 150), and with a kindred view of the date of the Episcopate. The highest Christology of the book is also thought to suggest a date little earlier than this. That Christians at Thyatira are dallying with the oracle of the Sibyl is a sign of the period when prophecy began to be missed within the Churches. "The Nicolaitans" is a name for the Carpocratians or Basilidians. One would scarcely expect the late date thus ascribed to chapters i.-iii. to be reconcileable with the old Tübingen assumption of their anti-Pauline spirit. But this is, ingeniously enough, still maintained. Their repudiation, *e.g.*, of St Paul is alluded to in the *πρῶτα ἔργα* of the Ephesian Church, and the Epistles are meant to revive the cooling anti-Pauline fervour of the Asian Christians.

Enough has perhaps been said to show the great importance of this book for all students of the Apocalypse, and at the same time to justify the reviewer's attitude of reserve toward its results. The writer appears somewhat deficient in his appreciation of the Apocalypse as an embodiment of stirring religious teaching and heart-searching appeals to the Christian conscience. He treats it rather as a student of the theory of sound might analyse an exquisite symphony, or a practical drawing-master a "Pietà" by a quattrocento master. In an Apocalypse the canons of strict logical arrangement are applicable only with more than ordinary tact and tenderness. Still, his problem is critical and historical, and even if we often miss the balance and sustained sobriety of the very best historical criticism, we cordially recognise in Dr Völter's book an honest and careful piece of work, that will not fail in its purpose of contributing to the ultimate ascertainment of historical truth.

A. ROBERTSON.

A Study of Ethical Principles.

By James Seth, M.A. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1894. 8vo, pp. 468. Price, 10s. 6d. net.

THIS "Study" is by a new writer in the field of Ethical Philosophy. The author prefaces it with the remark that it does not "claim to be, in any strict sense, an original treatment" of the questions dealt with, but in this he is perhaps over-modest. He has supplied a gap in philosophical literature by elaborating a point of view which, while probably gaining ground in English thought steadily, has nowhere else been presented so fully or in relation to the various matters of prime importance in the ethical department, and in one respect at least—in respect, viz., to those further implications of morality which serve to connect man's nature with God and Immortality—he has shown a speculative courage and strenuousness which too many of his fellow-workers lack.

The work consists of three "Parts" and an "Introduction." The latter deals with such preliminary matters as the Problem, Method, and Psychological Basis of Ethics, and is notable chiefly for its insistence, under the second of these heads, on the position that mere scientific categories, of whatever kind, are entirely inadequate in this department, being useful up to a certain point no doubt, but allowing what after all is the *differentia* of the moral life to escape investigation. The key-note of the book may be said to be struck here. With Part I., on "the Moral Ideal," the work proper begins. In the earlier sections we have a criticism first of the Hedonist, then of the "Rigorist" (or Rational) Ideal, the fundamental objection taken to these being that they are based alike upon an abstract view of human nature. Man is neither mere Sensibility nor mere Reason, and the Ethic founded on either view cannot but lead to various inconsistencies with the facts of moral experience, which are here indicated. For himself the writer founds on "that total human Personality which contains as elements Reason and Sensibility" both (p. 192). In other words, the formula he proposes is neither Self-gratification nor Self-denial, but Self-realisation, in which "the several changing desires, instead of being allowed to pursue their several ways, and to seek each its own good and satisfaction, are so correlated and organised that each becomes instrumental to the fuller and truer life of the rational human self" (p. 206). To the view thus described Professor Seth gives the name Eudæmonism ("the feeling of the whole self being taken into account, as opposed to the feeling of some one aspect of self," p. 216), a term which he is anxious to rescue from all merely Hedonistic associations and to preserve in its true Aristotelian sense.

Passing next in Part II. to the consideration of "the Moral

Life," our author deals with the various conditions or phases of the self-fulfilment effected in moral experience, that is to say, with the Virtues. Only the broad outline of this part of the subject is sketched, however. Taking the natural division of the Moral Life into Individual and Social, the characteristic virtues of the former are found to lie in Temperance (negatively as self-denial, positively as self-limitation) and Self-development, those of the latter in Justice and Benevolence. In the following section the Organisation of Society is dealt with and its fundamentally ethical nature finely shewn. The State in particular, it is argued, is, in idea at least, only the outward expression and embodiment on the large scale of that higher nature which forms the sovereign element in the individual moral life, and from this point of view such questions are dealt with as the limitations of Rights in Property, the doctrine of Non-Resistance, and the nature of Civil Punishment. In all such matters, it is maintained, it is the interests of Moral Personality alone that fall to be considered and no results less sacred in themselves or more remote.

Finally, in Part III., "the Metaphysical Implications of Morality" are discussed, and here the author rises to the height of his argument. If it is "not easy, humanly speaking, to wind up an Englishman to the level of dogma," how much harder is it to wind up your common English moralist? But Professor Seth has the courage of his convictions. As he says, even the evolutionary moralist, in correlating man with nature and seeking to demonstrate so the unity of the universe, is guilty of metaphysics of a kind, and for himself he lends his best strength to making good those (Theistic and other) conclusions that follow from the assertion of the supernatural being of man. Accordingly, he begins with Freedom, vindicating it not only on the side of Naturalism, but also, and even more earnestly, as though from this side the danger were greater, from the tendency of an Absolute Idealism to sublimate human life, with all the variety of its moral experience, into a passing mode of the life of God. Man being thus left as a free spiritual being over against Nature, confronting her and often at war with her, the necessity next arises, it is argued, for the assertion of a Supreme Goodness governing all things with a view to moral ends. "Nature is really blind, indifferent, capricious. Force is unethical. Hence the call for a Supreme Power akin to the spirit of man, conscious of his struggle, sympathetic with his life, guiding it to a perfect issue—the call for a supremely righteous Will"—a belief which is necessary if we are to escape moral scepticism. Lastly, from such a view of the nature and worth of the moral life then results the further conviction (or "philosophic faith") of immortality. The task set before the Moral Personality has no relation to time at all, and if

cut short by the accident of death, could be nothing but a delusive mockery. While, of course, the only Immortality to which any meaning can be attached must be conscious and personal.

The standpoint, then, assumed here, will be apparent. Is it right to describe it as critical-Hegelian? The writer at least would be the first to confess his indebtedness to Hegel (and to Aristotle), though, at the same time, he maintains his independence of his masters throughout. But so brief and bald an outline does scant justice to a book so full of matter as this, abounding in eloquent exposition and felicitous illustration of many kinds. One must even apologise.

At the same time, many of those even who find themselves in the main in agreement with the author may be disposed to call in question various of his positions. Thus, to speak only of that which is central to his theory, Professor Seth is anxious—it is perhaps the most important feature of his work—to mark his dissent from the alleged Hegelian tendency to swamp the individual and his experience in an all-engulfing pan-theism (or “pan-logism”), but, one might ask, does his mode of stating his own view escape the danger of the opposite or individualist error? Let it be granted that an absolute idealism in its concern for the universal and objective element in moral, as in intellectual experience, does tend in the direction indicated. Let it be granted also that the *punctum stans* of the moral life is the personal will, self-conscious and self-determining—that this is the prime datum of the ethical problem, and to be conserved at all hazards. Nevertheless, it might be argued, nothing is gained, but, rather, much is lost by so emphasising the self-centredness of the moral personality as to leave out of view the essential relations in which it stands to other personalities beyond itself. In that case, it is difficult to see how the formula, “*Be a Person*,” can be held to supply an adequate moral principle at all. “Self-realisation,” *per se*, is, as Professor Seth admits, so vague as to be useless for this purpose. Nor would it seem to mend matters much to add that it is “the total self that is to be developed, the intellectual, the emotional, and the active or volitional elements, each in its perfection, and all in the harmony of a complete and single life” (p. 259). Moral obligation surely does not apply equally to these three? A deeper analysis of the conception of Personality would appear to be called for here. The formula in question can only supply the place of an ethical *principle*, from which the particular obligations of the good life may be seen to spring, when it is interpreted of such a Self as is nothing, and can “realise” nothing except in and through the network of relations it sustains

to other personalities like itself, and, one would add, to that Supreme Personality which is at once the law, the strength, and the end of the moral life of all of them. Apart from such an interpretation of it, the realising of self would seem to mean merely Culture, and to yield at best only that "individualistic ethics" which is elsewhere so rightly condemned.

This defect, as the present writer ventures to consider it, reappears at various stages of the argument. Thus, on such a view of the Self as Professor Seth seems to imply, he can base the obligation of Benevolence only on either the presence of "social or other-regarding impulses and instincts" in human nature (p. 285), or on "the common personality of man," in which "is found the ground of the conciliation in harmony of the several individual lives" (p. 217). Yes, no doubt personality is a common property of men, but more, does not its exercise imply the living of that which is in the strictest sense a common life? In that case Benevolence, or the seeking of others' good, would be of its very nature and essence, necessary if its self-fulfilment were not to be thwarted and defeated. But it is in dealing with the problem of God that the consequences of the view in question appear most conspicuously. On this whole subject much that is as true as it is needed, is said, and said finely, as, *e.g.*, on the Personality of God, on the common objections to "Anthropomorphism," and on the perverseness of a philosophy which is so bent on unifying the universe as to treat as relation and "appearance" the fundamental moral distinctions themselves, and to give us, in place of the Living and Holy One, a blank Absolute merely. But, on the other hand, the step to Deity remains in these pages a problematical one only. Faith in Him is a splendid venture which the demands of the moral life constrain us to make, and beyond this nothing can be said. Now, practically it may be enough that were not the very nature of things akin to man at the highest point of his being, and pledged to further his main task and interest, these would be a delusion,—enough to ask with Fichte, "Is man alone to be a contradiction in the Universe?" And when man's nature is conceived as though it were a something complete in itself, a self-contained whole apart from the Divine nature as from other finite natures, no further or more satisfactory proof may be possible. But if our nature is shut off no more (rather even less) from the former than from the latter; if the very knowledge of ourselves as moral persons at all, much more the achieving of the task which falls to us as such is inconceivable except as we are seen to be related to "a power not ourselves, making for righteousness," which reveals itself in our ideals, and is the impulse and the support in all our following of them, then may we not say that God is the

necessary implication of our every moral experience, even the simplest? If, indeed, it were so that our truest life moved on within a charmed circle, to which even He was external, doubtless He would remain a grand Peradventure always, at the most a "Moral" Probability, which growth in goodness made less unsure. But this is to overdo the independence our Freedom gives us entirely. He is nearer to us than we are to ourselves. Of all certainties He is the first and surest.

One tends to criticise a book of this sort rather than praise it. It is more respectful to do so. But it would be wrong not to bear testimony to its speculative power and singular literary grace throughout. Professor Seth has at one stride gained a high place for himself among the ethical teachers of his generation.

ALEX. MARTIN.

Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte von Dr Wilhem Möller.

Bearbeitet von Dr Gustav Kawerau. Dritter Band. Reformation und Gegen-reformation. Freiburg, i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1894. 8vo, xvi. pp. 440. Price, M.10.

THE third volume of Dr Möller's Church History will hardly sustain the reputation won by the first two for completeness and impartiality. It can scarcely be said to be Dr Möller's work. The materials he left dealt with sections of the subject and the arrangement, and in a great measure the materials used come to us from the editor, Dr Kawerau. The editor had to help him Dr Möller's lectures on Church History, but these were not so thoroughly down to date, nor was the arrangement altogether suitable for the purpose of a continuation of the Church History. Dr Kawerau had to collect a good deal of the material, and was forced by the incompleteness of what was left him to make independent use of the researches of later years. He has diligently and laboriously read the local histories bearing upon his subject, and omitted few of the recent contributions of modern scholarship, but yet the book is not quite what we might have expected from Dr Möller himself. This third volume, entitled the Reformation and Counter-reformation, includes the history of the Western Church from 1517 down to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. It may be said to describe the first and second generations of the Reformation. The material is arranged under seven sections, of which the first and the seventh are almost entirely from the pen of the editor. The arrangement is lucid, and is as follows:—(1) The German Reformation down to 1555, *i.e.*, to the Religious Peace

of Augsburg and the establishment of the principle of *cujus regio, ejus religio* for Germany; (2) the reformation beyond Germany, with a short sketch of the work of Calvin; (3) the Roman Catholic reaction; (4) the division of the Reformation Church into Evangelical and Reformed; (5) the conflict between the Reformation and the Counter-reformation; (6) the internal organisation in worship and doctrine of the Evangelical and Reformed Churches; and (7) the non-Catholic groups which came out of the Reformation upheaval. The German perspective of the whole is seen from the fact that while 148 pp. are required to describe the work of Luther in Germany, 50 pp. suffice to narrate the progress of the Reformation elsewhere. The main fault of the book is the abnormally large share of attention which it gives, in common with most German Church histories, to Germany and its religious affairs. Within the limits prescribed by this arrangement the book is, upon the whole, accurate, up to date, fair-minded, and clear. The author deserves credit for stating so clearly that the Roman Catholic reaction dates from the Peasants' War, but he fails to see that the strength of that reaction depended as much on the faint-hearted temporising of Luther as on the awakened instincts of conservatism. His account of the much-maligned Anabaptists is much more fair than what is given in older Church Histories, but he has not got much beyond the views of Albert Ritschl in his History of Pietism, and entirely fails to make use of the new material which has come to light since the publication of that important work. The author seems to regard the Anabaptist movement as one which came from the Reformation, brands it as fanaticism, misses its distinctive principles, and seems to have no idea of its real roots in the end of the 15th century.

T. M. LINDSAY.

Die Publizistik im zeitalter Gregor's VII.

Von D. Carl Mirbt, Professor der Theologie in Marburg. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1894. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xx. 629. Price, M.16.

THE three most important eras in the Middle Ages are the times of Gregory VII., Innocent III., and John XXII.—the beginning, the flood-tide, and the decline of the papacy as the great political power in Europe. Of the three perhaps the first is the most interesting, and its central figure is undoubtedly the greatest.

From 870-950 anarchy had almost dissolved both papacy and empire. The great feudal vassals had despoiled the head of the holy Roman empire of power and prestige. The fall of the imperial power in Italy had deprived the popes of their protector. The

times were full of wild confusion, and Saracens, Slavs, and Normans were plundering and conquering without let or hindrance. The temporal power was the first to rally; a strong elective monarchy emerged in Germany. It was inheritor of the ideas of Charles the Great, and therefore naturally strove to reform and revive the papacy. A religious revival came to help the reforming emperors, and found its centre in the great monastery of Clugny. The great emperor Henry III. purged the papacy, and under a line of German popes the aim of the spiritual head of Western Christendom was to bring back the clergy to purer and more spiritual lives, and identify the papacy with the highest spiritual life in Europe.

But the papacy could not be content with reforms urged on from the outside: the noblest churchmen of the times saw that if the reform was to be lasting, it must come from the inside. No churchman felt the call for reform more than the Italian monk, Hildebrand. He had been brought into personal contact with the great emperor Henry III., and had imbibed from him many of his aspirations. He had shared in the new religious spirit both at Clugny and at Rome. He believed in the need of a powerful papal monarchy to purify the Church, and he shared the gorgeous dream recounted by St Augustine in the *De Civitate Dei*. He was a Roman, and the state-craft of old Rome had been bequeathed to him. He was a statesman with clear judgment and fertility of invention; above all, he knew how to wait. He carried through the change in the mode of election to the papacy which ended the possibility of its being fought for as a prize by turbulent Roman barons; he maintained the German ascendancy in Rome till the Roman factions were quelled. He made an alliance with the Normans of South Italy, which gave him a force of fighting men. Then elected to the papacy as Gregory VII., he began to carry out the magnificent schemes of reform he had so long planned.

Gregory's greater dream of a united Christendom, when the Church would be no longer divided into East and West, when all Christians would own the supremacy of Rome, need not concern us here. He found work enough to do in reforming the Church of the West, and his idea of reformation was based on the thought of the absolute independence of the Church from the temporal power, the introduction of a more spiritual life among the clergy, and the banishment of all secularity from among ecclesiastical rulers.

The second and third thoughts found for him practical expression in his enforcement of the celibacy of the clergy, and in his denunciation of the practice of simony; while the first thought, which included the other too, took shape in his violent opposition to that lay investiture by ring and pastoral staff, which made

bishops not only ecclesiastical rulers but feudal barons, subject to king or emperor.

What shape his struggle might have taken had the great emperor Henry III. lived is matter for interesting, if fruitless, speculation. Henry had died, leaving a child to succeed him, who grew up to be the heedless, headstrong, profligate Henry IV. A struggle between pope and emperor was the inevitable consequence, and the strong opponents which the rigorous policy of Gregory evoked were confronted by the still stronger opponents of the misgovernment of the emperor. The struggle outlived both Gregory and Henry, and in the end resulted in a compromise, which brought more credit to the papacy than to the empire, and it produced a large number of writers, who advocated or denounced the pretensions of the papacy. Gregory, in particular, gathered round him a band of distinguished Canonists, to whose labours we owe the form which Canon Law assumed during the Middle Ages, and whose ideas practically prevailed until they were fiercely attacked by Marsilius of Padua, John of Jandun, Peter Dubois, and William of Occam, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. The ideas of the group of Canonists who defended the schemes of Gregory were adopted by the famous school of Bologna, which, in the middle of the twelfth century, issued the famous *Decretum of Gratian*, which, although it embodied all the forgeries made in the interests of the papacy, was everywhere accepted as the code of Canon Law.

Professor Mirbt has endeavoured to collect and analyse the writings of the advocates and of the opponents of the proposals of Gregory VII., and his book may be regarded as a thorough analysis of these writings. It is in every way more complete than Riezler's, who, in 1874, attempted to do the same service for the conflict between the Temporal and Spiritual Powers, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, in his *Die literarischen Widersacher der Päpste zur Zeit Ludwig des Baiers*. The book is an indispensable guide to the student of earlier mediæval history. The book itself is divided into eight sections, discussing—(1) The principal writings, their authors, and place and time of composition ; (2) quarrel between Gregory and Henry, and the measures taken by the pope against the emperor ; (3) clerical celibacy and simony ; (4) the relation of married priests to the sacraments ; (5) the Investiture controversy ; (6) the relation between State and Church ; (7) the personal life of Gregory III. ; and (8) the general character of the literature dealing with these subjects.

The writings dealt with, at least the larger number of them, are to be found in the *Monumenta Germanica*, and date from 1031 to 1112. The author classifies them under the following periods :—
(1) From 1031 to 1073, i.e., those prior to the election of Gregory

to the pontificate ; (2) from 1073 to 1085, *i.e.*, those written during Gregory's pontificate ; (3) from 1085 to 1112, *i.e.*, those written between the death of Gregory and the pontificate of Urban II., whose successor, Calixtus II., negotiated the compromise called the Concordat of Worms. Almost one hundred treatises, all dealing with questions of Canon Law, have been gone over, and carefully analysed.

Dr Mirbt discusses very carefully the facts of the two excommunications launched by Gregory against Henry IV., and the various questions raised by these excommunications—the legal right of the pope to excommunicate the emperor, the guilt of the emperor, and the legality of his deposition.

The two methods adopted by Gregory to purify and to render more spiritual the bishops and clergy were the enforcement of sacerdotal celibacy, and the denunciation of simony. In discussing the former the author begins by describing the condition of the morality of the clergy in various parts of Europe, going over the same ground as that covered in Lea's *Sacerdotal Celibacy*. He shows that the thought of priestly celibacy had long attracted the people of Western Europe as an ideal to be aimed after ; that Gregory differed from his predecessors only in the sternness in which he carried out their resolutions ; that whilst the clergy in many parts of the country rose in revolt, the laity, for the most part, took the side of the pope ; and that, in the end, the imperialists themselves had to declare themselves in favour of priestly celibacy. When Gregory declared that the sacraments administered by married priests were invalid, he did not go beyond what had been already decreed by Nicholas II. ; he differed from his predecessors in the rigour by which he compelled his decree to be carried out. This decree of Gregory, and the measures he took to enforce it, produced a great deal of controversy, and the writings of both parties are carefully analysed.

Gregory's action in the matter of Lay-Investiture naturally provoked great controversy. The Lay-Investiture may be described briefly as follows :—Investiture was a feudal ceremony, according to which the vassal placed his hands between the hands of his feudal lord, swore to be his man (*baron, i.e., baro'-vir*), and was then ceremonially placed in possession of feudal properties and rights. The emperor and king claimed the right of investing bishops as well as barons, and did so on the ground that bishops held feudal rights over lands within their domains, and were barons as well as bishops, owing service to the temporal power as well as to the spiritual. But there was involved a whole variety of ecclesiastical and other questions, such as the rights of the laity represented by the lay-head of the community, rights of patrons over benefices, &c. ; and

on the other side, the idea that the consecration of the bishops was a purely ecclesiastical matter, and the control of the pope over all the bishops of the Church. No mediæval controversy had such deep roots in the past ; none had such direct and indirect consequences in the future. To take single instances—the consistorial system of the German Lutheran Church represents the modern triumph of Anti-Gregorian principles ; and the patronage struggle in Scotland, with its ending, involved ideas contended for, to some extent, by Gregory and his followers.

Professor Mirbt shows in his analysis of the writing of Cardinal Humbert that partizans who, before Gregory's pontificate, advocated his ideas, based their objections to Lay-Investiture on the two ideas—that to give a bishop investiture of his office is a purely spiritual act, and that princes who are laymen have nothing to do with purely ecclesiastical or spiritual functions. The diocesan lands which became the legal possession of the bishop, the judicial functions which he was authorised to perform, are not practically taken into consideration. They regard the investiture with ring and staff as the assignment of a spiritual office, the bestowal of the *cura pastoralis*, and the warrant for the stewardship of the sacraments. The *baculus camyrus* or Episcopal staff signifies the *cura pastoralis*, and the *annulus* or Episcopal ring is the *signaculum secretorum celestium*. These are spiritual gifts, and cannot be conferred by lay hands. On the other hand, it is evident from the writings of partizans on the other side, that while in some obscure way it is seen that the laity have some right to say whom they wish to be their bishops, the writers have before them much more distinctly the feudal possessions and feudal jurisdictions which bishops came to enjoy when they were infeft in their benefices.

However strongly Gregory and his partizans felt about the spiritual rights of the Church to set apart its own office-bearers, it is evident that the great practical interest involved was whether bishops were to be practically more dependent on the local temporal powers than on the pope. Gregory did not require to establish the spiritual or ecclesiastical supremacy of the pope over the whole episcopate, that had been done thoroughly by his predecessor ; what he wanted was to gather under his rule all the temporal power which bishops had as feudal lords ; and this meant, had he been thoroughly successful, that the papacy would have become a great temporal monarchy, with its lands scattered over Europe in the shape of diocesan domains, parish glebes, and convent lands, its taxes, the tithes, annates, &c., and its law the Canon Law of the Church, as opposed to the civil law of the empire.

The motives and cross-purposes inspiring the beginnings of this great conflict, which in the end shattered the mediæval ideal of

Christendom, will be found at length in Professor Mirbt's most interesting work.

The book deals with so large a subject, and discusses it in such an exhaustive way, that I feel it somewhat presumptuous to offer any word of criticism. Still I cannot help saying, that however partizans of Gregory may have accepted Augustine's idea that the State has its roots in human sin, and is therefore at best an unholy institution, I cannot help thinking that Gregory himself did not go quite so far, and that his own ideas were in greater harmony with those of Bernard of Clairvaux than with those of his strongest partizans. The memory and life-work of Henry III. never quite left him.

T. M. LINDSAY.

Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften : Praktische Theologie.

Von D. E. Chr. Achelis, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Marburg. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. xiv. 284. Price, M. 5.

It is hardly necessary to do more than note the publication of this Outline of Practical Theology. The book is a mere abridgment of the author's two-volume work which has already been noticed at some length in the *Critical Review* (Vol. i., p. 300; Vol. ii., p. 401). The principles and the general plan adopted by Dr Achelis remain unchanged; but partly by condensation, partly by omission, the exposition of the subject has been reduced to less than a fourth of its original bulk. At the same time, a careful comparison of the two works has satisfied me that nothing of essential importance has been omitted. The Outline will probably be found more serviceable than the larger work, with all its good qualities. The shorter statement finds room for a considerable amount of detail. Dr Achelis, for instance, gives his views with regard to clerical beards and clerical coats, as well as with regard to the aims and methods of pastoral work. He has, nevertheless, attained a clearness, crispness and conciseness that call for special commendation. It is easy to see that the author has Germany and German students mainly in view, but the discussion is by no means parochial or provincial. Dr Achelis might, however, with considerable advantage revise some of his statements with regard to things outside Germany. The Church of Scotland does not carry on Mission work in Kaffraria (p. 251). He still persists in saying that "the Mission of the Scottish State Church flourishes because of the rivalry of the Free Church."

JAMES ROBERTSON.

Koptische Grammatik, mit Chrestomathie, Wörterverzeichnis und Litteratur.

(*Porta Linguarum, Pars xiv.*) Von Georg Steindorff. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1894; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. 314. Price M. 13. 20.

ALTHOUGH there had existed in Europe an unbroken tradition of Coptic studies since the days of Athanasius Kircher, and accessible material sufficient for the formation of such scholars as Woide and Zoega, it must be owned that the earlier generation of Egyptologists—forgetful here of the example of Champollion—worked on, content with but a meagre acquaintance with this final phase of the ancient language. Not, indeed, that there was a dearth of labourers in the field. The Coptic scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were succeeded by others; to Uhlemann and Schwartz, and, still more, to Peyron, Revillout, and Lagarde, students must always be grateful. But most of these worked without regard to the influence they might have upon the progress of hieroglyphic studies, towards which, indeed, the last-named great scholar maintained—at any rate, till quite the end of his career—an attitude of mistrust, if not of actual incredulity.

In fact, it is scarcely more than fifteen years since the mutual indispensability of the hieroglyphic and Coptic phases of the Egyptian language—never, as a theoretical truth, contested—has been insisted on, and made to yield practical results.

And the demonstration of this truth, which to-day seems obvious enough, has been almost entirely the work of the Berlin Egyptologists. The first to give proof of its influence was Ludwig Stern, who, in his Coptic grammar (1880), made no small use of the facts then acquired from the older language. The present work of Professor Steindorff may be taken as an exposition of the progress achieved since that date. From it and from its companion volume, Professor Erman's *Ägyptische Grammatik*, we can judge how great that progress has been,—greater, of course, at first sight upon the hieroglyphic than upon the Coptic side; for many of the principal problems of Coptic grammar had been solved, some even by Peyron, many more by Stern, from the last of whom, indeed, Professor Steindorff might seem to differ, mainly upon secondary points; such, *e.g.*, as the grouping of the tenses according to their formative auxiliaries, or the designation of the *Qualitative* as *Participle*.

Yet, in fact, when closely examined, it is clear that the systematic studies of the author, of Professor Erman, and Dr Sethe, in the

more ancient idioms, have greatly modified the views of Coptic grammar, which even they themselves but lately defended. If we look, for example, at the sections dealing with the Verb, we see much that is unknown to Stern's grammar,—new explanations of certain usages, as of the participial force of the second Present; new etymologies for whole groups of forms—*e.g.* Stern's "Nominal Verbs," the younger form of Causatives, or the later secondary verbal class which Professor Steindorff terms "Neubildungen" (§ 245).

But the two features which most prominently call for note in a general estimate of this work show a divergence in degree rather than in kind from Stern's methods. First, there is the much more frequent, indeed, the now perpetual reference, for comparative purposes, to the older, "Egyptian" forms of the language. This is remarkable, especially in the chapter on phonetics, — perhaps the most valuable portion of the book. Professor Steindorff has here ventured further than his predecessors by frequently filling out with hypothetical vowels the consonantal skeletons which alone the hieroglyphic texts offer. Far the greater part of the hieroglyphic vocabulary it is, of course, still impossible thus to reanimate; yet there are now sufficient data collected to allow of an approximate vocalization of many forms.

The second novel feature, characteristic of the new grammar as a whole, is the preference given to the Upper over the Lower Egyptian dialect as a medium for describing the language. The earlier scholars, following the example of the native grammarians, for most of whom the Saidic dialect was already an extinct or dying idiom, took the Bohairic as the basis of their teaching; and Stern, though he admitted the higher antiquity of the Saidic, adopted their system. To those particularly whose interest in Coptic literature is chiefly theological, the pre-eminence given by all to-day to the Southern dialect,—this *furor saidicus*, as some have lately termed it,—should be especially welcome. For this was the dialect of the districts most remote from foreign influences, and in it have been preserved to us the most notable documents of the language—the *Pistis Sophia* is notorious among them. And, indeed, evidence is from time to time coming to light that much of the better preserved Bohairic literature is merely an adaptation of older Saidic originals. As to the value of the version of the New Testament in this dialect, theologians will recall the opinion of Bishop Lightfoot, that "a complete collection of all the fragments of the Saidic New Testament is now the most pressing want in the province of textual criticism."

From the selection of reading-lessons which concludes this, as all other volumes of the series, a very fair idea can be had

of the characteristics of the literature. The inevitable Biblical passages are preceded by three good specimens from the patristic works. Whether translated from Greek originals or no, they respectively allow us to judge of the taste of the Copts in "philosophy," — for the Apophthegmata, the "wit and wisdom" of the Fathers, is the nearest approach to philosophy which, at that period, appears to have been appreciated in Egypt,—in eloquence (the "Eulogy of S. Victor") and in inventive narrative (the Acts of SS. Andrew and Paul). Had the compass of the book allowed it, we might have been given an example of the only surviving civil documents which are, at the same time, the sole texts of any length in which we can follow the workings of the Egyptian Syntax in its youngest developments, —the legal papyri of Jémé.

W. E. CRUM.

St Paul's Conception of Christianity.

By Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1894. Pp. 404. Price, 7s. 6d.

THE peculiar merits and characteristics of this book, its power, its fulness of meaning, and its reverent seriousness, as well as what may appear its drawbacks to some, such as its freedom in criticising both the Apostle and his writings, are largely due to the fact that the author of it is Professor of Apologetics as well as of New Testament Exegesis. Those who do not bear in mind the apologetic purpose and spirit of the author may neither understand his determination to use only those epistles which cannot be gainsaid as sources of Paulinism, nor appreciate the readiness with which he gives up everything which cannot be vindicated, no matter how venerable it may be. But those who understand his attitude and aim will recognise his wisdom in all this, and will rejoice in the special value which this method of treatment gives the book for all who are really beset with difficulties and are laboriously building up the structure of their faith. For this volume ought to be of great service to inquirers after the truth, and especially to those who come to it ready to listen, because of the author's well-known fearlessness and resolute honesty.

Dr Bruce here fully maintains his reputation of being among the foremost living apologists and exegetes. In this volume we have the ripe fruits of years of study and of a perfect mastery of every aspect of the subject under discussion, a subject on which comparatively little has as yet been written in English. With all the courage and caution, the freedom from traditional modes of treat-

ment, and the loyalty to what is actually written, which he has taught his readers to expect, he here makes a genuine contribution to the work of re-construction which is now at last going on. There is the same fairness, the same frankness, the same sympathy for an opponent's position except where he is a system-builder, the same confidence in the truth of what he expounds and defends, and the same clear and vigorous writing which have been the characteristics of his former contributions to theological science.

The first step in the discussion is the ascertaining of the sources of Paulinism ; and Dr Bruce takes these as contained in the four great epistles which are accepted as Paul's by all serious critics. The chapters on these epistles, preliminary to the detailed topical treatment of the subject, are of the most helpful kind, luminous in detail and laying emphasis on the great sayings after the author's wont, and yet never losing sight of the unity of purpose in the details. "In *Galatians*," he summarises, "St Paul defends the independence of Christianity against those who would make Christendom subject to Jewish law and custom ; in 1 and 2 *Corinthians* he defends his own independence and authority as a God-commissioned apostle of the Gentiles, against those who asserted the exclusive authority of the Eleven ; in *Romans*, while giving a comprehensive statement of his views on the gospel, he addresses himself very specially to the solution of the problem how to reconcile his idea of Christianity with the admitted truth that Israel had for many centuries been God's elect people." In an earlier chapter, however, there is a summary of the apostle's teaching in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, the view taken of these letters being that in them we have a primer of Paul's teaching as uninfluenced by controversy, and as he presented it in simple untechnical language to nascent Christian communities. That the teaching in these epistles is simpler and less developed than that of the four controversial epistles does not necessarily prove that Paul had not yet worked out his theology when he wrote them, but that he practised reserve or self-restraint in speaking to babes in Christ.

There is another preliminary chapter on Paul's religious history, dealing mainly with the question as to how far he had got in an apprehension of the real issues involved before his conversion, and how far the momentous discoveries which made him the great leader in theology he proved to be, were made immediately after his conversion. Dr Bruce's conclusions, although independently arrived at, are largely a combination of the views of Beyschlag, who lays the emphasis exclusively on the fruitless struggle after righteousness, and of the views of Pfleiderer who, with equal onesidedness, insists on Saul's familiarity with the Christian beliefs about Jesus and the processes of thought which these originated in his mind. In op-

position to those who, like Dr Matheson in *The Spiritual Development of St Paul*, find little or no struggle in the period antecedent to the conversion, Dr Bruce holds that "it would be nearer the truth to say that on the day Saul of Tarsus was converted his spiritual development to a large extent lay behind him." In this connection he makes much of the inexhaustible significance which such a spiritual crisis would have for such a man as Paul. "Thought is quick at such creative epochs, and feeling is quicker still." "The truth is," he says, "that a whole group of religious intuitions, the universal destination of Christianity being one of them, flashed simultaneously into the convert's mind like a constellation of stars, on the day of his conversion." Not, of course, that Dr Bruce teaches that the apostle's system of Christian thought underwent no expansion in any direction after the initial period. Far from that, he calls on his readers to distinguish carefully between Paul's *religious intuitions* and his *theological formulations* as well as between the positive elements in his system and its *apologetic elements*. All the same, he contends that the preparation for the great change in Paul's life had been so thorough that "for him to become a Christian meant everything."

The sources ascertained, and the main features of the religious history of the apostle, which is so intimately bound up with his theological system, portrayed, Dr Bruce proceeds to deal topically with Paul's teaching on the great themes of Christian doctrine. He discusses at length the doctrine of sin, the righteousness of God, the death of Christ, adoption, without and within, the moral energy of faith, the Holy Spirit, the flesh as a hindrance to holiness, the likeness of sinful flesh, the law, the election of Israel, Christ, the Christian life, the Church, and the last things. There is also an important supplementary note on the teaching of the apostle compared with that of our Lord in the synoptical gospels, a note which is long enough to make readers wish it were longer, and on a theme which still awaits the fulness of treatment it deserves. In a series of discussions, all of which deserve the most serious attention, it is not easy, nor is it perhaps desirable, to single any out as especially weighty. Some readers will come under the power of the author in one connection, and others in another, but there will be few if any who will not come under it somewhere. The discussion on the righteousness of God is noteworthy for a grand description of justifying faith, that on the moral energy of faith for its splendid evangelism, that on the flesh as a hindrance to holiness for its intense moral earnestness. And so on all through the book. The discussion on the "likeness of sinful flesh" will perhaps be less convincing than most of the others; while here and there many readers will feel that it is perhaps a drawback that, like Paul himself in his controversial

epistles, Dr Bruce seems always to be writing with some opponent in view. This may give a vividness to the whole which otherwise it might lack, but his work is never more valuable than when he is expounding Paul after his own fashion without any reference to those who have gone before either as expositors or as assailants of the truth.

All through the reader is arrested by passages of great interest and importance. To enumerate these would be to reproduce the book, but the following are samples :—The passage on page 105 on the imperialism of the Epistle to the Romans ; the fresh and luminous exposition of Romans v. 12 on pages 130 to 132 ; the characteristic discussion on pages 167 to 171 on the word *ἱλαστήριον* in Romans iii. 25 ; the grave warning regarding the right presentation of the Gospel on page 182 ; the passage on Paul's religious genius on page 220 ; the eloquent protest against Weiss' minimising of the function of faith on pages 236 and 237 ; and such foot-notes as those on pages 42 and 137, on Galatians i. 18, and the bearing of the distinction between *ἁμαρτία* and *παράβασις*. Nor can we omit the much needed protests against sacramentarianism on pages 137, 148 and 292 ; the refusals to account for Paulinism by eclectic patchwork on pages 133 and 218, as if Paul had no ideas of his own, but simply pieced together extracts and phrases from his predecessors and contemporaries ; and the truly apologetic note of warning on page 142 not to make Scripture responsible for all the popular ideas about the paradise state, which may ere long bring or seem to bring the Church's doctrine into collision with the ascertained facts of science.

In his prefatory note, Professor Bruce informs his readers that he has in view the issue of a work similar to this on *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, as soon as he can command the necessary leisure. Every reader of this volume will sincerely desire that all obstacles to that leisure and its promised fruits will be removed from his pathway, at least until that successor appears.

W. MUIR.

The Trial and Death of Jesus Christ: a Devotional History of our Lord's Passion.

By James Stalker, M.A., D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 309. Price, 5s.

THIS volume will be found worthy of those which have preceded it from Dr Stalker's pen, and which are deservedly popular. In the sub-title it is called "a devotional history of our Lord's Passion," and this is a true account of the contents. The ethical insight and earnestness of the book are perhaps more marked features than its

religious fervour. In his laudable desire to avoid the "oh's and ah's," and declamatory style that characterise many books on the Passion, the author may be thought by some to have unduly repressed the religious feeling that is naturally awakened by the scenes that he brings before the reader. But it is impossible to read the book without being edified as well as interested. It is purely expository, and does not enter on any of the critical questions that have been raised on this portion of the Gospel narrative. The author is content to give a connected account of the trial and passion of Christ, drawing out the lessons as he goes, and applying them with the skill of the preacher who has always his audience in his eye. What strikes the reader is the obviousness, in most cases, of the lessons that the incidents are made to yield. Like the late Dr Liddon, Dr Stalker has the courage to be commonplace, and this, no doubt, is one secret of his power and success as a preacher. In the earlier part of the volume the course and incidents of the trial are graphically told. He unfolds the story as it has presented itself to his mind, without entering on the processes by which he has arrived at results on disputed points. In the table of contents are found references in the Gospels to the passages from which he has drawn in each chapter. The reader may thus peruse the book with New Testament in hand, and see for himself the part that an allowable exercise of the imagination has played in the reconstruction of the story, and the judgment the author has shown in the arrangement of the material. The account of Peter's denial of Christ (chap. 3) is a vivid picture, and whether literally true or not, is a fine instance of the help imagination is in making the scenes of the Gospel real to the reader. It can scarcely be said that there is anything that is new in Dr Stalker's treatment of the character of Pilate, Herod, and the others that the narrative brings before us. The main point he emphasises throughout is a truth which Tholuck's "Light from the Cross" has made us familiar with, that the death of Christ was a revelation of human character, each of the actors, by his conduct in the transaction, discovering, and passing judgment upon, himself. Applying that truth as he proceeds, Dr Stalker points out with much impressiveness the operation in the life of to-day of the principles that dictated the conduct of the murderers of Christ.

The second part of the volume is taken up with an exposition of the seven words from the Cross. The author's treatment of this much-written-about theme is characteristic. Touching rapidly, and with a light hand, the various lessons suggested by these memorable utterances, and their application to modern life, he is always interesting, and sustains the attention to the close of the chapter. It may be doubted, however, whether the variety of topics intro-

duced, and the way in which the thought in each case is broken up and illustrated, does not interfere with the unity of impression that is made when one main truth is insisted upon from beginning to end. One is interested and carried along; but the mind is diverted somehow from the central figure of the picture.

Dr Stalker does not touch on the theological aspects of the theme, or on the *Doctrine* of the Cross; he confines himself to the moral and religious truths that are taught by the history. But theologians might learn something from the wisdom and sobriety of judgment with which he treats the fourth word of the Cross ("My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me"?).

It is not fair to expect more than our author undertakes to give. The theme is the Death of Christ; but he has a chapter on His Burial. And he might have added another on the Resurrection. To close a book on the last days of our Lord's life in the following way seems to us startling in its abruptness:—"It was evening, and the Sabbath drew on; and the Sabbath of His life had come. His work was completed: persecution and hatred could not touch Him any more. He was where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."

D. SOMERVILLE.

Life and Letters of Erasmus.

Lectures delivered at Oxford, 1893-4. By James Anthony Froude, late Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1894. 8vo, pp. vi. 406. Price, 15s. 2nd ed., cr. 8vo, pp. 458. Price, 6s.

MR FROUDE's study of Erasmus has all the virtues of his earlier works, and it is free from most of their faults. It shows that he preserved in his old age his insinuating grace of style, and that skill in delineating character which might have secured him a place among the masters of fiction, had he continued to make fiction his vocation. But his "Erasmus" has the additional merit of giving a true picture of the man and his times; for it is disfigured by none of the perverse and arbitrary judgments which led some critics to describe the "History of England" as good literature but indifferent history. The reason of this improvement is obvious. With the attitude and opinions of Erasmus he was in complete accord, while his admiration for the Protestant Reformers did not extend to their positive religious faith. For Latimer and Luther, Calvin and Knox, he had an unfeigned admiration; he was attracted to them by their earnestness, their scorn for Romish superstitions, and their hatred of compromise. But as he was out

of sympathy with the main purpose of their lives, his eulogy often degenerated into that tone of condescending patronage, which M. Renan was accustomed to use when speaking of the Hebrew Prophets and the Christian Apostles. He could not, and did not, conceal his opinion that the Reformers, although they had discarded the superstitions of Rome, remained under the power of a rival superstition not less irreconcilable with modern enlightenment. A sceptical man of the nineteenth century, writing of the religious prophets of the sixteenth, he perplexed his reflecting readers by the fervour of his admiration; for if the Reformers had no authentic religious mission to give to mankind a new form of faith, it is hard to justify their action in destroying the existing sanctions of morals and social order. The great schism which divided nations as well as churches, and the wars which followed, were too heavy a price to pay for a somewhat speedier disappearance of superstitious practices which would inevitably have vanished with the gradual progress of enlightened ideas.

Mr Froude's agreement with Erasmus did not rest upon similarity of temperament; for the Mr Froude of the History at all events retained the imperious ecclesiastical temperament, and would have preferred to rule opinion by scorn and anathemas rather than by arguments addressed to the understanding. His temperament, therefore, drew him towards the Reformers; but no similarity of temperament could bridge the chasm of opinion by which he was separated from them. With Erasmus, on the other hand, he was in as complete agreement as a writer of the nineteenth century could well be.

His Biography of Erasmus is, in its main lines, a powerful and conclusive Apologia. If English readers persist in misunderstanding Erasmus, it will not be the fault of Mr Froude, whose admirable translations of his frank and unreserved letters leave no room for further misunderstanding. In former times the character of Erasmus was an enigma, because of the current assumption that every Christian must be either a Roman Catholic or a Protestant. As he was neither, partisan writers, with their accustomed want of charity, solved the enigma by alleging that he was a Protestant by conviction, who refused to declare himself from dread of unpleasant consequences. The greatest scholar of the German Renaissance has thus been execrated for centuries by Protestant tradition as a worldly time-server, and Catholics did not care to defend one who had spoken disrespectfully of their Church. Mr Froude has not found it difficult to vindicate his memory from this charge, and he is not an over-partial advocate. We doubt, indeed, if he quite liked Erasmus. At all events, he has thrown no veil over his weaknesses, which are writ large in his correspondence. Like

Heine, he sometimes represented himself as worse than he was, writing most humiliating confessions to amuse himself and to shock his correspondents. He was certainly lacking in self-respect, and in the feeling of honourable independence. A dependent all his life, he had never any scruple in begging money and favours from his rich friends. Like the musician, Wagner, he estimated at their full value his services to his fellow-men, and he considered that persons of wealth should be willing to place him in those circumstances of easy comfort, in which he could do his work to the best advantage. The only apology that can be made for him is, that it was the custom of the age; poor scholars could not subsist save through the bounty of the great. And if Erasmus asked without delicacy, he gave without grudging to those poorer than himself. It may be added that he never bartered his freedom of thought or of speech in exchange for honour and pensions. Nevertheless, it would have been well for the reputation of Erasmus had he been a less importunate beggar.

A second prejudice, not so well founded, has been excited against Erasmus by the light, sarcastic tone he often adopted when writing of religious subjects. This may have been a symptom of the absence of profound religious faith, which is usually, although not always, serious in tone. But it is no proof of his insincerity, but rather of an honesty of character which kept him back from saying more than he really felt. It was his misfortune to have been trained in a religion and a theology for which he felt a profound disdain. His sense of reverence was therefore weakened in his youth, and he never quite recovered it. Later in life he discovered a religion in the New Testament which won his lasting regard; and it was the principal aim of his literary activity to make the New Testament known, and to recommend its practical teachings. But with regard to the dogmatical teaching even of the New Testament, especially as contained in the writings of St Paul and St John, he always remained uncertain, if not sceptical. The convictions needful for the religious Prophet he never possessed. It was a mark therefore of sincerity of character that he did not assume the Prophet's garment, but contented himself with the half-playful tone proper to the man of letters. Everywhere in his writings he insinuated his religious opinions, and they were always on the right side in matters of practice, but he never preached them. Those, however, who are acquainted with his writings can hardly have failed to note the accent of subdued fervour with which he always spoke of the practical side of New Testament religion.

The most serious charge against Erasmus is his alleged "Great Refusal" to cast in his lot with Luther, although convinced of the righteousness of his cause. To this charge the letters in Mr Froude's

volume furnish a complete answer. Erasmus agreed with Luther in his condemnation of the evil policy of the Popes, and of the ridiculous religion of the Friars. He desired to reform both by the help of these luminaries of learning and the Gospel; but here his agreement with Luther ended. Luther likewise wished to purify the doctrine of the Church, but he never doubted that a new system of dogma must be substituted for that of the schoolmen. Of the need for dogma he thus wrote in a letter quoted by Mr Froude: "Christians require certainty, definite dogmas, a sure Word of God which they can trust to live and die by. For such certainty Erasmus cares not." Whether Erasmus cared for such certainty or not, we cannot say; but he did not believe that it was attainable in the present life. Of doctrinal discussions he wrote: "May not a man be a Christian who cannot explain philosophically how the Nativity of the Son differs from the Procession of the Holy Spirit? If I believe in the Trinity in Unity, I want no arguments. If I do not believe, I shall not be convinced by reason. The sum of religion is peace, which can only be when definitions are as few as possible, and opinion is left free on many subjects. Our present problems are said to be waiting for the next Œcumenical Council. Better let them wait till the veil is removed and we see God face to face." In another letter, when writing of a proposed Crusade against the Turks, he thus expressed his opinion of the injury done to practical religion by doctrinal subtleties and debates: "Reduce the Articles of Faith to the fewest and simplest. Show them that Christ's yoke is easy, that we are shepherds and not robbers, and do not mean to oppress them. The cry is only for pardons, dispensations, and indulgences, and the trade goes on in the name of popes and princes, and even of Christ Himself. Ask a question of the scholastic divines and the casuists, and you are told of qualifications, of equivocations, and such like. No one of them will say to you, Do this and leave that. They ought to show their faith in their works, and convert Turks by the beauty of their lives." Had Erasmus, with such views, joined hands with Luther, he might have escaped bodily martyrdom, as did Luther—Erasmus frankly confessed he had no ambition to become a martyr—but he could hardly have escaped a spiritual martyrdom through association with men with whom he was in imperfect sympathy. Mr Froude expresses the opinion that the reply of Erasmus to Luther's first letter was entirely honourable to him. The same remark may be made with regard to his conduct through the whole controversy, if we fairly take into account his opinions and his position. He spoke highly of Luther's character and of his general aims; these he continued to defend even when writing to men in power who were Luther's enemies, and he steadily refused to write against

him, although he was strongly pressed to do so. It is true he regretted the vehemence of Luther's language; he counselled greater moderation, and he condemned his revolt against the authority of the Pope. As Erasmus attributed the evil condition of the Church and the Lutheran revolt itself to the evil policy of the Popes, it may seem that he ought in consistency to have approved of the action of Luther. But Erasmus looked upon the remedy as worse than the disease. The Popedom might be reformed; but if the sole centre of ecclesiastical and social order were destroyed, he saw nothing but disaster before the Church and the world. He had no belief in the possibility of a democratic reform of the Church: appeals to the mob were hateful to him, and he was aware that every previous attempt at reform, which had thrown off the authority of the Papacy, had ended in failure and in disaster. He foresaw more clearly than Luther did that the end of the Protestant movement would be schism and religious war, and his hatred of war amounted to a passion. "I have preached all my life," he wrote, "and shall not change my ways at the end of it." While Luther was predicting a speedy fulfilment of the most glorious prophecies of Isaiah through the preaching of the Gospel, Erasmus was looking forward to a schism of the Church and of the nations. There may have been something grander in Luther's faith than in the forebodings of Erasmus; and the new order which finally emerged may have recompensed Europe for the wars and tumults which the Reformation brought in its train. But the new order was not established by the evangelical means which Luther approved of, but by an alliance of the party of evangelical reform with scholars and princes, who transformed it into an organised system of dogma and polity which had considerable affinities to that of Rome. It is always a profitless task in studying history to consider what might have been; we must remember, as Mr Froude remarks, that the future course of things was hidden alike from Luther and from Erasmus. "Let any man of seventy," writes Mr Froude, "look back over what he has witnessed in his own time. Let him remember what was hoped for from political changes or wars, or from each step in his personal life, and compare what has really resulted from those things with what he once expected; how difficulties have shown themselves which no one foresaw; how his calculations have been mocked by incidents which the wisest never dreamt of; and he will plead to be judged, if his conduct comes under historical review, by his intentions and not by the event."

More than once in the course of his delightful volume Mr Froude counsels his readers to look at the history of the sixteenth century through the eyes of Erasmus. If we do so, we shall not always fully understand its splendid idealism, we shall not perhaps

fathom its profound religious passion ; but we shall possess in him a more impartial guide than we could have in any other man of his time ; for Erasmus did justice alike to the Reformers and to the good intentions of Leo X. An ecclesiastical trimmer, to use the word in no unfavourable sense, can never enjoy the plaudits of the *Claque* of the Catholic or Protestant party ; but he will help those who desire to do so, to form a just judgment of the characters of men who lived in a period of passionate strife, and cannot be estimated aright through the eyes of the partisans on either side.

JOHN GIBB.

Introduction to the New Testament.

By F. Godet, D.D., Professor in the Faculty of the Independent Church of Neuchatel. Particular Introduction. I. The Epistles of St Paul. Translated from the French by William Affleck, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Demy 8vo, pp. xviii. 621. Price, 12s. 6d. net.

New Testament Theology ; or, Historical Account of the Teachings of Jesus, and of Primitive Christianity according to the New Testament Sources.

By Dr Willibald Beyschlag, Professor of Theology, Halle. Translated by Rev. Neil Buchanan, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 2 vols. demy 8vo, pp. xxiii. 419, xii. 522. Price, 18s. net.

WHEN they appeared in their original French and German, these two books were reviewed at length in this Journal.¹ We have now the satisfaction of seeing them in a suitable English dress. They are both books of importance, and they have been fortunate in their translators. The English rendering, in both cases, is in general a trustworthy bit of work. It also reads pleasantly, giving as good a representation of the original as may be fairly expected in view of the differences in the idioms of the languages. It is by no means easy to reproduce in English the admirably lucid, free, and attractive style in which Professor Godet is a master. Mr Affleck, however, has done his task carefully and well.

These two books by no means move on the same plane. They have characteristic and far-reaching differences. But both are weighty contributions to the study of the New Testament, and to that of the Pauline writings in particular. The importance of Professor Godet's volume lies largely in its sober and admirably constructed defence of the Pauline authorship of the disputed

¹ Vol. III. p. 142, etc., and p. 391, etc.

Epistles. His discussion of the difficulties connected with the Pastoral Epistles, especially his examination of the objection drawn from the supposed "inadmissible situations" for the three letters, and his statement on the "possible situation" for them, deserve particular attention. It is one of several recent discussions which have helped to place these questions of the date and authorship of the Pastoral Epistles in a new position. But there are other things that give this book a value of its own. The sketch of Paul's career previous to his first Epistle is one of the most instructive sections of the book. There are some conclusions and some hypotheses in it, no doubt, which are open to question. The view which Professor Godet takes of the thorn, or the infirmity in the flesh, is one of these. He sets aside the ideas of ophthalmia, blindness, epilepsy, etc., and takes no notice of the suggestion of acute fever. He holds it unnecessary to identify the illness which detained Paul in Galatia with the chronic malady elsewhere referred to, and comes to the conclusion that the "permanent malady appearing in the form of sudden attacks, mentioned in the Corinthians, might be that with which certain preachers have been seized, a sudden cramp that suddenly deprives them of speech in the middle of their discourse, and only permits them to stammer, and, as it were, to rattle." But apart from some doubtful contentions of this kind, the review of Paul's life, with its discussions of the amount of Greek learning with which he may be credited, and, above all, with its examination of the historical problem of his conversion, is done as only a master in New Testament study and a mind equally reverent and scientific can do it.

Professor Beyschlag's treatment of New Testament Theology has also great and unchallengeable merits. Among all who have written on the subject he goes a way entirely his own, and presents many a question in a very novel light. His book is an eminently suggestive one, fertile in views and speculations, which often fail to carry assent, but which seldom fail to set us a-thinking. The parts in which he is least convincing are those in which he comes across our Lord's own teaching and that of the Apostles on the subject of His Person. Professor Beyschlag has a Christology of his own, a fine form of the Ideal Man theory, and the influence of this is felt in his exposition of these sections. His interpretation of our Lord's consciousness is, in our opinion, restricted beyond what is demanded by a historical treatment of the relevant passages. He is not to be classed, however, with the Unitarian or the Socinian, as we understand the term. To rank him with these is to misunderstand him and do him injustice. He is not an anti-Trinitarian. On the contrary, he belongs to the school of Schleiermacher, and holds that, while

Unitarianism "places an impassable gulf between God and man," in Christ we see the perfect union of the two. His difficulty is with the doctrine of a hypostatic Trinity, a Trinity of three "Persons." He is a modal Trinitarian, and adheres to a Christology which pre-supposes a Trinity of God. Much is to be gained by a study of these volumes. To read Beyschlag alongside Weiss is an excellent discipline for the students of New Testament Theology.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Jesu Verkündigung und Lehre vom Reiche Gottes in ihrer geschichtlichen Bedeutung.

Von Dr Georg Schnedermann, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Leipzig. 1 Hälfte. Die Verkündigung Jesu vom Kommen des Königreiches Gottes. Leipzig: Deichert, 1893. 8vo, pp. 198. Price, 3s.

Jesu Stellung zum mosaichen Gesetz: ein Beitrag zum Leben Jesu und zur Ethik.

Von Lic. theol. Leonard Jacob. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. iv. 46. Price, 2s.

THE first of these works forms a helpful contribution to Biblical Theology. Professor Schnedermann has already published several essays in this line of thought; but, growingly impressed with the necessity of giving more complete and permanent form as well as systematic character to his views on the teaching of Jesus regarding the Kingdom of God, he has now published this first instalment of his work. In doing so, he rather modestly does not plead that he has anything very new to say, but he does contend that the subject has not hitherto been treated with sufficient clearness, and that it is not so generally known as its importance deserves. He thus claims that his work is at once necessary and useful.

Special prominence has at various periods been assigned to the Kingdom of God as the central or ruling idea in the Christian religion. Ritschl and his followers will at once occur to the minds of many as men who have been seeking to enforce this as the dominant thought in New Testament teaching. With the Ritschlian view, however, both in form and substance, there is anything but entire satisfaction, and this feeling of uneasiness makes itself felt in many ways. The present work may be regarded as a fresh attempt to formulate a more just and adequate conception of our Lord's doctrine. The author explicitly states that he regards the view given of the Kingdom of God in the teaching of Jesus as not a distinctively new element; he rather maintains that this view was, in

the first instance, Israelitish or Jewish. Nor does he conceal his opposition to all rationalistic interpretations of Scripture.

Special value attaches to Professor Schnedermann's remarks regarding the works of others who have already written on the same subject. His criticisms are lucid and pointed, and commend themselves as remarkably just and fair. There is ample evidence of extensive reading, combined with sound judgment and independent thinking.

At the outset we take exception to Herr Jacob's method of procedure. Though expecting, from the title of his essay, to find something said about the Law of Moses, we discover no allusion whatever either to Moses or his Law; indeed, the very first sentence, giving, as it were, the keynote of the whole, leads us somewhat plainly to understand that we are to look for something else: "Moral ideas are not excoagitated by moralists, but grow in history." Further on we find him writing thus, in the unfolding of his views: "The 'Law'—the definite form of the moral ideal of this people [Israel]—is ever based on the historical situation for the time being"; and again, "The moral ideal, like the idea of God, is a product of history."

In attempting to establish his position, he points first to the condition of the ancient Israelites, who were comfortably settled in Canaan, and were led by their circumstances, he says, to think of God as favouring them because of their obedience to His will. The second stage, he says, was reached at the time of the Exile, when the bitter experiences of the nation made them think, especially under Ezekiel's guidance, of God's justice, but also of His mercy and salvation. With this was associated the Messianic hope, which he regards as the longing for a new political situation based on righteous principles. Next, after the return from the Exile, there was one homogeneous nation, one worship, one priesthood. All this brought into prominence the fact of Israel's separation from other nations—the righteous from the unrighteous. This idea was fostered by the observance of the Sabbath, and by abstinence from certain meats. Later, during the times of cruel oppression under Greek and Roman conquerors, God came to be regarded as the "God of Heaven," the pure one who can no longer dwell in this world of impurity. And still later, when an overgrowth of religious and ceremonial observances interfered with the performance of simple moral duties, men came to think it was all one *what* they did, provided they did something.

On coming to state his views concerning the position of Jesus in relation to the "Mosaic" Law, as thus briefly represented, the writer declines to follow Baur, Strauss, and Renan, who regard

Jesus primarily as a new moral teacher, and secondarily as Messiah; he prefers to follow Keim in regarding the position of Jesus towards the Law as dependent on his consciousness of Messiahship and Sonship. He maintains that "the whole force of the personal life of Jesus, and therewith also the moral principle working in it, is included in the Messianic consciousness of Jesus"; and again, "in the Messianic consciousness of Jesus, religion and morality are combined"; Jesus presented a "new moral principle."

Enough, perhaps, has been given to convey some idea of this work. The perusal is at least stimulating; one cannot proceed far without stopping to ask, What does this mean? or, Is this true?

JAMES KENNEDY.

**Quam notitiam linguæ Hebraicæ habuerint Christiani
medii ævi temporibus in Gallia.**

*Autore Sam. Berger. Parisiis: apud Hachette et Socios, 1893.
8vo, pp. xii. 60. Price, 3s.*

M. BERGER deserves the heartiest expression of gratitude in return for his invaluable monograph on Hebrew learning among French Christians during the Middle Ages. Such a work must certainly have been a labour of love; the time and labour spent in the preparation of this small but thorough treatise are incalculable. We may venture to affirm, however, that even the gathering of the material here presented in lucid and orderly form must have occupied many years. The treatise could have been produced only by a skilled worker of indomitable perseverance, accurate observation, and sound judgment.

Beginning with an account of the unknown author of the work *De Quaestionibus Hebraicis in Libros Regum et Paralipomenon*, and closing with a short notice of Nicolaus de Lyra, M. Berger presents us with a variety of most interesting information, arranged in separate chapters. These treat of the Pronunciation of the Hebrew Language, the Rendering of Hebrew Nouns, an almost forgotten Latin translation of the Old Testament made directly from the original in the thirteenth century—not to specify further the various biographical accounts of individuals more or less distinguished for their knowledge of Hebrew and for literary work connected with that language. The mere fact that most of the material here set before us has been derived from mediæval manuscripts, preserved in various libraries scattered through different parts of Europe, may lead us to form some idea of the difficulties to be overcome before these results could be obtained.

The Latinity is excellent; the typographical execution is all that could be desired.

JAMES KENNEDY.

Sammlung von Lehrbüchern der Praktischen Theologie in gedrängter Darstellung.

Hrsg. von D. H. Hering. VII. Band. Pp. 272. Berlin: Reuther
u. Reichard. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate.
Price, M. 4.

SEVERAL instalments of this new series have come to hand. Four belong to the seventh volume, which is to sketch the system of Church law for the Evangelical Church of Germany. The four instalments all but complete the volume as described in the prospectus. The author is Dr K. Köhler, a member of the Supreme Consistorial Court at Darmstadt. In the *prolegomena* he briefly discusses the nature of the Church, its relation to the Kingdom of God, the Catholic and Evangelical conceptions of the Church, national and State churches, and the essential function of the Church to edify herself. A basis is thus provided for the definition of Church law. It is the sum of the rules laid down by the Church for the guidance of her members in their common Church life, to which must be added any enactments on the part of the State determining the legal position of the Church. And its sources are to be found, not in Scripture or the Confessions, except in so far as they determine the nature and purpose of the Church, but in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, in ecclesiastical arrangements and regulations, in the laws of the German Empire or of particular States, and in long-established practice.

The main body of the work consists of five parts. The first gives an account of what the author understands by the German Evangelical Church, of the mutual relations of its parts, and of their relation to the State. The German Evangelical Church is a somewhat loose expression for all the Evangelical State Churches in the Empire, of which Dr Köhler enumerates nearly forty. Careful statements are given as to the position of congregations in the various churches, and as to the basis of church-membership with its duties and privileges. In expounding the relations of Church and State, occasion is taken to discriminate between "territorialism" which makes church-government a function of the State, and "collegiatism," which reaches the same practical result on the ground of an implied contract between the Church and the State. The latter is apparently preferred by the author, who sees that the day of "territorialism" is past, but thinks that history makes it impossible to accept the separation of Church and State. That would mean for the State a falling away from its high calling, and "for the Church the danger of serious confusion, because the historical preparation for a position resting entirely on private right is absolutely wanting." The first part closes with an Appendix on the relation of the Roman Church to the State in Germany. It is

provokingly summary with regard to the last twenty years. The second part deals with church-government. Dr Köhler has some difficulty in defining this part of his subject so as to exclude the pastor from any official claim to a share in it. He rightly rejects as unevangelical the "Catholicism" which would assign church-government to the clergy alone, but nothing could more clearly show how far the "Evangelical Church" has travelled from the Reformation point of view than Dr Köhler's not very convincing attempt to get rid of inconvenient passages in some of the sixteenth century documents, which undoubtedly assign to the clergy a share in the government of the Church. His account of church-government by the State is, that it is "no part of State power," nor is it any "Episcopal power," but it is "something annexed to State power connected therewith by positive law, yet undistinguishable from it though not comprehended in it by any inner necessity." The thing is evidently as difficult to describe as it is to justify. He argues that it has already become, and will more and more become, "a right of protection and review"; and he hopes it will continue so in order that the Church may be saved from the domination of party majorities, which, he says, is "inevitable in a thorough-going clerical or synodical government." It is hard to resist the conviction that a good deal of what the author has written on church-government is the product of prejudice rather than calm reason. And so we are not surprised to find that the universal priesthood of believers has, in his view, no bearing on questions of church-government. There are limits, however, to his defence of the existing state of matters. Patronage, for instance, is an anomaly. "Public rights in the possession of private individuals, though quite common in the Middle Ages, are for the present age an impossibility." Of the remaining parts not much need be said. They deal respectively with the clergy, the functions of the Church, and Church property. The general discussion of the clerical office makes it clear that the clergy have no jurisdiction, but are themselves subject to church-government, except in the cure of souls strictly defined. A clear account is given of what training is required for the office, of the means of obtaining an appointment, of ordination as admitting to office, and of the rights and duties appertaining to it; and note is taken of peculiarities connected with different parts of the Empire. The account of the functions of the Church sets forth the prevailing practices as regards baptism, catechising, confirmation, public worship, the Lord's Supper, marriage, burial, discipline, and charity. Altogether the book is very useful and interesting, but Dr Köhler is far too easily convinced about some things. It is too late to tell us, as he does without qualification, that the Catholic Church principle first finds expression in Ignatius. *Jus in sacra* is a serious misprint (p. 60).

JAMES ROBERTSON.

Notices.

Studies in the History of Christian Apologetics, New Testament and Post-Apostolic,¹ is the title given to the third and concluding volume of Dr James Macgregor's System of Christian Apologetics. Since the publication of this book the author has been removed by death, to the sorrow of many in Scotland and elsewhere who knew his great ability and valued him as a friend. Trained in the school of the strong, logical Theology of a former age, and gifted with a vigorous intellect, he was equalled by few either in acquaintance with the great system-builders of the seventeenth century, or in the power of handling difficult dogmatic questions. The present volume has all the characteristic qualities of the former two. It is conservative in spirit, discursive in method, abounding in things always readily told though often little relevant to the immediate object, and in its main propositions logically reasoned. It is lacking both in unity and in proportion. The first book is occupied with the New Testament itself, especially with Christ's own method, His appeal to prophecy, His use of Miracle, His personal testimony. This is followed by a similar study of the practice of the Apostles. In this connection, some very good things are said of the place occupied by Miracle in general, and the resurrection of Christ in particular, in the ministry of the Apostles, and also of the methods of defence adopted by Peter and Paul. The second book is given to a review of the two great periods of Apologetics—the Post-Apostolic and the Modern. A number of matters not very pertinent to the argument are dealt with in a series of Appendices. There is no lack of ability in the book. But on such subjects as Prophecy, and on Old Testament questions as a whole, its position is not that of the present day.

Dr Mair's *Studies in the Christian Evidences*² appears in a third edition, revised and enlarged. It consists of a series of papers which are intended to help intelligent members and adherents of the Church who may be vexed by certain difficulties of faith. From a Theistic foundation it aims at leading the earnest inquirer on to the central truths of the Gospel. It does this in a sober and careful way, touching on the relations between physical science and Christianity, and giving a very useful summary of the evidence for the authenticity of the New Testament writings. One of the best sections of the book is one which deals with the argument for the unique personality of Christ. The volume as a whole is well fitted

¹ By the Rev. James Macgregor, D.D., Oamaru. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 370. Price 7s. 6d.

² By Alexander Mair, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 415. Price 6s.

to meet the needs of those to whom it is specially addressed, and deserves the success which has attended it.

Few English pastors can match Dr Dale in large and luminous statement of the doctrines of Christianity. In times when the current has been so much the other way, he has never been afraid to come before his people with the strong meat of Christian doctrine ; and in the last book¹ which he has published, we see how he has been able to expound from the pulpit "in an orderly and systematic manner all the principal doctrines of the Christian faith." Happy are the people who receive such teaching and are trained to value it. Dr Dale has read largely and thought deeply on the great truths of the Christian Revelation. He has written one of the best books we possess on the Atonement ; and in this volume we get the substance of his deepest thoughts and maturest preaching on the greatest subjects. One section of Christian doctrine is left undiscussed, that which includes the grave problems of the Last Things. Another, that to which Justification and the operation of Grace belong, is but partially considered ; but on the Being of God, the Humanity and the Divinity of Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, Man, Sin, and the Atonement, Dr Dale discourses and reasons in a way befitting the majesty and moral magnitude of the themes. The book is a powerful, healthsome, bracing book, which should be read and read again.

Mrs Agnes Smith Lewis, to whose liberality and enterprise we are indebted for the discovery of the Syriac palimpsest, issues a translation of the text of the Codex.² The publication is a most timely one, and will be a material help to a proper estimate of the document. A short narrative is given of the circumstances of the discovery ; the relation of this Codex to other Syriac Versions is considered ; the manuscript is described ; and some of its leading characteristics are stated. In order to increase the usefulness of the translation, marginal notes are given indicating those "variations from our English Authorised Version which have their equivalents either in the Revised Version, as substantially representing the testimony of the most ancient Greek manuscripts, in Cureton's MS., or in Codex Bezae as the chief representative of the Old Latin." It is of interest to see that Mrs Lewis's study of the Version leads her to conclude that it is not the work of a heretic, and that she inclines to understand the word *Mēpharrēshē* (in the sentence "here endeth the Gospel of the *Mēpharrēshē* four books"), as meaning "of the interpreters" or "translators," although she does not regard the

¹ Christian Doctrine : A Series of Discourses. By R. W. Dale, LL.D., Birmingham. London : Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 329. Price 6s.

² A Translation of the Four Gospels from the Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest. London : Macmillan. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 239. Price, 6s. net.

question as settled. Together with Mrs Lewis's translation we have the Syriac text itself, published in splendid form by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.¹ The text is reproduced as edited by the late Professor Bensley, Mr J. Rendel Harris, and Mr F. Crawford Burkitt. It could not be in better hands. The value of the publication is increased by an Introduction from Mrs Lewis's pen, and by some valuable notes, tables, and facsimiles. Students have now the means of examining the text for themselves, and of forming their own conclusions. It is premature to hazard any very decided opinion upon many questions suggested by it. It certainly represents an old text, perhaps an older form of the Old Syriac than Cureton's. But even this has to be further verified, and other questions, such as that touching its relation to the Diatessaron, require to be more carefully thought out. Many of its readings are of great interest, above all that in Matthew i. 16. Discussion has naturally centred for the time in this last, and some very hasty opinions have been emitted. Except by some *tour de force*, which would be a practical surrender of scientific principle, and of the value of objective evidence in matters of Textual Criticism, it is impossible to rid the Codex either of the strange reading in Matthew i. 16, or of the testimony elsewhere borne by its text to the supernatural birth of our Lord. To urge, as some do, that the uncertain and divided voice of this one manuscript, which at its best is the voice of an indirect witness, shall overbear the consentient testimony of our oldest direct witnesses is an extraordinary position to assume. The peculiarity of reading in the verse referred to has its explanation, perhaps in the ideas of generations which prevailed in those times, as has been suggested, perhaps in the fact that the genealogies were taken precisely as they stood in the public registers, perhaps in something else. It is much too soon to commit oneself to a positive opinion. The manuscript must first be much more thoroughly studied, and the questions of its date, character (whether heretical or otherwise), and relations to other texts, much more patiently thought out. Meantime, we owe much to those who have put the materials into our hands.

The issue of a new and cheaper edition of Hermann Lotze's *Microcosmos*² is a real boon both to students of philosophy and to students of theology. This fourth edition is in every respect complete as regards contents. It is produced in a very handsome form, and its price is less by one-third than that of previous editions. It is a work of supererogation to speak at this date of the importance

¹ The Four Gospels in Syriac. Transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest. Cambridge: University Press. Pp. xlv. 318. Price, 24s.

² Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. xxiv. 714, and x. 740. Price, 24s.

of a book which has taken so high a place in philosophical literature, and to which many thinkers confess themselves debtors. It is a great book, full of strong and elevated thinking on nature, the soul, life, man, and God, which neither theologian nor philosopher can safely neglect. It has also the advantage of appearing in a trustworthy and readable translation.

Two interesting volumes come from Dr Alexander Whyte. One of these is a Lecture on *Jacob Behmen*,¹ the working shoemaker, whom Dr Whyte classes as "the greatest of the mystics and the father of German philosophy." A very vivid account is given of Behmen's life, his spiritual experiences, and his theological ideas. The man and his teaching are both subjects which at once fascinate and puzzle the student. They have deeply influenced many theologians of the first order, among others the late Professor Franz Delitzsch. As in the case of others of the great mystics, there were two sides to Behmen's doctrine, one of which is of doubtful value and of very mixed character. Dr Whyte gives an excellent appreciation of the better side, and does ample justice to the deep, devout spirit and extraordinary genius of this strange seventeenth century seer. He does it all with the fervour of one in full sympathy with the mind revealed in Behmen's writings. The other volume is on *Samuel Rutherford and some of his Correspondents*.² It consists of a series of Lectures delivered in St George's Free Church, Edinburgh, and is on the same plan as the author's well-known *Bunyan Characters*. Dr Whyte could have no more congenial subject, and this book will rank with the best things he has written. Nothing could be more just or more telling than his estimate of Rutherford in all the strange and almost contradictory qualities that met in the man, the pastor, and the theologian. The sketches of the Correspondents, the Gordons of Cardoness, Marion M'Naught, Lady Kenmure, Lady Culross, Lady Boyd, and others, are done in attractive literary form, and with a fine insight into different types of character and experience.

It was a happy inspiration that moved Mr Jolly to prepare his volume on Ruskin's ideas of *Education*.³ As one who has long held the position of one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, and who at the same time has been a diligent and appreciative student of Ruskin, Mr Jolly has peculiar qualifications for such a task, and he has produced a book that is full of fruitful and fertile reflections.

¹ Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 86. Price, 1s. 3d.

² Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 221. Price, 2s. 6d.

³ Ruskin on Education. Some needed but neglected Elements restated and reviewed. By William Jolly. London: George Allen. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 167. Price, 2s. net.

His object is to draw attention to certain general principles and aims which require more attention than they receive in our present educational system. He regards Mr Ruskin's views on the subject as something very different from the impracticable and eccentric "counsels of perfection" which they are often supposed to be ; and with wise skill he culls from the great critic's extensive writings the passages which best express his conceptions of an ideal education. These are given under the three great divisions of the *General Principles of Education*, the *Training of Taste in Schools*, and *Moral Education in Schools*. Mr Jolly's own statements, accompanying and expounding Ruskin's teaching, are not the least valuable parts of the volume. They deserve the attention of all who have a wish to secure a place for the highest elements of intellectual, æsthetic, and moral training in our educational system

Dr Robson's *The Holy Spirit the Paraclete*¹ gives a series of ten instructive chapters on a section of Christian doctrine on which there is ample room for restatement and further study. The book opens with a consideration of the general position occupied by the two Paracletes, Christ and the Holy Spirit, in the teaching of the New Testament. It then passes on to examine in succession the doctrine of the personality of the Spirit, His work in Creation, in Christ, and in the World, the new birth, the baptism of the Spirit, and the conditions of receiving the Spirit. The concluding chapters deal with what the New Testament says of the *eternal sin*, and with the question of the inspiration of the Bible. The broad lines of New Testament teaching on these important and difficult topics are drawn out with much care, and a general view is given of the magnitude of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Special attention may be called to what is said of man's Sonship ; of the Christian view of Sin as illustrated by Hinduism ; of the relation between the Biblical doctrine of Creation and the theory that denies successive acts in the Creative process ; and of the Biblical view of the immanence and transcendence of God.

Dr A. B. Davidson completes his *Introductory Hebrew Grammar* by the publication of his *Hebrew Syntax*.² It consists, in part, of notes which he has been in the habit of using with his own classes. In form, statement of principles and rules, and selection of illustrative examples, it has all the advantage therefore of the results of long experience in the actual work of teaching. A book like this, which comes from the hand of our first Hebraist, is its own best

¹ A Study of the Work of the Holy Spirit in Man. By the Rev. John Robson, D.D. Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 248. Price, 5s.

² Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Demy 8vo, pp. x. 233. Price, 7s 6d.

commendation. It will be eagerly welcomed by all students and teachers of Hebrew.

Much attention has been given of late to the study of the Grammar of New Testament Greek. Viteau's French treatise is but one of several tokens of re-awakened interest in this subject. Professor Schmiedel's eighth and thoroughly revised edition of Winer, of which one part has come to hand, promises much.¹ And we have now the pleasure of noticing a second revised and enlarged edition of Burton's *Syntax*,² a book that reflects credit on the scholarship of the University of Chicago. Professor Burton's treatise is one of great merit—one of the very best books indeed on its subject. It has also a character of its own. Its main purpose is to "contribute to the interpretation of the New Testament by the exposition of the functions of the verb in New Testament Greek, so far as these functions are expressed by the distinctions of moods and tenses." So far, therefore, it resembles Professor Driver's well-known contribution to the *Syntax* of the Hebrew verb. Its chief interest is not historical or philological, but exegetical grammar. It has a precision and scientific quality which made it a most valuable addition to our grammatical literature.

Dr W. T. Davison of Handsworth has followed up his attractive volume on *The Praises of Israel* by another equally attractive on *The Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament*.³ These are among the best contributions to the series of *Books for Bible Students* edited by the Rev. Arthur E. Gregory. An introductory chapter explains the place and genius of the Wisdom books in Hebrew literature. Four excellent chapters are then given to *Job*, four to *Proverbs*, two to *Ecclesiastes*, and one to the *Song of Songs*. In each case we have a very clear statement of the contents, and general character of the book, and a concise summary of the leading views which have been taken of its scope and teaching. The chapters on *Job* are specially valuable, giving a well-considered account of its literary style, the debated questions of age and authorship, the problem with which it grapples, and the solution which it offers. The limits under which light could come to *Job*, under conditions which did not open to him the moral redress and compensations of a future world, are appropriately recognised and clearly stated.

¹ B. Winer's *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*. I. Theil: Einleitung und Formenlehre. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xvi. 144. Price, M. 2.60.

² *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek*. By Ernest De Witt Burton. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Demy 8vo, pp. xix. 215. Price, 5s. 6d. net.

³ London: Charles H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 311. Price, 2s. 6d.

A volume on *John the Baptist*¹ is contributed by the Rev. J. Feather to the series of *Handbooks for Bible Classes*. In some things we could wish fuller and more definite statements than the writer gives. His expositions of the Sonship of Christ, and the nature of John's baptism, for example, are less complete than they might be. But he gives a good general view of the Baptist and his work, and touches the main points very sensibly. The style is forcible and often picturesque. This appears in the headings of the chapters. They are such as these—"The Thought that Breathes," "The Word that Burns," "On the Steep Slope," "Over the Precipice," "Jesus and Nemesis," &c. The book is a very readable one.

The latest addition to the series of *Guild Text Books* comes from Canada, and has for its subject *The Religions of the World*.² The author does not, of course, attempt to overtake the immense field indicated by the title. He confines his attention to the four systems of Mohammedanism, Confucianism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Here and there we come upon a statement which goes beyond what the present state of knowledge really warrants. In the sketch of Confucianism, for example, the story of the meeting between Confucius and Lao-tse is given, which is now doubted or discredited by our best sinologues. It is not to be expected, however, that every statement made in any book on these vast and difficult themes should be beyond challenge, and Principal Grant's volume is packed with good matter, carefully digested and clearly stated. It represents extensive and appreciative study of these great systems, and furnishes a generally correct and attractive account of their leading features.

Professor Swete and the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press are to be congratulated on the completion of their edition of the *Septuagint*.³ The third volume contains the books from Hosea to Fourth Maccabees, and brings to a successful conclusion an important enterprise commenced in 1883, of which the first volume was published in 1887, and the second in 1891. We have already spoken of the general principles on which this edition has been prepared, and the manuscripts which have been employed. It is enough to say now that a great boon is conferred upon students by this publication, and that this edition is likely to remain for long

¹ *The Last of the Prophets: A Study of the Life, Teaching and Character of John the Baptist*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 157. Price, 2s.

² By G. M. Grant, D.D., Principal, Queen's University, Canada. London: Adam & Charles Black. Pp. viii. 137. Price, 6d. net.

³ *The Old Testament in Greek, according to the Septuagint*. Edited, for the Syndics of the University Press, by Henry Barclay Swete, D.D. Vol. III. Cambridge: University Press. 8vo, pp. xix. 879. Price, 7s. 6d.

the best manual edition of the Greek Septuagint. The great Vatican Codex is used again for the text of the Prophets, while, for the Books of Maccabees (for which that manuscript is not available), the Codex Alexandrinus has been followed. Other manuscripts have been used throughout wherever it has been possible to use them, $\aleph A \Phi O$ and others for the Prophets, the Sinaitic and the Venetus for Maccabees. The *Psalms of Solomon* are given at the end of the volume, according to the text of a Vatican Codex collated by Klostermann of Kiel.

We have also to hand a second and enlarged edition of the Rev. Alexander Brown's treatise on *The Great Day of the Lord*,¹ a book which advocates, indeed, a method of interpretation in our opinion too limited to cover the general New Testament doctrine of the End, but which gives the results of a thoroughly independent study, is written with much vigour, and is to be welcomed, as all honest attempts to set old opinions in new lights should be welcomed.

Mr Myer's book on *Scarabs*² contains great wealth of curious and interesting matter on the history and symbolism of the Scarabaeus. The strength of the volume is naturally given to the place of the Scarab in the customs and religion of the Egyptians, but we get also much interesting information about its place and use among the Phoenicians, the Etruscans, and other ancient peoples. There are chapters, too, on the manufacture of the symbol, the methods of engraving it, and modern forgeries of it. A detailed account is furnished of the various modes in which it was worn, and the places in which it is usually found. Its religious significance in connection with the whole Egyptian idea of man and his future, is carefully stated, and relevant passages are given from the *Book of the Dead*, M. Paul Pierret's edition being used for the purpose. The Book is full of interest throughout, and furnishes an account of the Egyptian doctrine of immortality which it is both profitable and pleasant to read.

Two volumes of the *Biblical Illustrator* are given to the *Epistle to the Romans*.³ They provide the reader with a digest of the best homiletical literature on the greatest of all Paul's Epistles. The expository and illustrative matter is drawn from an immense variety of sources, and is, as a whole, wisely selected. The eighth chapter is done with special care, all due attention being given to its great doctrinal statements, and to the various ways in which these have been handled by preachers and interpreters of different schools.

It is with a pathetic interest that we open the pages of a new

¹ London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 403.

² By Isaac Myer, LL.B., Member of the American Oriental Society. London: D. Nutt. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 177. Price, 12s. net.

³ Edited by Rev. Joseph S. Ezell, M.A. London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, Vol. I., pp. 718; Vol. II., pp. 780. Price, 7s. 6d. each.

edition of the late Professor W. Robertson Smith's *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*.¹ We are reminded of the loss which the all too early death of the gifted author means for Hebrew Scholarship, and especially for the study of the origins of religious beliefs and customs. With deep regret we think of the light which might have been cast on the great question of the belief in a future life by the prolonged researches and scientific inquiries embodied in the later series of Burnett Lectures, now, alas! beyond the reach of the publisher. But we are thankful to have this new edition of the First Series as revised by Professor Smith himself. The volume, so patiently worked over by the author, has also had the benefit of the careful editing of his friend the Rev. Dr Sutherland Black. In these Lectures as they now stand, we have Professor Smith's final words on the fundamental institutions in the Semitic religions. They deal with the nature of the religious community, the relations between the gods and their worshippers, holy places in their relations to God and to man, holy waters, trees, caves, stones, and sacrifices. There seems to be no material change in Professor Smith's general conception of the growth of Semitic belief, worship, and institution. At many points of his argument, however, things are revised, stated in fresh ways, and brought up to the standard of the latest scholarship. Nothing bearing on the subject in hand escapes the author's eye. Illustrations of his thesis and facts in support of it are collected from every possible quarter, so that the argument has more and more the appearance of a solid structure carefully built up of a multitude of little things. The most important, as well as the most novel, thing in these Lectures is, of course, the account which they give of the origin and development of sacrifice. This is bound up with the Totemistic theory, the tribal character of early Semitic religion, and other things on which the last word is far from having been said. It gives up the explanation of animal sacrifices among the Semites which has contented most, and interprets them not as gifts to the gods but as acts of communion in which gods and worshippers together partake of the flesh and blood of a victim. The theory of sacrifice as originating in a community between gods and men represented by a common meal, and as developing from that into the later forms, piacular and other, is worked out in these Lectures with a skill which goes far to convince. It has much to commend it; it has also difficulties and uncertainties of which it can scarcely be said to be as yet relieved. But Professor Robertson Smith has given it a reasonableness and a cohesion which must henceforth make it a theory to reckon with.

Dr H. Clay Trumbull, favourably known in England by his books on *Kadesh-Barnea* and the *Blood-Covenant*, adds to his re-

¹ London: A. & C. Black. 8vo, pp. xiv. 507. Price, 15s. net.

putation by the publication of his *Studies in Oriental Social Life*.¹ The volume is large, beautifully printed, and full of interesting and profitable matter. It differs from many other books of the same kind in being a "classified treatment of certain phases of Oriental life and methods of thought, verified by personal experiences in the East." In this respect it claims to have a distinctive character, and the claim is a just one. The subjects specially dealt with are the customs and ideas connected in the East with betrothals, weddings, mourning, funerals, hospitalities, ways, prayers and praying, food, the paternal relation, healing, gold and silver, pilgrimages. On all these the author speaks of what he has himself had abundant opportunity of observing. His descriptions are vivid. They light up many a passage in Scripture, and give a new force to incident, parable, and miracle. There are also instructive chapters on Jacob's Well, the lessons of the Wilderness, and the Voice of the Forerunner. Nor should we omit mention of an account of the Samaritan Passover and a visit to Gerizim, which adds to the value of an ably written and most useful volume.

Both Dr Maclaren himself and his large circle of readers are to be congratulated on the completion of a contribution to the Expositor's Bible on which he has been at work for some time. The third volume of his *Book of Psalms*,² embracing Psalms xc.-cl., yields to neither of the former two in general merit, while it follows the same method and aims at the same object. In this volume, as in the others, there are some Psalms, such as the xc., ciii., cxvi., which are peculiarly germane to Dr Maclaren's genius, and they are nobly dealt with. All through the volume we have strong, terse, pointed, sympathetic exposition, practical in its spirit and aim, but based none the less on exact scientific study.

*Clerical Life and Work*³ is a collection of sermons with an Essay by the late Canon Liddon. The sermons cover a period of forty years, and a good many of them have been published before. Those in charge of the late Canon's affairs have done well, however, to republish these discourses. Their intrinsic value is by no means slight, and they show the great preacher in one of his most attractive relations. They help us to understand how faithfully he dealt with the clergy, how high an estimate he had of the office of preacher and pastor, and with what pains he prepared himself and taught others to prepare themselves for the sacred duties of the pulpit. They abound in grave and weighty counsels.

Under the title of *Psalm-Mosaics*,⁴ the Rev. A. Saunders Dyer

¹ Philadelphia: Wattles & Co. 8vo, pp. xviii. 437. Price, \$2.50.

² London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 461. Price, 7s. 6d.

³ London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. 377. Price, 5s.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. vi. 589. Price, 10s. 6d.

Chaplain in H.M. Indian Service, adds another to a class of books of which we have had several of late years. There is a place for this one among others, and it has features of its own. It is a "biographical and historical commentary on the Psalms," in the form of a collection of incidents, emotions, and experiences connected with the Psalms or illustrative of them. Its materials are drawn from many centuries, and from the records of men of all varieties of Christian mood and character. They are well selected, and, as a general rule, appropriate to the passage. The book is a good contribution to a kind of study which is far from being exhausted.

Record of Select Literature.

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History of Dogma.

By Adolf Harnack: translated from third German Edition by Neil Buchanan. Williams & Norgate, 1894. [Theological Translation Library.] Volume I. 8vo, pp. xxii. 364. Price, 10s. 6d.

Few books deserve better to be translated than Harnack's History. This volume contains about one-half of the matter covered by the first volume of the original. It does not carry us very far, for (barring the supplementary chapter on Jewish Christianity) it ends with Marcion. But the Prolegomena are very full; and in these, and also in the opening chapters of Book I., the reader finds himself in the thick of questions which Harnack as a student of doctrine and of history thinks himself concerned to press; — questions which the reader, too, must think of, if he is to accompany Harnack down the stream of history. Some of this matter, it has been maintained, might have been left out; and so it might, but not by Harnack. And as Harnack's view is worth reckoning with, and he must take his own way of stating it, no space is wasted after all. Of the actual history we have here the chapters on the Gnostics and on Marcion. They are very good specimens of the way in which ancient thinking is made alive again in Harnack's hands.

Harnack is a very clever and a very learned man, but he is more; one can claim for him something akin to genius. At all events his learning down to its finest fibres is animated by extraordinary vitality. He is constitutionally alert and inquisitive; and a profound interest in the problems of Christian history intensifies his scrutiny. Naturally, therefore, his historical work connects itself with decided convictions of his own about the Christian religion. These may render impartiality a more difficult task for him, but on the other hand they put great life into his cross-questioning of the ancient words and deeds. He possesses a fine power of interpreting and combining facts, as well as of divining the actual movements of human minds presupposed by the formulas which seem now so flat and dead. He has been fortunate in falling on an age remarkable for discoveries, or recoveries, of lost documents. These have given him special opportunities. Now and then his brilliant gifts, or his favourite theories, have led him into audacities of historical speculation in which he has not been generally followed. But no real student will deny that he is a man of very fine powers, who has shed unexpected light on many aspects of the great field he cultivates. The work before us is that into which, more than into any hitherto published,

he has put his whole thoughts about Christianity as a historical religion. In constructing his representation and criticism of the process by which Christian doctrines came to be, he discloses his own thoughts of Christ, and of the Christian faith. It need not be concealed that, having his own system, he desires, as far as he fairly may, to have the verdict of history on his side. If this makes it difficult for a writer to hold the balance even, one can say that at least Dr Harnack is well aware of the moral condition set for him as a historian. "Historical study," he says in his interesting preface, "is an ethical task. The historian ought to be faithful in every sense of the word; whether he has been so or not is the question on which his readers have to decide." Moreover, the best we can look for in reference to any historian, is that the possible causes of bias should be declared and allowed for. That is substantially Harnack's case; though probably there are English readers to whom this will not be so obvious as it may be presumed to be in Germany.

Probably, then, the best service one can do is to note Harnack's point of view; for this explains at the same time his conception of the History of Dogma. Only let it not be thought that Harnack's book is a long argument in behalf of a theory. He has a theory, and it comes in where it may or must come in. But the objective historical treatment which a student wants is steadily aimed at. The point of view, however, is the most convenient and useful subject of comment.

First of all it may be well to note that for the purpose of his history, Harnack takes dogma in a special sense. He distinguishes Dogma from doctrine, in so far as doctrine may be propounded by any Christian, but Dogma is doctrine which the Church lays down, and which she lays down as essential, pertaining to the basis of faith, life, and fellowship. Harnack lays stress on the point for this reason partly: he wishes to show that when doctrine assumes the character of dogma it begins to occupy a new place, and to operate in quite a new way on the very processes to which it owes its own formation. Passing this, it may be asked if dogma is taken in the sense indicated, what lines of historical investigation will it be found to suggest or demand? According to Harnack formation of dogma, in the full and strict sense, is found in the early, chiefly in the Greek, Church during several centuries. In the Church of Rome we find it with an altered significance; but subject to that modification the formation has been going on down to our own day. In Protestantism, if formation of dogma can be recognised at all, it ceased soon after the Reformation. Abundance of interesting suggestion is connected with all this. But most men will feel, probably, that Harnack has entangled himself at the outset in speculations which embarrass the reader, and by which, in

the end, he has not himself been able to abide. The reader feels as if he were being committed beforehand to questionable views of history; and as for Harnack himself the conscience and the sympathies of the historian break through the limits he has prescribed. One does not see why he should not have defined his subject as a history of doctrine with special reference to the authoritative teaching of the Church or the Churches.

The first edition of the first volume (German) gave the impression in various quarters that Harnack regarded the whole dogmatic development as resulting from an entanglement of Christianity with the Greek mind and with the general culture of the Roman world,—an entanglement which simply burdened Christianity with alien material. In this view the doctrinal result was wholly foreign, and could only survive for a time, although the time has proved long. In the later editions Harnack repudiates this as a misconstruction of his meaning. He accepts (with a caveat) Weizsäcker's *dictum*, "Christianity as religion is absolutely inconceivable without theology. . . . As a religion it cannot be separated from the religion of its founder, hence not from historical knowledge: and as Monotheism and belief in a world purpose, it is the religion of reason, with the inextinguishable impulse of thought." The objection, Harnack now says, is "not to all dogma, but to this dogma," and in conformity with this view some passages are inserted into text and notes to redress the balance. But the drift of the book follows the original impulse, embodied for example in p. 18. Here, it is said, that two things may be regarded as legitimate—on the one hand practical faith in the Gospel, on the other, the historic-critical account of the Christian religion and its history. But a third element has been thrust in, viz., "dogma, that is, the philosophical means used in early times for the purpose of making the gospel intelligible, has been fused with the contents of the gospel and raised to dogma." In this last sentence three things come in view together—the doctrinal formula, the intellectual method by which it was reached (say, *e.g.*, by Origen), and the peremptory ecclesiastical inculcation of it. But formula, method, and authorisation are all alike turned out of doors as intruders, though one would say that very different considerations apply to the three respectively.

Now it is a most legitimate historical question, how far the doctrines which found acceptance among the Christians during the first five or six centuries, fairly expressed the Christian Revelation, and how far elements were admitted due to erroneous methods, or to ignorance of the limits within which any methods are trustworthy. It is very fair to expect that the thinking of the early Christians, in its best forms, might bear marks of the perennial

weakness of man, and of the special infirmities of the age. But Dr Harnack designates the Gnostic movement as the "acute" secularisation and Hellenisation, and then the whole theological movement, up to Nicaea and beyond, is the "gradual" secularisation and Hellenisation of the Church. When he does this, does he not suggest that it was all, a perhaps natural, perhaps pardonable, perhaps inevitable acceptance of alien influence, but still an acceptance of alien influence, and a succumbing to it? Now why? Why, because the Church, which had to think, put in play the best methods of thought then existing anywhere in the world, and did the best she could with them. Probably the methods were imperfect; probably also the Church's thinking would not have been perfect, even if the methods had been better. But is it not likely also that the Church, providentially placed in those circumstances, did think to *some* good purpose? At any rate does history gain by a representation which suggests that there was some alternative course open? There was none. It is easy to conceive that the Church might have thought and acted more worthily than she did. But it is inconceivable and untrue that she could have any right to decline to use human thought in the best methods of it which the world had seen. It will be said then, perhaps, that the fault lies here:—The Church not only thought in Greek forms, but borrowed the results of extra Christian Greek speculation and turned that into Christian dogma. One replies, suppose that more or less of this might possibly befall, still, is this the main and characteristic account of the formation of early Christian dogma? And this brings us to the point.

Harnack is a disciple of Ritschl; one, indeed, who accents rather assuages his master's peculiarities. Ritschl, it may be said in passing, was no unfit master for one who is a great historian. He himself had remarkable historical aptitudes, disclosed, perhaps, in the second edition of the *Alt-katholische Kirche* more than in his more laborious history of the Doctrine of Atonement. Waiving much explanation, one may summarily say that Ritschl and his followers found reason for limiting strictly the field of possible Christian knowledge, and of possible revelation. For example, as to the Saviour, what any Christian at any time has really *known* is that Jesus lived in a moral unity with God, of a wonderful and unique quality, and crowned that life by His death: that He preached and founded the Kingdom of God in which a new consciousness of God's love was to give a new meaning to human life: that He proved able, and proves able still, to inspire into men the convictions and the impulses which His own life embodied; and that a life was realised in Him, and is made possible to believers, in which this refractory and stubborn world is overcome; for all its experiences become subservient to a spiritual faith and to spiritual aims. This

is, of course, a bare statement; and however one may differ, it is not intended to suggest that the motives and the mood which characterise the school are to be treated otherwise than respectfully and thoughtfully. But the result is this—the first disciples knew what in substance has now been suggested, so have all true disciples since. Christ's life and words have made so much credible to them, and so much has been practically verified. But beyond this one does not *know*. Speculation beyond this as to who and what Christ was, either should not exist, or at least should not claim to be Christian truth. If any members of the School do not draw this conclusion, it is not wronging Harnack to say that he does.

Now the question of the early ages was the question of Christ, who and what He was. The movements of thoughts upon that question occupy the larger part of Harnack's history, and are very instructively reproduced. For Harnack is never supercilious, and never careless. Still, for him, all these developments up to Nicaea, or rather up to Chalcedon and beyond, were a mistake. Those, indeed, whom he calls Adoptionists (others call them dynamical Monarchians—Paul of Samosata may serve for a specimen) were upon a track of truth which might have been successfully followed up. But all forms of Logos doctrine, every doctrine, indeed, which ascribes to Christ subsistence in a higher nature before He appeared on earth, is inadmissible, and has led to self-contradiction. Yet, it may be said in passing, the reader will not readily find a more appreciative estimate of the service which Athanasius rendered to Christianity than that which Harnack supplies.¹ Assume that the Logos doctrine must be present in some form, then the Athanasian form is that which saves the great Christian interests. But the assumption itself is the questionable element. The whole story therefore is the working out through ages of a fundamental mistake. It is not merely that the dogma was too confidently handled, too dialectically discussed, too peremptorily imposed, allowed too much to supplant and replace faith, or works, or worship. That in it which was reckoned most fundamental and most important was wrong all through.

Once more, if the Ritschlian canon as to the limits of possible or knowable truth is to prevail, then the chief New Testament writers, Paul, John, the writer to the Hebrews—are in the wrong no less than Irenaeus and Athanasius. For they have all asserted the pre-existent glory of Christ. Accordingly it has to be shown how they first went astray. It has to be shown that this pre-existence is an idea which innocently enough grew up in all their minds—innocently enough, but in such a way as to deprive the idea of authority, and to annul its claim to be part of genuine Christian-

¹ In a chapter not yet translated.

ity. Harnack's case on this point is in the appendix on Pre-existence in the volume before us. Briefly, these apostles dwelt on Christ as specially foreordained, and gradually that thought solidified, as it were, into the ascription to him of pre-existence. Harnack then may say what he will about Hellenising; but to these Biblical writers the misleading influence must be traced. It would be unjust to pretend to discuss this theory on so meagre a statement of it. But probably the reader will consider whether the matter was not too weighty, the time for gradual self-deception too short, the men concerned too many and of too sane a judgment, to comport with such a solution. He may as well remember also that if an angel from heaven were to preach the doctrine of pre-existence to a consistent follower of Ritschl, that angel would be sent about his business, with the information that his theory of knowledge was wrong, and that he ought to keep clear of metaphysics.

But one would not like to pass from this without reminding our readers that some followers of Ritschl, while they appear to be precluded from saying more of Christ, than that He was a man in the most intimate moral relations with God, still seem to retain a profound impression of the unique character of His interposition as the sole revealer of the Father, ascribe to Him a most wonderful significance for men, and contrive to gather round Him vivid impressions of reconciliation, redemption, and victory. One would think that if they have no more to say of Christ, they must yet feel that an unspoken and undreamt of wonder lies behind what they claim to know, and feel free to say. Whether this richness of professed faith and experience can long continue to ally itself with so meagre a doctrinal scheme is quite another question. But, meanwhile, one may gladly acknowledge the case as it stands. And in Harnack's case, this can be said, at all events, that he betrays no wish to conceal anything in the history which suggests the unique character and the unique power of Christ. We are not probably to ascribe to Harnack the religious glow of Hermann. Still, passages like the following, are interesting.

"Men had met with Jesus, and in Him had found the Messiah. . . . There was no hope that did not seem to be certified in Him, no lofty idea which had not become in Him a living reality. Everything a man possessed was offered to Him. He was everything lofty that could be imagined. *Everything that can be said of Him was already said in the first two generations after His appearance.* Nay, more, he was felt to be the ever-living one, Lord of the world and operative principle of one's own life. 'To me to live is Christ.' He is the way, the truth, and the life. One could now for the first time be certain of the resurrection and the eternal life; and with that certainty, the sorrows of the world melted as mist

before the sun, and the residue of this present time became as a day. The group of facts which the history of the Gospel thus discloses in the world, is at the same time the highest and the most unique of all that we meet in that history; it is its seal, and distinguishes the Gospel from all other universal religions. Where in the history of mankind shall we find anything resembling this, that men who had eaten and drunk with their Master should glorify Him, not only as the revealer of God, but as the Prince of Life, as the Redeemer and Judge of the world, as the living power of its existence; and that a choir of Jews and Gentiles, Greeks and Barbarians, wise and foolish, should, along with them, immediately confess that out of the fulness of this one man they have received grace for grace?" p. 76.

Our notice has dealt mainly with one point, to be aware of which, is useful to the student. We repeat, however, that while this point of view is the key to much, Harnack's pages are by no means filled with debate on that point. Mainly they are occupied with a keen and instructive scrutiny of facts and forces. Most of those who follow his teaching will be conscious, we think, of a fine sincerity of mind, which contributes in quite a special way to the worth of the book. We would point, for instance, to his study of Augustine, which will appear in a future volume. It is not quite easy reading. It is confessedly imperfect—a series of attempts, from various sides, to get into the heart of Augustine's contribution to the life and thought of the Church. And yet, just because it is confessedly tentative and approximate, it leaves on the mind a far more effective impression—though, on some sides, a vague impression—of what Augustine was, than if Harnack had pretended to take his measure, and to delineate it in definite and confident outlines.

The translation is good. The German rhythm of Harnack is not always replaced by the rhythm of native English style. It is certainly difficult to do this in translation without taking too much liberty with the sense. But the book is creditably free from the barbarisms so common in translations, and can be read with pleasure.

ROBERT RAINY.

Lex Mosaica ; or, The Law of Moses and the Higher Criticism.

With an Introduction by the late Right Reverend Lord Arthur Hervey, D.D., Bishop of Bath and Wells. Edited by Richard Valpy French, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1894. 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 652. Price, 15s.

THE essays contained in this volume are the work of fourteen writers, of whom the Editor is one. The subjects are as follows : —(1) *The Archæological Witness to the Literary Activity of the Mosaic Age*, by Professor A. H. Sayce. (2) *Moses, the Author of the Levitical Code of Laws*, by Canon Rawlinson. (3) *The Deuteronomical Code*, by Principal G. C. M. Douglas. (4) *The Period of Joshua*, by Canon Girdlestone. (5) *The Period of the Judges*, by Dr R. Valpy French. (6) *The Times of Samuel and Saul*, by the Rev. J. J. Lias. (7) *The Period of David and Solomon*, by Dr F. Watson. (8) *The Northern Kingdom*, by Dr J. Sharpe. (9) *The History of the Southern Kingdom in relation to the Law of Moses*, by the Rev. A. Stewart. (10) *The Eighth Century*, by Professor Stanley Leathes. (11) *The Seventh Century*, by Dr R. Sinker. (12) *Ezekiel and the Priestly School*, by the Rev. F. E. Spencer. (13) *The Post-exilic Period*, by Professor R. Watts. (14) *Summary*, by Dr H. Wace.

The book makes a distinct claim to be taken seriously. It professes to refute the theories of modern Biblical critics by an impartial examination of evidence. "We appeal," says the Editor in the Preface, "to the same documents as our opponents. We believe that our opponents are equally with ourselves desirous to arrive at truth." These are fair words, but their value is considerably diminished by certain passages which occur later on. Thus, to cite one instance out of many, the Rev. Alexander Stewart says in his attack upon Wellhausen (p. 361), "Such treatment of evidence indicates neither reason nor reverence ; but it indicates more respect for a theory than for truth." Perhaps Mr Stewart may be right, but, if so, what becomes of the authors of *Lex Mosaica*, whose love of truth, as they themselves inform us, is on a level with that of their opponents ?

The first essay, by Professor Sayce, differs in a very marked manner from the others. The opinions of Professor Sayce on Biblical Criticism are well known from his works, in particular from his book on "The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments" (the first edition of which was published little more than a year ago). The views concerning the Pentateuch there

expressed hardly differ at all from those of critics like Professor Driver, as that scholar himself remarked in the *Contemporary Review*, March 1894, p. 409. In the volume before us there is nothing to indicate that Professor Sayce has altered his opinion during the last few months, and one cannot therefore help feeling that his essay comes in somewhat incongruously. The facts which he labours to demonstrate are, for the most part, such as have long been fully admitted by Biblical critics of every school. That the art of writing, for example, was practised both in Egypt and in Babylonia many centuries before the time of Moses is universally recognised. Yet Professor Sayce seems to regard this as a new revelation, which it is his especial duty to proclaim to the world (p. 8). Nothing that he has to say about the matter is at all relevant to the subject of the book. He argues, with some vehemence, that the Israelites, at the time of the Exodus, *must* have practised the art of writing. "To admit," he says, "that the Israelites were once in Egypt, and yet to deny them a knowledge of letters at the time when they fled from it, may be consonant with the principles of the 'higher criticism'; it is certainly not consonant with the principles of probability and common sense" (p. 11). It does not seem to have occurred to Professor Sayce that before he decided the question in this confident manner, it would have been well for him to open his eyes and to ascertain how far, at the present day, the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes on the borders of Egypt and Palestine possess a knowledge of literature. That they have long been in contact with civilized nations is certain, and it must also be remembered that their language is substantially the same as that of the settled population, which was hardly the case with the Israelites in Egypt. Yet it is notorious that these tribes have imbibed scarcely any literary culture; as for writing histories and law-books, Professor Sayce will possibly have some difficulty in pointing to anything that they have achieved in that department. And even if it were proved that here the ancient Israelites differed altogether from the modern Bedouins, we should still be no nearer the solution of the question as to the origin of the Pentateuch.

"But the Oriental archaeologist," continues Professor Sayce, "can go yet further, and point out passages in the Pentateuch which imply the use of documents of the age of Moses. Let us take, for example, the list of the descendants of Ham in the tenth chapter of Genesis. Canaan is here made the brother of Mizraim, or Egypt. Now this was true only during the continuance of the Egyptian Empire, when Canaan was a province of Egypt. After the death of Ramses II. Canaan and Mizraim became strangers one to another; the relationship described in Genesis represented an order of things which passed away after the age of the Exodus. It was

a relationship which could not have occurred to the mind of a writer of a later time" (p. 15). If Professor Sayce wished to point out a passage in the Pentateuch "which implies the use of documents of the age of Moses," he could not have chosen a more unfortunate example. Were not the Phœnicians Canaanites? And might not the "Oriental archæologist" be expected to know that the Phœnician monuments, down to the age of Alexander, bear the clearest marks of Egyptian influence and of close intercourse with Egypt? The Oriental archæologist can hardly have forgotten, for instance, the inscription of Yehaumelek, king of Gebal, who lived in the Persian period, and the portrait of the goddess of Gebal (one of the principal Phœnician cities) *clad in Egyptian attire*. Still later, of about the time of Alexander, is the inscribed sarcophagus of Eshmun'azar, king of Sidon—a sarcophagus of the most pronounced Egyptian type. That the architecture of the Phœnicians, until the Macedonian conquest, was modelled chiefly on that of Egypt is also well known. Such marked external resemblances could not fail to attract the attention of the Israelites; and to say therefore that the relationship between Canaan and Mizraim, as expressed in Gen. x. 6, "could not have occurred to the mind of a writer of a later time," is to set at nought the plainest archæological evidence.

Since Professor Sayce has not even attempted to overthrow the theory of the critics respecting the Mosaic Law, it matters little that he indulges in much vague declamation against them. For example—"The Book of Genesis has thus been sliced and dissected with such microscopic nicety, that the beginning of a verse has been given to one writer, the middle to another, and the end of it to a third. . . . The modern critic has no doubt as to the correctness of his analysis. . . . He has found it possible to separate the Pentateuch into its component elements with a mathematical exactitude which would be impossible in the case of a Greek or Latin author, or even of an English book" (pp. 4, 5). Professor Sayce prudently abstains from giving any references in support of these accusations. To what critic does his description apply? Certainly not to such writers as Nöldeke, Kuenen, or Wellhausen, who have repeatedly and in the clearest manner disclaimed the infallibility which, in Professor Sayce's opinion, "the modern critic" arrogates to himself. It is amusing to contrast Professor Sayce's representation with the writings of the critics themselves. A single instance will suffice. "Critical analysis," says Nöldeke, "is not possible in all cases. Sometimes the various older documents have been welded together too closely, and sometimes the characteristic features of the documents cannot be recognised with sufficient clearness, so that we must often be satisfied if in these investigations we attain to a certain degree of probability" (*Die alttestamentliche Literatur*, p. 6).

Is this the language of a man who "has no doubt about the correctness of his analysis," and who "has found it possible to separate the Pentateuch into its component elements with a mathematical exactitude"?

But if Professor Sayce carefully avoids joining issue with "the critics," the same cannot be said of the majority of the contributors to *Lex Mosaica*. We here have to do with writers whose beliefs concerning the Old Testament scarcely differ in any respect from those which were entertained in the Middle Ages. Not only on the subject of the Pentateuch, but even on such matters as the authorship of the latter part of Isaiah, and the headings of the Psalms, the ecclesiastical tradition is upheld in all its crudity (pp. 369, 387, 427, 581). That the zeal of these apologists is genuine cannot for a moment be questioned, for nothing but the sincerest enthusiasm could have induced them to embark on such a crusade. To undo the work of innumerable scholars, including all the greatest Hebraists of the last hundred years, is an undertaking of some magnitude, and ordinary prudence would have counselled Dr Valpy French and his associates to limit their ambition to something more feasible. The world naturally regards with suspicion those who attempt to prove a great deal, even when they are men who have had access to new and important sources of information. In the present case nothing of the sort is pretended. Not one of these writers professes to have ascertained any fresh facts bearing on the controversy, to have deciphered a single inscription, to have elucidated the meaning of a single obscure word. So far as they use arguments and appeal to history they are merely repeating what has often been said before. The essays, Dr Valpy French tells us, have been written in perfect independence of each other. This is painfully confirmed by internal evidence; though each essay professes to deal with a different period, the same statements, denunciations, invectives, recur in essay after essay, until we are forcibly reminded of those ancient devotees who thought that they would be heard for their much speaking. Instead of an orderly investigation, which advances step by step towards its final object, we have here a series of spasmodic efforts to reach the final object at a single bound. Yet the writers state, doubtless in perfect good faith, that their methods are in accordance with the recognised principles of historical science (see, for instance, pp. 229 *note*). In order to show that this is very far from being the case, that in reality their arguments are such as would be employed by no one in a question of ordinary classical or Oriental scholarship, it will suffice to give a few specimens.

An argument put prominently forward by Canon Rawlinson, and repeated in one form or another by most of his collaborators, is

expressed as follows :—"The Levitical Code is such a law as Moses, from his position and the circumstances of his time, might have been expected to promulgate" (p. 21). But what can we know about "the position of Moses and the circumstances of his time," except from the Pentateuch itself? Since the critics assert that the Pentateuch was compiled some eight or ten centuries after Moses, it is necessary first to prove *from independent sources* the trustworthiness of the Pentateuchal narrative before we proceed to argue that the legislation is Mosaic, because it agrees with the circumstances described in the narrative. Thus, for example, Canon Rawlinson, who implicitly believes the statement that the Israelites in the desert possessed vast quantities not only of the precious metals but also of the most costly fabrics known in the East, may consider the directions as to the Tabernacle perfectly in accordance with "the circumstances of the time of Moses." On the other hand, those who distrust the narrative may not unnaturally regard the directions about the Tabernacle as an anachronism. Canon Rawlinson himself would at once detect a fallacy in the proposition—"The Orphic poems must be genuine because they are such as Orpheus, from his position and the circumstances of his time, might have been expected to compose."

It is equally dangerous to base arguments for the antiquity of the Levitical Law on the fact that this law says nothing about a future life. "The only reasonable account," says Canon Rawlinson, "that can be given of this omission is that the author, aware how intimately the Egyptian belief on the subject was mixed up with idolatry and superstition, . . . thought it best not to touch the matter, but leave it in abeyance" (p. 24). Does Ezekiel in his legislation say anything about a future existence? Centuries later we find another Jewish writer, Ben-Sirā, composing a long treatise on religious and social duties, without the slightest allusion to this belief. The omission of the subject in the Levitical Law is therefore perfectly consistent with the theory that the Code was drawn up in the Exile or even later.

It will seem almost incredible, but it is nevertheless a fact, that Professor Stanley Leathes seriously blames the critics (or rather some of them) for questioning the date assigned to the prophet Joel in the margin of the English Authorised Version. "The date in the A.V. assigns to the Prophet Joel an earlier ministry than that of Amos and Hosea. The arbitrary conjectures of recent scholarship have placed him long after the eighth century, and even in post-exilic times" (p. 422). Does Professor Stanley Leathes believe that the date in the English Bible is part of the original text? Or that Bishop Lloyd, who inserted the marginal dates in the year 1701, was inspired to date Joel correctly? If not, how can we fix

his date save by conjecture, and why is it more "arbitrary" to place him in the fifth century than in the eighth? It would hardly be thought reasonable to accuse a classical scholar of "arbitrariness" because he differed from some seventeenth century editor as to the date of a Greek or Latin author. Here we cannot do better than quote the words of Professor Stanley Leathes himself—"This is a fair sample of the tenuity of the straws to which men will cling when they desire to maintain a theory" (p. 423).

Some of the philological arguments brought forward by Dr Sinker are not of a nature to carry conviction. On the phrase *תַּשֵּׁי הַחֹרֶה* "they that handle the law" (Jer. ii. 8), he remarks—"The verb 'handle' can clearly only be explained of a definite written law, of which the priests were the exponents" (p. 482). It would have been wise to consult a concordance before making such a statement. The verb *תַּשֵּׁי* is, of course, often used of handling a material object; but, like other Hebrew verbs which signify "to hold," "to grasp" (*חָזַק, תָּקַף, אָחַז*), it may also be used metaphorically. In Num. xxxi. 27 we read of *תַּשֵּׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה* "those who handle war"—i.e., "those who are engaged in war." Or would Dr Sinker prefer to translate "those who handle books on the art of war"? If so, we have here a remarkable proof of the literary activity of the ancient Hebrews.

Moreover, Dr Sinker is so bold as to contradict the late Professor W. Wright on a question of comparative grammar—a department in which that scholar was confessedly one of the highest authorities. Nor does Dr Sinker seem to be aware that on this particular question the opinion of Professor Wright is supported by every other authority. In order to prove that the pronoun *הוּא* was once used for both genders, Dr Sinker cites the Phœnician form *הוּ*, and adds, "it is absolutely to beg the question to say that we must assume a *scriptio defectiva*, by which *הוּ* could stand both for *הוּא* and *הִיא*, as might be required. If, as we believe is the case, the Phœnician form is always *הוּ*, why is it not probable that the one spelling was evidence of one sound?" (p. 471). Had Dr Sinker inquired of some one acquainted with Phœnician, he would have discovered that the *scriptio plena* occurs only in a very small number of cases, and that the difference between *הוּא* and *הִיא* could not be expressed in Phœnician writing without a departure from the rules of orthography. The absurdity of explaining the use of *הוּא* for the feminine as an archaism is manifest from the fact that among the Hebrews of the kingly period the *scriptio defectiva* was also the rule, though the exceptions were more numerous than in Phœnician. In the Siloam inscription, which dates from about the time of Hezekiah, *אִישׁ* "man" occurs thrice, whereas in the Old Testament

this word, which occurs hundreds of times, is invariably written שֶׁן (except in two or three proper names—e.g. שֶׁן־שֶׁן, where the ancient spelling has been retained). Hence it is clear that as regards the use of the vowel-letters among the Israelites before the Exile the testimony of the Masoretic text is valueless.

But for recklessness of statement and jubilant defiance of facts the palm must undoubtedly be awarded to Dr Wace. He ventures to assert that "no archæological discovery has yet been made which is substantially inconsistent with any record of either the Old or the New Testament" (p. 614). Dr Wace does not tell us from what archæologist, acquainted with *every archæological discovery that has yet been made*, he derived this important information. It cannot surely have come from his collaborator, Professor Sayce, for *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments* tells a very different story. We there read, for example, that "the historical character of the Book of Esther is invalidated" (4th ed. p. 474), that "the account given by the Book of Daniel is at variance with the testimony of the inscriptions" (p. 526). On this subject Dr Wace and Professor Sayce entirely disagree; to accept the one as an authority is to deny all authority to the other. And such being the case, the public is hardly to be blamed for hesitating to take the word of either.

A. A. BEVAN.

Wilhelm Gesenius' Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, in Verbindung mit Prof. Albert Socin und Prof. H. Zimmern bearbeitet

Von **Dr Frants Buhl**, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Leipzig. Zwölfte völlig umgearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 1895. Pp. xii. 965. Price, M. 15.

It is now five years since the eleventh edition of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch* was published under the superintendence of Professors Mühlau and Volck. The present edition, revised by Professor Buhl, is in many respects a new book. Besides numerous changes in matters of detail, one radical innovation has been effected—that of placing the Biblical Aramaic words by themselves. A German-Hebrew index, revised by F. O. Kramer, is appended.

The name of Professor Buhl will appear to all scholars a sufficient guarantee of the excellence of the work. Not only have many errors disappeared, but much new and valuable material has been

added. The countless references to books, pamphlets, and articles, published during the last few years in all parts of the world, bear witness to the industry of the editor. It is particularly gratifying to see what respectful notice has been taken of the many important suggestions contained in the works of the late Prof. W. Robertson Smith—*e.g.*, under אִשְׁפֹּת, כֶּלֶה, בִּשָּׁף, נחשׁ I, תַּפְחִי, תַּפְחִי, etc.

One of the chief difficulties with which the Hebrew lexicographer has to contend is the uncertainty of the Masoretic text. It is now admitted as a general principle that passages suspected of corruption should not be cited in a Lexicon without some warning, and that when a probable emendation has been suggested it should be mentioned. Of course there is room for great difference of opinion as to which particular cases should be included, and we cannot wonder that some of the passages for which emendations are proposed in the very useful *Hebräisches Wörterbuch* of Siegfried and Stade (1893) have been cited by Professor Buhl without any expression of doubt. But I venture to think that on the whole he has been far too sparing in the insertion of queries; thus, for example, מִחֲצֹכֶת Is. li. 9, רָחַץ Ps. lxvi. 12, שָׁפִי Num. xxiii. 3, תִּבְלִית Is. x. 25, should at least have been marked as suspicious, even if the editor did not think the proposed emendations worthy of mention. A still more important case is הִחֲרָה Judges xiv. 18, for which Stade reads הִחֲרָה. I do not remember to have seen it noticed that this emendation is confirmed by the Pēshittā, which has *tukḵānā*, evidently a corruption of *tauwānā* (= הִחֲרָה).

Professor Buhl has devoted particular attention to one subject with which Siegfried and Stade, as they state in their Preface, have not attempted to grapple—viz., the primitive meanings of the roots and the relation of the Hebrew roots to those found in the other Semitic languages. In many cases he has rectified the etymologies of Mühlau and Volck. Thus, for instance, he points out that אֱלֹהִים "God" is probably not derived from a root meaning "to fear," since the Arabic verb *aliha* or *waliha* has all the appearance of a denominative formed from *ilāh*, "god." But it is impossible not to feel that some very doubtful speculations have been retained or introduced, without any indication of their uncertainty, and that on some obscure questions one opinion only has been given, to the exclusion of others no less probable. A few examples may here be cited.

הוּוּ—It is not safe to explain הוּוּתָרָה Ps. lxiii. 4 by the Arabic verb *hawwata*, since *hawwata* (more commonly *hayyata*) is derived from the interjection *haita*; see the *Lisān-al-'Arab* ii. 411,

last line. Until *haita* has been proved to exist in Hebrew we have no right to assume a verb derived from it.

s.v. חָוַר—The existence of this verbal root in Hebrew is extremely doubtful. Professor Buhl, like Mühlau and Volck, connects it with the Arabic *ḥadara*, the Syriac *ḥēdhar*, and the late Hebrew חָוַר. But against the identification of the Arabic with the Syriac verb it may be urged (1) that *ḥadara* means “to descend,” whereas *ḥēdhar* is “to go round”; (2) that we are then obliged to deny all connection between *ḥēdhar* and חָוַר (since Arab. *d* cannot correspond to Hebr. ו), though these two verbs have exactly the same sense. Accordingly, it is much more probable that those are right who identify Syr. *ḥēdhar*, Heb. חָוַר, with Arab. *ḥadhira*, “to avoid,” Germ. *umgehen*; see the note by Fleischer in Levy’s *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterb.* ii. 202. Now, if הַחֲדָרָה in Ezek. xxi. 19 means “which surrounds,” we must suppose that the prophet is using an Aramaism. This would be somewhat strange, the more so as in Jewish Aramaic (e.g., in the Targums) the verb is חָוַר—i.e., the Hebrew form is adopted, or else perhaps this may be a sporadic survival of an older Aramaic pronunciation, like the ו (= ר) of the inscriptions. In any case the form in Ezek. xxi. 19 is very suspicious, and possibly הַחֲדָרָה may be nothing but a mistake for הַחֲדָרָה “has been sharpened,” cf. הַחֲדָרָה verses 14, 15, 16.

s.v. חָוַב—The genuine Arabic equivalent of Syr. *ḥābh* is not *ḥāba* but *khāba* (with pointed *Khā*), “to fail,” “to be unsuccessful.” This appears to be the primitive meaning of the root, since it belongs both to the Arabic and to the Aramaic verb. But in Aramaic the verb more commonly has the derived sense “to be in debt,” “to be guilty,” etc. The Arabic *ḥāba* “to sin,” “*ḥūb* “sin” (Koran iv. 2), are theological terms borrowed from the Aramaic. *Hūb* may also be pronounced *ḥaub*—i.e., we have here two different attempts to render the *ō* of the Jewish Aramaic חֻבָּא, חֻבָּא.

s.v. חָקַן—Prof. Buhl, like most of his predecessors, gives as the primitive meaning “to bend oneself.” The view expressed long ago by Schultens might at least have been cited also, since it is strongly supported by Arabic usage—viz., that the meaning is “to moan,” or rather “to croon.”

s.v. לָחַם—It is not easy to see why Prof. Buhl creates a second root לָחַם, from which to derive לֶחֶם “bread.” The verb לָחַם “to eat bread” (and hence “to eat” in general) is surely a denominative, like the Biblical Aram. מָלַח “to eat salt,” Ezra iv. 14, which Prof. Buhl rightly explains as a denominative from מָלַח “salt.”

s.v. מָאָן—The connection of this root with מָנַע and the Ethiopic *mannana* is more than doubtful. On the other hand, it might have been mentioned that in Arabic *ma'ūna* is "toil," "trouble" (*Ibn Hishām*, 155, line 12), and hence מָאָן means properly "to think a thing toilsome, disagreeable."

s.v. מִלְּ, מִלְּ—On the meaning of this preposition a very important paper by W. A. W. (*i.e.*, William Aldis Wright) was published in the *Cambridge Journal of Philology*, Vol. xiii. 117-120. It is there said—"An examination of all the passages in which מִלְּ occurs has led me to the following conclusion: that one object is said to be מִלְּ or מִלְּ or מִלְּ מִלְּ with regard to another, when it stands close in front of the other and both face in the same direction. On the other hand, one object is said to be מִלְּ מִלְּ with regard to another when one is opposite to or over against the other, with an interval between them, and the two face in opposite directions."

s.v. עָטַף—Prof. Buhl not only splits this root into two, but entirely ignores the ordinary view which derives the meaning "to faint" from the notion of "being covered." This is decidedly favoured by Arabic analogy (see Gesenius' *Thesaurus*).

s.v. עָצַב—Mühlau and Volck endeavour to explain all the meanings of this root from the idea "to cut," Arab. *ʿadaba*. Prof. Buhl is doubtless right in distinguishing two roots, (1) "to shape, form," (2) "to cause pain." But this latter can hardly be connected with Arab. *ghaḍiba*, since in Biblical Aramaic we find עָצַב exactly corresponding to Arab. *ʿaṣīb* (Koran xi. 79), which the commentators explain as meaning *shadīd*—*i.e.*, "painful," "severe." The Heb. עָצַב "to cause pain," must therefore mean properly "to bind tightly," *cf.* Syr. *ʿṣabh* "to bind."

s.v. II פָּצַח —That פָּצַחו Micah iii. 3 means "they have broken," and corresponds to Arab. *faḍakha*, is possible but by no means certain. It may equally well correspond to Arab. *faḍaḥa*, "to lay bare," and this perhaps suits the context better.

s.v. II שָׁכַל —Gen. xlviii. 14 is extremely obscure. At all events it is illegitimate to adduce Arab. *shakala* (not *shakila*, see Lane), since this verb does not mean "verwickelt, verworren sein," but "to be similar in appearance, hence ambiguous," *cf.* *shakl*, "appearance, likeness." The Arabic root therefore corresponds to Hebr. I שָׁכַל "to look," Germ. *betrachten*.

A. A. BEVAN.

Ezechiel-Studien.

Von Dr. Dav. Heinr. Müller, Ord. Öff. Professor an der k. k. Universität Wien. Berlin: Reuther u. Reichard, 1895. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 62. Price, M. 3.

THE author of this work has long been known as one of the principal authorities on Semitic philology in general, and on ancient Semitic inscriptions in particular. A treatise from his pen relating to the Old Testament has therefore peculiar claims to the attention of theologians; for whether they are able to accept his conclusions or no, they cannot fail to derive from him much important information which will vainly be sought in the ordinary commentaries. Professor Müller here gives us five short papers, dealing with a number of separate details in the Book of Ezekiel. The subjects are: (1) The Vision of the Chariot, Ezek. i.-xi.; (2) The Sending of the Prophet, Ezek. ii., iii.; (3) Sketches and the finished Work, Ezek. iii., xviii., xxxiii.; (4) The Frame-work of certain Prophecies, Ezek. vi., xxxii., xxxv., xxxvi.; (5) Parallel Passages from the Cuneiform Inscriptions.

That Ezekiel was influenced to a large extent by earlier writings is now generally acknowledged. Professor Müller devotes special attention to this question of the prophet's literary dependence, and points out, for example, that the introductory vision, as well as that in Isaiah vi., is ultimately based upon the vision of Micaiah in 1 Kings xxii. 19-22. In like manner, the sending of the prophet is modelled upon the sending of Moses (Exodus iii., iv.) and the sending of Gideon (Judges vi.). Professor Müller goes so far as to maintain that Ezekiel probably borrowed certain ideas and phrases from the Assyrio-Babylonian literature. The parallels given are certainly remarkable; but whether they suffice to prove any kind of literary dependence may perhaps be doubted.

In his treatment of the text, Professor Müller will be thought extremely conservative. Not only does he reject the bolder changes proposed by Cornill, but even in such a passage as Ezek. iii. 12, he is inclined to defend the Massoretic reading, in spite of the very serious difficulties which it offers. The apparent contradictions between chaps. i. and x. have long perplexed commentators, and it has therefore been suggested that a great part of the latter chapter is spurious. Professor Müller, on the contrary, thinks that here the prophet gives a second description, in order to overcome the objections which the former one had raised both in his own mind and in the minds of his hearers.

A. A. BEVAN.

A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Sixteenth Dynasty.

By W. M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., Edwards Professor of Egyptology in University College, London. Methuen & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 254. Price, 6s.

THE peculiar relation in which the British nation stands towards Egypt would naturally lead one to expect that the study of all that pertained to the ancient inhabitants of that land should be actively pursued in this country. Hitherto, to our disgrace be it said, this has not been the case, despite the fact that we possess in our museums abundant and priceless material for the study; and we have been, up to the present, dependent on the works of Continental scholars for our best text-books on Egyptian History, Philology, and Lexicography.

It is therefore with peculiar pleasure that we welcome this work from the pen of an English Professor of Egyptology, and the more so as its author has done more than any living man in the discovery of those monumental materials upon which the history of the earlier periods of the Egyptian nation can alone be satisfactorily based.

The book is especially designed for the student, rather than for the general reader, and the subject is treated with a fulness of detail which would scarcely be appreciated by the latter class; and the author naturally assumes that the students for whom he writes have acquired such an elementary knowledge of the subject as to be able to follow his critical expositions of the records and memorials from which his history is drawn. The style is simple, condensed, and suggestive; and the subject is treated with the thoroughness that arises from a first-hand acquaintance with the material on which the author has worked. On the whole, Professor Petrie's work may be classed as one of the most important of the recent contributions to our knowledge of Egyptian history; and if in some respects it is not as exhaustive as the work of Wiedemann or Meyer, it has the advantage of being brought up to date in almost every respect.

This volume of the history treats of the earliest periods, ending at the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty with the fall of the Shepherd Kingdom. Professor Petrie prefaces his historical study with a short sketch of the physical geology of Egypt and a notice of the traces of its prehistoric inhabitants. We have now abundant evidence of the existence of Palæolithic man in Egypt at a date which must have been long anterior to the advent of the historic race,—that is, at least more than 7000 years ago.

Professor Petrie adopts De Rougé's theory as to the ethnic

affinities of the historic race. He believes them to have been of Asiatic origin, and, in accordance with the ethnic tradition embodied in the Genesis narrative, he supposes them to have been related to the people of Pūnt, or Southern Arabia. They probably crossed the Red Sea, and making their way to the river, probably by the Kosseir Road, descended northward to the Mediterranean. They found the country inhabited by one, if not by two, pre-existing races, with whom they subsequently amalgamated; but the two modes of sepulture which Professor Petrie found at Medum show that at least as late as the date of the fourth dynasty these elements had not completely fused. In tombs of the twenty-second dynasty at Qurnah some mummies have been found, which, in osteological characters, closely resemble the more archaic of the Medum races.

The early mythical history is passed in rapid review, and Professor Petrie is evidently inclined to regard the traditions, not only of the god and hero dynasties, but also of the first three of the human dynasties, from Menes to Seneferu (whom he places about 3998 B.C.), as being rather of the nature of legend than of trustworthy history. As the extant lists of the kings ascribed to this period were not compiled at a date further back than the period of Seti I., it is probable that they are variants of one collected tradition, and not of the value of independent witnesses.

It can scarcely be imagined that the Menite monarchy started fully organised in the time of its founder. From the analogy of other histories it is much more probable that this was the historic emergence of the dominant race, who had, in all likelihood, many and sore struggles before they became supreme masters of the land. This would account for the absence of permanent memorials; indeed, it is commemorated in the traditions that Tosorthros, who is supposed to have preceded Seneferu by 180 years, was the first recorded builder of a house of hewn stone. The argument from the absence of dated monuments of this period can only be taken as suggestive, not as conclusive. We know that at a much later date there is a period of at least 500 years of which the monumental evidence is extremely scanty. It is likely also that, as Professor Petrie suggests, the use of metal tools came in with the fourth dynasty, and thus enabled them to produce the wonderful works which characterised that first great outburst of Egyptian constructive art.

In the fourth dynasty we reach the solid ground of monumental evidence. Man then set himself to erect buildings on a colossal scale, and probably at no epoch in the history of any country were his efforts more successful and skilful. Whether or not the Sphinx was carved at this period Professor Petrie does not finally decide; but he is evidently of opinion that it is a work of later date, in

accordance with the thesis which he has maintained in an earlier work, that the conception of the sphinx is of foreign origin, imported probably from Asia by some of the immigrant rulers of later times, perhaps those of the race of Khyan, in the ninth dynasty.

It is certainly with reluctance that one feels constrained to give a provisional assent to Professor Petrie's arguments in this matter, but assuredly the tablet of Khufu cannot be regarded as settling the question, for, as is now generally admitted, it is of much later date, probably of the twenty-first dynasty, or even later. It is a still greater wrench to have our faith in the antiquity of the coffin lid of Mycerinus weakened; but, in the face of the arguments recently adduced by the German critics, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion, to which Professor Petrie assents, that this relic, with its "schwanen-lid" is a late reconstruction, possibly of the twenty-sixth dynasty.

There are certain difficulties in determining the chronology of this early period. Queen Mertitefs, on her tomb at Gizeh, says of herself that she was *ur am-t* (great favourite) of Seneferu, *ur am-t* of Khufu, and *makh kher* (devoted to Khafra). If, as we are told, Seneferu reigned twenty-nine years, Khufu sixty-three, and Khafra sixty-six, even supposing that Mertitefs was in her teens when she became wife of Seneferu, she must have been advanced in years when Khafra came to the throne; but perhaps this is indicated in the change of expression used by this ancient predecessor of Ninon de l'Enclos to express the sentiments of the last king. In any case, her evidence proves that no other reign was interposed, and that Radadef, whom Tunari and Seti have interposed between Khufu and Khafra, must have come later, possibly after Menkara, as stated in the list of Manetho, if indeed he be the same as Rhatoises.

In general, Professor Petrie has made the Turin papyrus the basis of his chronology, but he suggests emendations where other information is available. It is interesting to note, however, that on the whole the result runs approximately parallel with those of the artificial chronology of Brugsch, based upon the assumption that each generation lasted thirty-three years. At the start, Brugsch is more than 200 years behind Petrie, the former putting Seneferu about 3776 B.C., the latter at 3998. The end of the sixth dynasty is referred by Brugsch to 3000, by Petrie to 3290, and the end of the twelfth dynasty is placed by them respectively at 2236 and 2565. The very judicious remarks with which Professor Petrie ends his concluding chapter on chronology cannot be too strongly emphasised in this connection. In dealing with the dates of the dark ages which follow the reign of Queen Sebekheferu, Professor Petrie is more liberal in his allotment of time than was Brugsch, as he allows 965 years between the end of her reign and the accession of Aahmes, while Brugsch puts the interval at 536 years.

In treating this, the most obscure period of the history, Professor Petrie has adopted Brugsch's method of regarding the names in the Turin list as successive, but if there be any force in the argument used by him against the duration of the early dynasties from the paucity of monuments, it might be used with much greater cogency here, where the monuments of this period are so few; but while we cannot but regard Lieblein's method of grouping as purely artificial, it is not improbable that some errors may have crept into the numbers in the list, and that some degree at least of overlap may have taken place.

The monumental traces of foreign influence before the Hyksos rule are most interesting, and Professor Petrie has shown with great clearness that it is probable that some of the kings of the eleventh dynasty, such as Khyan, may have been successful members of an early Semitic immigration, and, may, like Joseph in much later times, have been persons who rose to be not only second, but supreme rulers in the land. Here the study of the linguistic changes which took place in the Egyptian language, and which differentiate the speech of the early days of the new Empire from the language of the pyramid texts, confirms the monumental evidence of foreign influence.

Professor Petrie gives in connection with each king a list of the known monuments of his reign, and the most important of these are very clearly illustrated. It would be an advantage if in subsequent additions a map were also given of the places mentioned. It is necessary for the student of Egyptian history to keep constantly in his mind the exact geographical details of the long narrow valley which was the theatre wherein the events of the history were transacted. The index is full and good, and the work as a whole is one for which all students of Egyptology have reason to be deeply grateful to Professor Petrie; and we look forward with interest and expectancy to the two other volumes in continuation that are promised from his pen.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

Religionsphilosophie im Umriss.

Mit historisch-kritischer Einleitung über die Religionsphilosophie seit Kant. Von Dr Rudolph Seydel. Nach des Verfassers Tode herausgegeben von Professor D. Paul Wilh. Schmiedel. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1893. Large 8vo, pp. xix. 396. Price, M. 9.

FROM 1860 to 1892 Rudolph Seydel taught in the University of Leipzig, and for an even longer period, as we learn from the carefully prepared *Verzeichniss* appended to the work before us, he

contributed with unfailing regularity books, articles, and reviews to the philosophical and theological press. Yet, in two respects, the irony of fate pursued him; he never reached the coveted goal of an Ordinary Professorship; and this book, which was his most considerable work, and contains the fruit of his most mature thought, was, at his death, to a large extent unrevised, and is indebted for its publication to the editorial care of a distinguished and grateful pupil. The brief biographical sketch, prefixed by the latter, is marked by the paucity of outward details, which might be expected in the case of an unobtrusive scholar, who early chose his path in life, and consistently adhered to it, but it reveals a spiritual history of no little interest,—one, indeed, which raises problems quite as noteworthy as any discussed in the course of the work itself. For we see how various streams of influence combined to make him what he was, from the time when the fundamental divergence in religious attitude between his rationalistic father and pietistic mother,—which, nevertheless, did not interfere with their mutual affection and happy home-life,—first arrested his attention, to that when Romantic idealisms delivered him from the severities of Herbartian philosophy. The former opposition suggested to the youthful thinker that there was a kernel of Religion underlying and binding together those who in opinion differed so widely, while the latter led him to give that prominence to the Religious Ideal which marks his systematic treatment of the problems of religious philosophy. Nor was Seydel content to *dream* of the ideal; in two directions successively he thought he saw the way to its partial realisation. In early life, under his father's influence, he became an enthusiastic Freemason; later he abandoned the craft and became a supporter of the *Protestantenverein*. In his own neighbourhood, he filled several civil and ecclesiastical offices, approving himself thus not only the earnest thinker, but the man of affairs.

The title given to this book—"Philosophy of Religion in outline"—is the choice of the editor. The author's own title was that here appropriated to the second or systematic part—"The Religion of the free Sonship of God"—with the other as a sub-title. It seems to us that it would have been better to have adopted a more restricted designation than that which the editor has chosen, as the work does not cover what is now understood by Philosophy of Religion. Of it, as was remarked in a former number of this Review concerning Siebeck's *Religionsphilosophie*—"a text-book of this subject it is *not*." The history of Religion is barely glanced at; its origin and common elements are not discussed from a historical point of view; the problem is conceived as purely a rational and philosophical one, and appropriately the historico-critical introduc-

tion begins with Kant's "*Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*." Yet, perhaps the most important work previously done by Seydel had been his attempt to trace a relationship between Buddhism and Christianity, a subject which he treated at length in 1882, and to which he returned in 1884.

Seydel's theological position is correctly stated by his biographer to have been determined by two leading principles,—on the one hand, a revolt against traditional Christianity; and on the other, an equally strenuous rejection of Materialism, and the mechanical view of Causality. Accepting the doctrine of Evolution, he gave it a spiritual interpretation, and regarded it from the point of view of an inner Teleology. After describing the three methods in which Religion may be investigated,—the psychological, the historical, the teleological,—he adopts the last method as his own. Starting from the actual religious experience of the soul, which furnishes the Philosophy of Religion with its problem, and which consists in the direction of the will to an ideal end, he seeks to ascertain how this experience is attained, maintained, and intensified, so that this striving after an end may be understood both as to its contents and its conditions. The Philosophy of Religion, however, as he conceives it, is not concerned with investigating the cause of this characteristic experience, nor with assigning it a place as a historical fact in the general development of things. Its immediate subject is the ideal or perfected Religion—Religion as it ought to be—and this includes a consideration of the *possibility* of realising this end, and the *means* by which it is to be realised. Here the threefold method of enquiry again presents itself. We may ask how the actual religious life of men has arisen, how and how far its actual historical development has realised its aims, or what the perfect Religion is, and how it is to be attained. Kant's new departure in the Philosophy of Religion lies in his having, for the first time, made this last question an integral part of Philosophy, and so given to Religion its place beside the other spiritual possessions of man.

The first chapter of the Historical Introduction discusses those views of the nature or essence of Religion which seem to the author to have laid stress on one element of it to the exclusion of others. While Fichte formulated its central condition as deliverance from mere individual life through participation in the divine, he was too indifferent to the form in which this central condition expressed itself. Others again laid stress upon the form, which Kant set forth as Moral Action, Schleiermacher as Feeling, and Hegel as Knowledge. Schelling was equally one-sided, whether he regarded it as predominantly Art or Love. These leaders of the transcendental movement receive, however, less exhaustive treatment than the representatives of more recent phases of thought. After a

chapter dealing with those who combine in various ways the elements which had previously been too exclusively regarded, very full consideration is given to what may be called the metaphysical and anti-metaphysical schools, those who like Pfeiderer, Biedermann, and Lipsius, found their systems upon a definite theory of knowledge, and those who, like Ritschl and his followers, Herrmann, Kaftan, and Bender, deny the possibility of any such theory. With the latter our author has evidently much sympathy; Ritschlianism is the *specifically modern* phase of thought, and in its concentration of attention upon the *life of faith* he recognises a distinct step in advance. It is, however, in Vatke (whose views he considers in a final chapter of the first part, dealing with the most recent developments), and in Pfeiderer, that he finds the clearest comprehension and the fullest treatment of the topics which he regards as included in the Philosophy of Religion. As to his conception of Religion itself, he adopts a sentence of Pünjer, to the effect that "it should fill the *whole life* of man, that it should not be the occupation of special hours of devotion only, and should not only guide, but inspire, uphold, and determine all activities of man, all thought, speech, and deed."

In the second or systematic portion of his work Seydel discusses in order the several problems which appear to him to fall under Philosophy of Religion. The two elements of Religion which have to be philosophically investigated are the basis of experience from which it starts, and the ends or ideal aims which it sets before it. A prior question to be considered is obviously one of method, with the discussion of which the introduction to this part is occupied. Sciences may be divided into those concerned with the end or the ideal, and those dealing with causes or the basis of existence. The Philosophy of Religion belongs to the former; in two departments only does it touch upon the latter, namely, in the Philosophy of History and the Doctrine of God. There is no other way in which religious truth can be attained but by a philosophical enquiry into the fact of Religion and the character of the ends by which it is dominated. Neither faith nor revelation can, in Seydel's view, ever supersede the philosophical method. In the course of an elaborate discussion he claims to prove that faith can never lead to knowledge, and that revelation is only the appeal to faith in another form. Philosophy of Religion is therefore a branch of general Ethics, and the only method applicable is the inductive treatment of the facts.

The first division treats of the Ideal of Religion in its general aspect, its opposites, and partial developments. It is the bringing about of an inner spiritual relationship, in which the will consciously strives after unlimited submission to the Divine as the Highest which man can know or conceive. All selfishness,—even in

its highest form, as a desire of blessedness,—is excluded, though in the enjoyment of the divine is the fullest satisfaction of every right desire. It is shown how the Ideal is stunted and mutilated through various one-sided apprehensions of it, such as Pietism, Mysticism, Moralism. But the life in, with, and from God, which is the central fact of Religion, is necessarily manifested and realised in several directions. It leads to a *Consciousness* with certain definite contents, the investigation of which gives rise to a system of Doctrine; to an *Emotional* perception, which is treated under the head of Religious *Æsthetic*; and to appropriate modes of *Action*, which form the subject of Religious *Ethic*. The discussion of these occupies the second, third, and fourth divisions respectively of the systematic part.

The need for a system of Doctrine is due to the rise and presence of Doubt. Simple faith, as it is called, may thrust doubt aside, but does not overcome it. Scepticism asks—Is there indeed in the universe a power of redemption, of salvation, the sum of all good, and able and willing to bestow it? If there is, is the world capable of receiving and being acted upon by this source of good, so that it may be redeemed? Is there a means whereby the supreme power of good may be brought to bear upon the actual world, so that it may attain true blessedness? These three questions give rise to the three great divisions of the *Glaubenslehre*, namely, the Doctrine of God, his existence and nature, as the source and pledge of salvation; the doctrine of the World in its relation to the saving will of God, especially Theodicy, or the consideration of the difficulties which arise through the existence of evil; and the Realisation of Salvation, or the conditions and manner of the redemption of men. Under the first head the various arguments for the existence of God as the Unconditioned are discussed, special stress being laid on the Ontological argument, of which the various forms are explained and criticised. The idea of the Unconditioned being attained, two of the chief attributes of God receive attention; He is thought of metaphysically as Omnipotence and ethically as Love,—as One, that is, whose “will is salvation.” Under the third head, there is a very remarkable discussion of the question, Who are capable of being saved? As salvation consists in the supremacy of the spiritual part of man over the sensible or the natural, it follows that all who have not thus become regenerate remain purely animal and do not attain Immortality. As nature of fifty seeds “often brings but one to bear,” so Seydel would answer in the negative the poet’s query—

“The wish, that of the living whole
No life may fail beyond the grave,
Derives it not from what we have
The likest God within the soul?”

The boundary line between the animal and the spiritual is not, he maintains, passed by the idiot, the savage, and those dying in infancy. On the other hand, our author thinks the suggestion not unworthy of attention that the soul after death may take up its residence in some of the heavenly bodies, to which our frames as presently constituted would not be adapted !

While the system of Doctrine is naturally the side on which Religion is most fully developed, the other two divisions recognise that it is a matter also of Feeling and of Will. The former of these is chiefly occupied with a consideration of the place of the Symbolical in worship, and of religious Art. The latter deals with specially devotional and religious activities. The ethical element in Religion emerges with the first impulse to realise the ends of Religion, and could only conceivably cease when these are in the fullest measure attained. It requires a constant, earnest pursuit of truth ; truth must not be sacrificed in order to secure peace of mind ; the traditional must be lovingly, reverently, but faithfully put to the test. Religious Ethic aims also at the strengthening and purifying of religious feeling by cherishing suitable images of hope, and by worship. Here the association of men for the cultivation in common of the end in view has a special value. And lastly, action is to be entered on for the benefit of others, so that the world and the whole of life may be filled with the religious spirit, whereby alone the Ideal in view from the first can reach its consummation.

From the above outline the object, method, and spirit of the work before us may be gathered. It abounds in penetrating and suggestive thoughts and in passages of acute criticism. Some of its discussions indeed are tedious, and not a few obscure. The editor remarks that had Seydel been spared, he would doubtless have improved the book from a "*stilistisch*" point of view, abbreviating some parts and excising others. It sadly needs such treatment ; but we cannot blame the editor for shrinking from the responsibility of making the alterations which would thus have been necessary. He has done his own part exceedingly well, especially in supplying the excellent analytical index by which the labour of the reader is greatly lessened. This index makes reference to the special discussions comparatively easy, and for this purpose rather than as one to be read as a whole, the book will be found useful to students.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

Johann Adam Möhler der Symboliker. Ein Beitrag zu seinem Leben und seiner Lehre aus seinen eigenen und andern ungedruckten Papieren.

Von J. Friedrich. München: Oskar Beck. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. v. 139. Price M. 2.

WE have had sketches of Möhler's life and teaching before, in *Wetzer und Welte*, in *Herzog und Plitt*, by Gams, by Wörner, by Kling, and by Kihn, the last being an academical address at the University of Würzburg by its Rector, 1885. Dr Döllinger, who edited a selection from Möhler's Essays shortly after his death (*Gesammelte Schriften und Aufsätze*, Regensburg, 1839, 1840), and could have told more that was worth knowing about Möhler than any of these writers, withheld his hand. This was one of those subjects about which, in Lord Acton's words respecting the strange disproportion between Döllinger's power and his productiveness, "he knew too much to write" (*Historical Review*, October 1890, p. 743). For a long time Dr Friedrich of Munich has been engaged in writing a Life of Döllinger, whose colleague and friend he was, and whose excommunication he shared. In consequence of his having undertaken this very extensive work, an immense amount of material, hitherto in Döllinger's possession, has come into his hands, including a number of Möhler's letters to Döllinger, and a large quantity of note-books which he used for his lectures on the Pauline Epistles, on Christian Literary History, and on Church History generally. Dr Friedrich naturally enough decided that a treasure of this kind ought not to remain buried. To insert the substance of it in the Life of Döllinger would be a thoroughly legitimate proceeding, but would swell the bulk of what must in any case be a lengthy work. Moreover, this manner of treating them would have caused very considerable delay. He has therefore determined to send forth the results of his investigations in this most interesting field at once as a separate publication.

Döllinger outlived Möhler by more than half a century, and one is accustomed to think of Möhler as belonging to an earlier generation; but in fact he was earlier by only three years. Möhler was born in 1796 and Döllinger in 1799; yet the former was barely forty-two when he died, while the latter was over ninety. The occasion of their becoming personally acquainted with one another is interesting. It came about in 1829, owing to Möhler's reviewing Döllinger's *Kirchengeschichte* in the *Tübingen Quartalschrift*, criticising it as being too subjective a treatment of history. In particular, he finds fault with the too favourable view taken of the Jesuits and the somewhat prejudiced view taken of the Jansenists.

A Catholic historian ought to be above party, frankly to recognise good wherever he finds it, and with equal unreserve to note whatever is erroneous, one-sided, false, or scandalous. No doubt there are points in which the Jesuits win the warmest sympathies of the historian, both for what they have done and for what they have suffered; and especially because they have often suffered, not for their faults, but for their virtues. But there is something to be said on the other side; and in any case the Jesuits are not everybody, and it is possible to do some good without them; and if the Jesuits have sometimes been badly treated, so have the Jansenists. Herr Döllinger seems to think that the Jansenists were to blame for the hostility which the French Parliament more and more exhibited towards the Episcopate. But was it the Jansenists who had a Père le Tellier and a Père la Chaise at court, and was it they who tried to manage everything by means of the temporal power? Was it they who urged the Popes to declare themselves infallible?

It will perhaps be a surprise to some to read of Döllinger being criticised for being prejudiced in favour of the Jesuits. But at this time he was still under the influence of Baader and of Count de Maistre, the former of whom is said to have been then, what Döllinger himself became in later life, "the most instructive and impressive talker in Germany." Döllinger was quite willing to talk in later days of the time when the achievements of the Jesuits had fascinated him.

Döllinger's History of the Church (1833-1838) was at this time not published. The book which Möhler thus criticises is an earlier work, a sort of handbook of Church History. And the English translation by Dr Cox, a re-issue of which (in strange violation of what is fitting) is now advertised, is a combination of the two. Möhler's criticisms were taken by the author in good part. He told his critic that a study of Fénelon would modify his views. Möhler tried the experiment, and in an interesting letter, which is here given in full (*Tübingen*, February 20, 1830), admits that his views have been modified. There is a story that Hormayr showed King Ludwig I. a passage in Döllinger, in which the massacre of St. Bartholomew is defended, and that it made the king very angry. There is no such passage; but it may be true enough that the king was displeased with the treatment of the subject. Döllinger was not in favour with him on other grounds, and it was not until long afterwards that he succeeded (1835) in inducing the king, through the mediation of Ringseis, Rector of the University, to appoint Möhler to a professorship at Munich. But during the five years of waiting Möhler and Döllinger corresponded with one another, and some of Möhler's letters are here given. The publication of the work by which Möhler is best known—*Symbolik oder*

*Darstellung der dogmatischen Gegensätze der Katholiken und Protestanten*¹ (Mainz, 1832; Eng. Trans. by Robertson, 1843)—had involved him in a great deal of controversy, especially with his colleague F. C. Baur, who wrote against it (1834); and Möhler was not sorry to leave Tübingen for Munich. As soon as Döllinger told him that the matter was settled, he was in feverish haste to get away. But he was already anxious about his health and the probable effects of the Munich climate. He begs his friend to find him a lodging on the sunny side of the street, sheltered from the wind, near the University buildings, and neither on the ground floor nor in the attics (March 25, 1835). "I am longing greatly to come to you and your friends. God grant that we may work together for His kingdom, and be able to build up and enlarge and strengthen it in peace and unity" (April 12, 1835).

He came to Munich not only without any official appointment, but without knowing what the official appointment, when made, would be. When it came, he was made Professor of Exegesis, Döllinger being Professor of Church History and Canon Law. But by private arrangement between the two Möhler lectured on Church History, and Döllinger styled himself Professor of Canon Law and his colleague Professor of Church History and Exegesis. Those titles corresponded to the facts of their work, but they were not the titles which had been officially conferred.

Möhler's influence at once became very great, the charm of his manner acting almost like a spell. And this effect was intensified when it became evident that death had laid its hand upon him; so that, as Friedrich remarks, even Clement Brentano became silent in his presence, and listened to his gentle eloquent words with quiet reverence.

The raw, capricious, and searching climate of Munich was not the only thing which tried him: its keen intellectual atmosphere was also very uncongenial, especially during the last part of his life, when disease had made him abnormally sensitive. At times he could not bear the society of his closest friends. Beda Weber, who has sketched him (somewhat imaginatively, as some think) in his *Characterbilder*, states that Möhler told him how intercourse with those whom he loved and admired sometimes distressed him. "I share their views, but their manner of expounding them pains me. It affects my nerves. A witticism of my friend Döllinger, a forcible expression of Professor Görres, an article by Professor Moy in the new Würzburg Gazette, gives me sleepless nights. I am obliged to avoid their society; although I feel that this enforced solitariness is bad both for me and my work, and I am in danger of becoming one-sided and misanthropic."

¹ In the fifth edition of the *Symbolik*, 1838, Reithmayer's Life of Möhler will be found.

But the end was not far off. Although there were times when Möhler seemed to be regaining strength, yet his health, after his removal to Munich, became steadily worse. March 22, 1835, the king nominated him Dean of the Cathedral at Würzburg, where he would have a milder climate and be freed from the exertion of lecturing. But it was too late. He died at Würzburg, April 12, just three weeks after his appointment. But he had made his mark in Munich, and, thanks to the devotion of Döllinger to his memory, that mark is not yet obliterated.

It remains to say a few words about the extracts from Möhler's lectures which Dr Friedrich gives us from the MSS. which have come into his hands. These are mainly upon two topics: the Primacy of the Roman See and the Jesuits. With regard to his views on the Primacy, they may be most conveniently summed up as identical with those of *Janus*. (See, in particular, sections iv.-vi., pp. 67-10, in *Der Papst und das Concil*, 1869; pp. 63-94 in "The Pope and the Council," 2nd ed., 1869. In the new German edition, re-edited and re-arranged by Friedrich, 1892, these sections have been placed at the beginning of the volume, *Das Papsthum*, pp. 1-21.) After pointing out the complete agreement between Möhler and *Janus*, Dr Friedrich remarks, "Now for the first time I fully understand what Döllinger meant, when, while Archbishop von Scherr was urging us with more and more vehemence to submit, he suddenly exclaimed in my presence, 'Imagine Möhler and Görres still alive and compelled to witness this!'"

The extracts from Möhler's lectures which treat of the Jesuits are used to vindicate the reputation of Professor Burkard Leu of Lucerne. He had attended Möhler's lectures in Tübingen; and in 1840, when a strong effort had been made by the Ultramontanes to get the Jesuits into Lucerne, he published some of his notes taken at Möhler's lectures, to prove that it was possible to be a good Catholic, and yet doubt the wisdom of having Jesuits to conduct the education of the young. The friends of the Jesuits disputed the authenticity of these notes. What proof was there that Möhler had ever lectured publicly in this disparaging manner respecting the Jesuits? It seems strange that no other pupil of Möhler was found who could give evidence as to the lectures in question. Leu's "Contribution to an Estimate of the Order of Jesuits" made a great sensation for a time, and then passed out of recollection, neither proved nor disproved as to being a faithful reproduction of Möhler's utterances. Dr Friedrich is now able to prove that it reproduces them with great fidelity. Professor Leu has been dead many years; but it will be a satisfaction to those who trusted him to have his trustworthiness in this matter established.

It has sometimes been the policy of Romanists to praise the

author of the *Symbolik* as a rare combination of critical acumen and spiritual enthusiasm. But they cannot have it both ways. They cannot keep their critical enthusiast as a hero of modern Catholicism, and at the same time reject the results of his criticism with ridicule and abhorrence. It is one of the many evil results of the Vatican Decrees that they compel those who accept them to condemn as fools or as heretics those who, previous to 1870, were regarded as authorities in learning and as doctors of the Church.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

Adamnani Vita S. Columbae.

Edited from Dr Reeves' text, with an Introduction on Early Irish History, Notes and a Glossary, by J. T. Fowler, M.A., D.C.L., Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London; Lecturer in Hebrew, Librarian, and Vice-Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, in the University of Durham. Oxford, Clarendon Press. Pp. xciv. 201. Price, 8s. 6d. net.

THE editor of this immortal biography has done much good work in time past, for which he has earned the gratitude of scholars; as subscribers to the Surtees Society's publications, among other learned productions, know well. But in this his last piece of work he has earned the gratitude of many who are not specialists, as well as of all who are. Hitherto Adamnan's *Life of S. Columba*, has been an inaccessible work to the large majority of people. It was not very easy to procure; and, when it was procured, it needed a competent interpreter in order to be instructive, or indeed in order to be in the fullest sense interesting. Until the second half of the present century it could not even be procured in a separate form. Those who wanted it must seek for it in collections of various kinds made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as the *Florilegium* of Messingham, 1624, Basnage's *Thesaurus*, 1725, the Bollandist's *Acta Sanctorum*, and the like. The separate form and the competent interpreter appeared simultaneously when Dr Reeves in 1857 published the first edition of the *Life of S. Columba* for the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society. Those who are best able to judge regard this edition as a marvel of research and accuracy for the time at which it was published. It was thrice re-issued—twice in Vol. VI. of the *Historians of Scotland*, 1871 and 1874, and once in Pinkerton's *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, 1889, of which only 220 copies were published. But in spite of the four issues of Dr Reeves' monumental edition, Adamnan's *Life of S. Columba* still remained a rare book until

1894. Moreover, the progress of historical and antiquarian knowledge had made even the work of Dr Reeves somewhat out of date. A thoroughly accessible edition, brought into line with the learning of the day, was among the many literary *desiderata* of this book-producing age.

This want was accentuated and made more widely felt when, some ten years ago, the University of Durham instituted a special examination for the degree of B.D., open, as an encouragement to study, to clergy of a certain standing, whether they were members of the University or not. Among the subjects which candidates for this degree may offer is Church History; and among the subjects which candidates who select Church History must offer is Adamnan's *Life of S. Columba*. The want which was thus aggravated by Durham has now been most appropriately supplied by a member of that University; and the University with equal propriety conferred the honorary degree of D.C.L. on the new editor just about the time when this latest piece of work of his was leaving his hands for the Clarendon Press. The Preface is dated June 9, and the degree was conferred June 26.

The Preface to the volume gives some account of the literature; and then follows the Introduction on Early Irish History, which tells the ordinary reader all that he requires to know in order to read Adamnan's biography of the Saint intelligently. This Introduction is in seven chapters, which treat respectively of the Pre-Patrician Period, St Patrick, Saints of the Patrician Period, and the "Three Orders" of Irish Saints, Irish Monasticism, Monastic Schools, Columba in Ireland, Columba in Iona, and Columba's successors, up to and including Adamnan. Where all is so good, it is a little difficult to choose; but of these seven chapters the fourth and fifth on Irish Monasticism and Monastic Schools, may be specially commended to the reader's attention. The list of "authorities cited" nearly fills six pages. Then comes a genealogical table of kings and abbots, ending in Adamnan, ninth abbot of Iona, A.D. 679-704, and a not quite complete list of *corrigenda*, the latter of which tends to show that in reprinting the text of Reeves the present editor has trusted rather too much to the accuracy of the reader at the Press. How excellently the readers at the University Press, both at Oxford and at Cambridge, do their work many of us can testify from personal experience. Nevertheless, they cannot be expected to be as lynx-eyed as an author or editor.

When we reach the text of Adamnan's *Vita Sancti Columbae*, we find that Dr Fowler has done four things for us, all very helpful. He has given a marginal analysis of the Life in English, an *apparatus criticus* for the text, excellent explanatory notes at the foot of each page, and at the end a very useful glossary. As a

specimen of the notes we may take one on the word *pistor* in chap. x. of lib. iii.—

“Colgan and the Bollandists, perhaps misled by an error in a transcript, read *pictor*. This reading has led Keller and Westwood to refer to the passage as supposed evidence of the cultivation of painting or illumination in Iona, while Dr John Smith in his *Life of St Columba*, has accused Colgan ‘and other Catholics’ of wilfully altering the word to justify paintings” (p. 140).

Or, again, on the word *missa* in connexion with *vespertinalem missam* in chapter xxiii. of the same book :—

“The original meaning was the same as *missio* or *dimissio*, which seems to have been extended to any service at the end of which the congregation was dismissed, and finally to the Eucharist alone” (p. 158).

In modern German the expression *Abendmesse* may still be seen in the sense of “evening service,” and before now has been interpreted to mean “evening communion,” a sense which, to a German Roman Catholic, would seem ridiculous.

Between the useful glossary and index Dr Fowler has given a table of references to the passages of Scripture which are quoted in the *Vita*. They are taken from sixteen books of the Old Testament and thirteen of the New—Genesis, the Psalms, and St Matthew being the writings most frequently used.

Here and there in the notes, and also in the glossary, Dr Fowler calls attention to the interesting fact that some of the less usual words used by Adamnan are also used in the Vulgate, or some other Latin Version of the Bible. This he does either by a mere reference to Rönisch’s invaluable analysis of the language of the *Itala und Vulgata* (Marburg, 1875), as in the case of *Amphibalus*, *Ascella*, *Minare*, *Offensus*; or, still better, by giving references to the passages in the Bible in which the word is found, as in the case of *Appropriare*, *Humerulus*, *Papilio*. This latter method seems to be adopted only when the word occurs in the Vulgate, and not always then. The following are additional examples, and no doubt a little research would result in the discovery of more :—

Pincerna (I. xvii.), which is used for the monastic butler, instead of the more usual *cellarius*, is fairly common in the Vulgate (Gen. xl. 1, 2, 9, 20, 23; xli. 9; 1 Kings x. 5; 2 Chron. ix. 4). *Hauritorium* (I. xvii.) occurs in Codd. Bezae (d), Veron. (b), and Rehd. (l), for the ἄρτηλα of John iv. 11. *Sublimatus est* (I. xlv.) is found in the Vulgate (Ezek. xxxi. 10; comp. Job xxii. 12). *Pausare*, “to rest” (III. xxiii.) occurs also (4 Esdr. ii. 24). *Ingeniculatio*, “kneeling” (II. xxxii.), perhaps is not used in any Latin Version, the word not being required; but the Vulgate has *ingeniculans* (3 Esdr. viii. 74).

Instances of this kind are of great interest, and tell of various things. Sometimes they explain how new words, or words in new senses, got into the Versions—viz., because of their use in the current dialect. Sometimes they explain how they got into the current dialect—viz., because of their use in a Version that was familiar. How many English words, or uses of words, would have perished but for the Authorised Version!

No one can read Adamnan for five minutes without being struck by his extraordinary fondness for diminutives, which, as a rule, have no point, but are mere substitutes for the simple word. In the glossary we are told that Reeves has made a list of eighty-three such words occurring in the *Vita S. Columbae*. As Reeves is such an inaccessible book, it would be worth while, in a second edition, which is sure to be required, to give this list, separating single from double diminutives. The latter are not very common, as *agellulus*, *capsellula*, *monticellulus*, and perhaps others. Diminutives are fairly frequent in the Latin Versions, but to nothing like the same extent as in Adamnan; and not very many are common to them and him.

The editor, who apparently prefers "connexion," has not succeeded in keeping "connection" (which even compositors at the University Press will print, if allowed to do so) out of his pages (p. 158). But it is no doubt the editor, and not the compositor, who prefers "Vergil," which to some of us seems to be indefensible. *Vergilius*, if you like—yet even that is not necessary, as the editor himself seems to admit (p. 131); but "Vergil" is neither Latin nor English. "Baeda" is all right for those who like to be particular; and "Bede" is also right, and for English people (we agree with Canon Bright¹) very much to be preferred; but would not "Baede" be intolerable?

But, in conclusion, why ought students of Church History to read the Life, written near the close of the seventh century, of a saint who died near the close of the sixth? The editor, at the close of his instructive Introduction, gives us the answer to that question in the words of those who are best qualified to judge—viz., those who have made a special study of Adamnan. Because this biography is "the most complete piece of such biography that all Europe can boast of, not only at so early a period, but throughout the whole Middle Ages" (Pinkerton). Because it is "an inestimable relic of the Irish Church; perhaps, with all its defects, the most valuable monument of that institution which has escaped the ravages of time," and is "one of the most important pieces of hagiology in existence" (Reeves). Because it is "one of the most vivid, most

¹ *Waymarks of History*, p. 280. Longmans, 1894. Dr Fowler always has "Bede."

attractive, and most authentic monuments in the History of Christianity" (Montalembert). Dr Fowler has done no more useful piece of work in all that he has done for literature and archæology, than in making this exceptionally valuable document accessible to all English students.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

Studies in Theology.

Lectures delivered in Chicago Theological Seminary. By the Rev. James Denney, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1894. Pp. viii, 272. Price, 5s.

No such reviving note has been heard in our theology for many a day as this which is so clearly given forth by Dr Denney. Some months ago, in a Church Congress at Exeter, Dr Sanday, of Oxford, called attention to the change which marks religious thinking both in Church and non-conforming circles at present, as compared with a time twenty years earlier. At that time the first effects of more critical study had been to engender vagueness of belief and impatience of dogma. Now, as he thinks, the riper fruits of such study are beginning to appear. "It has already strengthened and defined, in the minds of recently educated preachers and writers, such doctrines as those of the Trinity, the Logos, the Atonement, and the union of the Christian with Christ." In Scotland our case has never been that which Dr Sanday's words describe for the Churches of the sister country. We have always had competent systematizers. In the last generation we had theologians like the late Principal W. Cunningham, who, with logical completeness, treated evangelical doctrine as a direct inheritance from the Reformers. All along, even since the new learning began to tell, we have had a succession of able exegetes and commentators interpreting its results for us, both in Old Testament and New Testament theology. But what we have lacked is the reconstruction of our doctrinal system in the maturer lights of modern scholarship. More than a promise of this advance we have now in the work of Dr Denney, as already in that of Dr James Orr, whom he duly associates with himself by frequent citation.

Dr Denney believes in systematic divinity. Every page pleads for the solidarity of Christian belief. His thoughts move in battalions. They have a commander, a standard, and a purpose in their movement. His mind is possessed with an instinct for consistency, which in a constructive theologian is really a form of the instinct for truth. His mental attachment is to the permanent rather than to the provisional elements in religious thought. Keen

to miss nothing which the progress of criticism and exegesis furnishes, he is strong in his hold of the fundamental; skilful in his use of what is new to illustrate it; comprehensive in his judgment of the relation of the accidental to the essential. The book does not profess to be more than a sketch or a series of studies, but it carries great principles through every one of these, and tells us how easily the author could enrich us with further applications of them. It marshals some of the chief doctrines of evangelical theology in open array and in presence of their foe,—the only rival system of the Christian facts which in our day requires to be taken seriously by the systematic theologian.

Dr Orr, in his masterly "Kerr Lecture," was the first of British writers, so far as we have noticed, to ring out a prolonged defiance to this Ritschlian or so-called New Theology. Dr Denney carries on the campaign with persistence and point. Nothing could be more seasonable, when there is among our religious writers and preachers so much of this tendency, often unconfessed and probably unconscious. But there is an element in this sketch far more valuable than the polemic—viz. the reconstructive. Like most of our recent able theological essayists, Dr Denney takes as his starting-point, and, indeed, as his centre, the relation of the Person of Christ to the entire Christian system. Faithful all through to the fulness of New Testament teaching, the book is particularly successful in bringing out its witness to the Divine, Living, and Present Christ. The favourite motto "Back to Christ" is fairly and lucidly dealt with, and its defect supplied. "The Christian religion, as the New Testament exhibits it, is the religion of men who believe that Christ lives and reigns in grace, and that they themselves are in living fellowship with a living Lord who does all things perfectly in them and for them. . . . It might sound, perhaps, too paradoxical to say that no apostle, no New Testament writer, ever *remembered* Christ; yet it would be true in the sense that they never thought of Him as belonging to the past. The exalted Lord was lifted above the conditions of time and space; when they thought of Him, memory was transmuted into faith; in all the virtue of the life they had known on earth He was Almighty, ever-present, the living King of Grace. On this conception the very being of the Christian religion depends; but for it that religion could never have been born, and without it, could not survive for a generation. . . . It is not because He lived, but because He lives, that we have life also." With a similar convincingness and force Dr Denney brings out the centrality of the Atonement in Apostolic teaching; that the work of Christ in relation to sin and to man's reconciliation to God is in the New Testament a "luminous, interpretable, and interpreted fact"; that it is the culminating point in revelation; not the insoluble

problem, but the solution of all problems. The passages which express it are to be treated not as excrescences on the Gospel; for the Christian consciousness in all ages has found in these the very core of the Gospel, the inmost heart of God's redeeming love. "The idea which they contain is not an irrational or immoral something that we must eliminate by one device or another—by exegetical ingenuity or philosophical interdict—it is the diamond pivot on which the whole system of Christian truth revolves, and to displace it or tamper with it is to reduce the New Testament to an intellectual chaos."

Even on those topics where the treatment is less full, the grasp of principles is strong. An instance of this is the "Doctrine of Man," which our author rightly perceives to hold many of the key-positions for Bible religion as against modern thought. In the Bible view, and in that of the theology which is loyal to the Bible, we have the only solution of the riddle arising from the contradiction between man's make and his condition, his formation in the Divine Image and his fall into sin. Equally fundamental is the Bible position that man unites in his constitution, nature and spirit. On the one hand he is related to nature and rooted in it; on the other he is related to God, and therefore is lord of nature. This principle is applied with terseness and point along a whole line of present-day questions. Our science deals with man only as it finds him in nature. The older theology was too apt to treat him only as spirit. The true reconciliation lies in holding the balance and the connection. Here lies the solution of the problems that arise, *e.g.*, out of those phenomena which we sum up in the term "heredity," a notion which has possessed many of our present popular writers with something approaching to a "craze." But if we see, with the Bible, that man, though rooted in nature, is sovereign over it, we shall also see heredity is nothing like the whole of man's being; it presents him with problems, with moral probation, with occasion to assert his own freedom and prove the power of God's grace. On the same lines, we justify the Bible doctrine of the connection between sin and death. The scientific assertion of the natural necessity of death—an assertion from which, by the way, such scientists as Weismann are now drawing back—as applied to man, amounts, as Dr Denney says, to a begging of the question. Once we understand what man is, we see that death to him demands an explanation not required in the case of creatures whose whole life is bounded by nature; and that explanation is supplied by Scripture when it makes death the punishment of sin.

The only important topic on which those who welcome this brilliant handling of evangelical and scriptural theology will be inclined to hesitate is that one about which the author himself appears to

hesitate, if re-shaping the form of his statement can be so designated, viz, that of the inspiration of Scripture. As to the authority of Scripture, the application he has made of this in his firm and lucid statement of the Scripture doctrines appears to carry with it all that is essential. That the authority of the Bible depends on its divineness, and that our conviction of its divineness is mainly the Spirit-witness of its contents to the spirit of redeemed men—which appears to be our author's position—is nothing other than the position of the Reformers, and the only impregnable one in the case. And it is substantially that of the Westminster Divines, who never formulate “inspiration” in any other terms than as that quality of Holy Scripture which proves it to be the Word of God. It is not clear why Dr Denney should insist on reading into their statement the scholastic, or what we may call the Helvetican, view of thirty years later, which became the basis of the hard and fast dogma he, in common with most enlightened evangelical thinkers of our day, desires to repudiate. The publishers have produced the work in a most convenient and attractive form.

J. LAIDLAW.

Natural Rights : A Criticism of some Political and Ethical Conceptions.

By David G. Ritchie, M.A., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of St Andrews. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. xvi. 304. Price, 10s. 6d.

THIS is another volume of that important series, “The Library of Philosophy,” edited by Mr Muirhead, in which have already appeared Erdmann's “History of Philosophy,” Bosanquet's “History of Æsthetic,” Bradley's “Appearance and Reality,” and some other writings of the Neo-Idealist School. In this series Professor Ritchie is announced to write a History of Political Philosophy. If the larger work has anything like the thoroughness and brilliancy of the present “fragment of political philosophy,” to use Professor Ritchie's own description of his “Natural Rights,” it will be a very welcome addition to English philosophical literature. For “Natural Rights” is professedly a contribution to political philosophy, being, as Mr Ritchie insists all philosophy should be, “a criticism of categories, i.e. of fundamental conceptions.”

Much was made by the leaders of the French Revolution of the rights of man. Every human being had natural rights, it was said with emphasis, in the *Declaration des Droits*, prefixed to the French Constitution of September 1791. These rights were *la liberté*,—*la*

propriété,—la sûreté,—la résistance à l'oppression. These rights were as imprescriptible as natural, and the exercise of these rights has no other limits, it was said, "than those which are necessary to secure to every other man the free exercise of the same rights." This theory of natural human rights has often been heard of both before 1789 and since. The theory remains, as our author says, "a commonplace of the newspaper and platform, not only in the United States of America, where the theory may be said to form part of the national creed, but in this country, where it was assailed a century ago by both Burke and Chatham," having exercised "for good and evil an enormous influence in the region of practical politics and legislation." It is this theory of natural human rights, the very basis of Individualism in politics, which Professor Ritchie has in this book submitted to a thorough and very readable and very destructive criticism. The book shows large reading, clear thinking, rigorous logic, and, what is relatively rarer, considerable literary ability.

In elaborating his plan, Mr Ritchie first gives a careful history of the theory of natural rights, showing its influence upon the Puritans of England, and the Puritans of America, as well as in the transformation of the French Monarchy. Next, the idea of "Nature" is minutely considered from the point of view of both history and philosophy. Then the idea of "Rights" is cautiously analysed, both critically and historically. All this occupies the first part, about a third of the whole book. In the second (and larger) part, particular natural rights are examined, namely, the right to live, the right to liberty (including the right to liberty of opinion, where a careful study is made of "Toleration"), the right of public meeting and association, the right of contract, the right of resistance, the right of equality, the right of property, and the right of happiness.

But such an outline inevitably does injustice to the author. The book as a whole is by no means an abstract discussion of abstract themes. It is living, robust, and profoundly interesting, illustrations from many sources illuminating and alleviating the more serious argument. Parts of the able chapter on Rousseau and Rousseauism, incisive as it is in its criticism, are almost rollicking in their humour.

Nor is the book simply critical and non-committal. Although the aim is not directly practical, it is very practical nevertheless. The author sees, acknowledges, and to a considerable extent approves of, the social tendencies of the age. He has a profound faith in the rationality of the world. He insists strongly on the need that all advance should be constitutional. Indeed, from reverence for the past confidence is born in the future, and the

need of gradual development becomes both assured and manifest. "Laws and institutions," says Mr Ritchie, "to be progressive must be educative; they must be such as prepare people to go beyond them, in orderly fashion."—"Too great completeness is not a merit in a political or social programme."—"It is only in old-fashioned stories that trouble ends with the wedding bells; and it is a very crude and inexperienced kind of political thinking which expects even the biggest of collectivist schemes to leave no social problems for the future." Great stress is everywhere laid upon the interpretative value of the idea of evolution, both in judging political facts and even political duties. Pessimism nowhere appears. Nay, here and there one becomes sensible of the earnestness of the author's prayer: "Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven."

There appear to me occasional faults in tone and style and argument; but I believe, with Mr Ritchie, that it "is a very elementary and childish form of criticism which sees only the defects;" and I am bound to say that I feel that many preachers especially would be the better for a conscientious study of this book. Such a study would be, I think, a valuable corrective to political acidity, and possibly a useful alternative.

ALFRED CAVE.

Handkommentar zum Alten Testament

Herausgegeben von D. W. Nowack, Strassburg. III. Abtheilung: Die prophetischen Bücher. 2 Band, 1 Theil.

Das Buch Jeremia übersetzt u. erklärt.

Von D. Friedrich Giesebrecht, Greifswald. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Lex. 8vo, pp. 190. Price, M. 6.40.

NOWACK'S "Handkommentar zum Alten Testament" was designed to be a companion to Meyer's Commentary to the New Testament, from the same publishers. The aim of it is to furnish students and practical theologians with the established results of Old Testament research. In the first number, the laborious and ingenious volume of Professor Duhm upon Isaiah, we were presented with a work which overshot this aim, and represented rather a personal adventure in analytic criticism than the appreciation of the secure spoils of scholarship. It is otherwise with Professor Giesebrecht's volume on Jeremiah. Thoroughly independent and fresh, this Commentary is at the same time so sober and well-founded as to take rank, in harmony with the aim of the series, as a standard work on its subject.

The first four paragraphs of the Introduction are historical and theological. The first two contain a vivid sketch of the time of Jeremiah and of his own life, presenting the new problems which rose before the prophet out of the effects of the enforcement of Deuteronomy, and the Babylonian invasion, with remarkable clearness and truth. The third is a just but sympathetic analysis of the most interesting, and fortunately the most clearly unveiled personality in all the history of Israel; very admirable is the treatment of Jeremiah's outbursts upon his enemies, and the defence of his patriotism as against Duncker's somewhat stupid depreciations. The fourth paragraph, on "The Theological Significance of Jeremiah," contains a valuable differentiation of Jeremiah's teaching from that of the older prophets. The contrast between the kind of controversy into which his generation forced him, and the polemic of Amos and Isaiah, is well put. I miss only some statement of the wonderful way in which Hosea—the likeness of whose personal experience to that of Jeremiah's Dr Giesebrecht has already pointed out—anticipated in germ most of the distinctive doctrines of his great follower.

In the fifth and sixth paragraphs the book itself is treated. We have room only to state the general results. With regard to authorship, Giesebrecht divides the fifty-two chapters into three divisions. First, he takes those in which Jeremiah speaks in the first person, some twenty-six out of our first thirty-five, and assigns them to the prophet himself. A second stratum of some eighteen and a-half chapters, scattered between our chapters xix. and xlix., he derives from Baruch. All the rest he takes to be the inventions and additions of later writers. For the late dates of many of these last subtractions Dr Giesebrecht, it will be admitted, has very good reasons, some historical and some derived from the LXX. version of Jeremiah which differs so widely from the Massoretic. Less general agreement will be accorded to his division of the authentic scriptures of the prophet from the additions by Baruch. The use of the personal pronoun on which he relies, is not always a certain test; he also indicates a difference in style (p. 18), but neither is this conclusive. The argument, however, is cautious; and on the main contention that besides prophecies extant as they came from the hand of the prophet himself, we have a considerable number of others which we owe to "the good memory" of Baruch, he is doubtless right.

But the part of the Introduction on which most work has been expended is that which treats of the extraordinary differences between the Massoretic and Septuagint texts of Jeremiah. Dr Giesebrecht makes use of the works of Graf, Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Workman in this sphere. But his use is discriminating; and the whole of the differences have been classified by him afresh. There

could be no more useful analysis for the student of Jeremiah. Avoiding the extremes of Graf, who too much depreciates the LXX., and of Workman, who unduly exalts it, he claims that each difference between LXX. and Hebrew must be separately examined, and so arrives at the following just, and, if not novel, yet always independent, conclusions. Though it is obvious that the Greek translator had a bad MS. which confounded letters and had grave omissions, he himself was not blameless, as is chiefly evident from the fact that he frequently gives translations not of the very Hebrew words, but of their synonyms, changes due partly to his ignorance and partly to his free use of the text. On the other hand, he frequently supplies a better reading where the Hebrew is wholly unsuitable, or in need of a slight alteration; some of his additions are justified by their necessity and their style; many of his omissions are of obvious glosses. His method of translation as well as his ignorance of many phrases is illustrated in detail; and in general Kuenen's conclusions on these points, and of the infrequency of changes introduced by the translator for theological reasons, are confirmed. Professor Giesebrecht then treats of the passages omitted in the LXX., which amount to one-eighth of the whole book, and of its very few additions to the Hebrew text. Of the latter he finds that only in twenty-three cases, all very small, has the LXX. the better and older material. Of the former a good many are glosses, probably of later date than the LXX.; but from this we must not infer that the LXX. has a better text behind it in every single case where it is briefer. Where the translator had difficulties—and we have already seen that often he was ignorant—there he contracted or omitted. It can be proved that he did so with single words; he may have been equally remiss with whole sentences. He was further tempted to compress, by the redundant style of Jeremiah; he left out synonyms and shortened parallels. But it is often impossible to decide whether an omission is due to him or to the text from which he worked. This appears not to have been very good; nor is it any proof of its greater purity that it has none of the "doublettes" which appear in the Hebrew, for these may have come into the Hebrew text after the LXX. version was made.

Such is the course of this careful and judicious analysis. No further words need be added on its value to the student, both as a statement of the whole case between the LXX. and the Massoretes on the book on which they most differ, and as an independent and clearer proof of the conclusions of the best critics.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

Studien zur Topographie des Nördlichen Ostjordanlandes.

Von D. Frants Buhl, Professor, Leipzig. Leipzig: Georg Böhme. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Price, M. 1.

IN twenty quarto pages Professor Buhl, who has himself travelled on the East of the Jordan, gives a lucid description of the natural features of the land between the Yarmuk and Hermon, collects all the references to it in history up to Trajan's constitution of the province of Arabia in 106 A.D.; and then discusses the proposed identifications of several ancient cities, adding one or two of his own. The physical description and historical summary contribute nothing new. They are clear, full, correct. It is interesting to note that so great an authority on the Old Testament agrees with most critics in believing the accounts of Moses' campaign against Bashan "hardly compatible with the older sources" (p. 7). To me it still seems probable that such eastern conquests took place before Israel's crossing of the Jordan, for the geographical reasons I have stated in my *Historical Geography* (575 ff. 664); and I note that Professor Buhl emphasises Josh. xiii. 13, a contribution from a very ancient source, as proof that the conquest of Eastern Palestine took place at least at a very early date. Professor Buhl thinks, "without doubt," that Pompey founded the league of the Decapolis. Surely, when we consider both the character of other city leagues and the fact that the earliest occurrence of the name Decapolis is late in the following century, it is more probable that the league arose long after Pompey, and by the native efforts of the contracting towns. On p. 11 n. 2 Professor Buhl identifies Fik above the Lake of Galilee with Afeka of the *Onomasticon*, but denies that it represents any Old Testament town. Tesil, S.W. of Nawa, he identifies with the Tharsila of the *Onomasticon*, as well as the Tharsila which the LXX. substitute for the Massoretic Tirša in 2 Kings xv. 14. He rightly disputes the identity of Kasphôn or Kasphôr of 1 Macc. v. 26 with Hasfin. He argues well for the identification of the two cities which Eusebius declares bore in his day the name of Asteroth-Karnaim with El-Merkez and Muzeirib respectively. The latter, he thinks, was most probably the Old Testament town of the name, Gen. xiv., etc., as well as the Karnaim of 1 Macc. v. Very successful is the identification of the Ephron of 1 Macc. v. Guided by a suggestion of Grätz, who identifies it with the Gefrun of Polybius, Buhl places it in the modern Wady Gafr in northern Gilead.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

**La Pensée Religieuse dans le Nouveau Testament : Étude
de Théologie Biblique.**

Par Georges Fulliquet, Docteur des Sciences, Pasteur à Lyon. Paris,
Fischbacher. 8vo, pp. 500.

THIS is another volume devoted to the study of New Testament theology. The main title, *La Pensée Religieuse dans la Nouveau Testament*, is chosen purposely by the author to intimate to his readers that what interests him in this study is less the bearing of its results upon dogmatic theology than their bearing upon the religious life. This intimation is made good on every page of the book. Scholasticism is our author's *bête noire*. Theology, or *pensée religieuse* (to use his own phrase), has no interest for him, save as it is seen to issue *from* or to issue *in* spiritual experience. His attitude towards theology in its relation to spiritual experience reminds one in many respects of the Ritschlian school—though there is little trace of direct influence.

A new work on New Testament theology challenges comparison with its predecessors, and especially with its more recent predecessors. We miss in M. Fulliquet's work the conciseness and lucidity of Bovon's *Théologie du Nouveau Testament* (issued by the same publishing firm), the perfect mastery of material which gives its delightful orderliness and simplicity to Beyschlag's expositions, and the thorough exegetical preparation which distinguishes Wendt's *Lehre Jesu*. (Our author is well acquainted with Weiss, Beyschlag, Weizsäcker, Pfleiderer, and Holsten, but has evidently not consulted Wendt.) From a scientific point of view there is a certain looseness in *La Pensée Religieuse*—looseness in the framework of the book, and looseness in the exposition. At the same time, it has merits of its own, as a popular and readable exposition of what has been achieved in the department of New Testament theology; more readable, indeed, than some works of higher scientific pretensions. And this service, it must be conceded, the author has rendered: he has been at pains to make it plain that the modern investigation of "the religious thought in the New Testament" carries with it great gains for the spiritual life of the Christian disciple. There is a warm religious glow in M. Fulliquet's pages which reminds the reader that his author is a Christian teacher, who would persuade men of the wonderfulness of the Christian experience which gives birth to the Christian thought of the New Testament.

The first section of the book is entitled "Introduction," and extends to fifty pages. A good deal in this section has only a slight bearing on what follows in the book, but it is interesting as an

indication of the author's own theological position. The old doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Bible is declared to be no longer tenable (*sable mouvant de l'inspiration litterale* is one of the phrases used). With the authority of the Bible—at least its authority as handled by our fathers—no longer available, another basis must be found on which to rest the argument for Christianity. This our author finds in ethical experience, which vouches for Christianity—the worth of the Gospel, of the Christian life, and of salvation by Christ. He cites Immanuel Kant in this connection, but he seems more familiar with another author he names on the same page, A. Vinet.

In another chapter, entitled "The Christian Foundation and the Foreign Form," a distinction is drawn between what is essential in Christianity, and the varying forms it assumes to suit the peculiar needs of different ages. The Gospel, as preached at first, was preached to Jews, and naturally there is much in the New Testament which is merely Jewish form, and not eternally valid (*e.g.*, the doctrine of expiation by blood). Later the Gospel was preached to the Greeks, to whose handling of the Christian faith we owe such ontological doctrines as that of the Trinity. (The metaphysical theology of the "Creeds" finds as little favour with our author as with Harnack and Hatch.) After a reference to scholastic theology, the Reformation theology is shown to have its "foreign form." It had its intimate connection with the Renaissance movement. As the scholars of the Renaissance delighted to appeal to the ancient classics, so did the Reformation theologians appeal to texts of Scripture, and seek for their doctrines *le cachet d'antiquité*. To this appeal to the mere letter of Scripture texts did they owe (*e.g.*) their forensic doctrine of justification.

Such preliminary discussions, including also the chapter on miracles, are not strictly an "introduction" to what follows in the book; they are rather personal explanations.

One feature of this volume which is emphasized in the Introduction is the importance of keeping the study of the religious thought of the New Testament in close contact with the personality and experience of which the religious thought is the reflection. It is only through the personality and experience of Jesus, our author justly contends, that the teaching of Jesus can be rightly understood. And what is true of the teaching of Jesus is true of that of Paul and John. This insistence upon the connection of religious thought and the life which lies behind it might be singled out as the special feature of this new study in New Testament theology.

The book is divided into four main sections:

I. The Christ.

II. The Historical Conception of Christianity.

III. The Psychological Conception of Christianity.

IV. The Mystical Conception of Christianity.

A brief indication of the contents of these sections may be useful.

I. The Christ (*Chapters*: 1. The unique Son of the Father. 2. The Reformer of Israel. 3. The Spiritual Life. 4. The Salvation of the world). In pursuance of his aim to link thought with life, our author fixes upon the holiness of Jesus as the central feature of His life. But while holiness may be the central feature of His life as viewed by others, what our author is really in search of is the central spiritual experience of Jesus. For want of clear thinking in his own mind, the author makes a false start, and lands himself in a strange position. Surely the consciousness of His sonship with the Father was a central spiritual experience of Jesus; yet according to our author, it is only after reflection on His own sinlessness, on the sin of others, and the sense of moral obligation involved in the fact of sin, that Jesus reaches the knowledge of God His Father, and the recognition of His Father's love. In an attempt to derive the religious thought of Jesus from His experience, one would naturally expect a discussion of Christ's consciousness of Himself as the Messiah. But that is passed by, and we have little more than the statement that Jesus recognised Himself to be the Messiah. In spite of our author's emphasis upon "personality and moral experience," he gives us little help towards understanding the inner world of the Son of God and Son of man. There is a pretty full treatment of the various aspects and stages of the life of Jesus, but just what we desiderate is absent, and that which the author's own words lead us to expect—a fresh insight into that Mind that created the religious thought of Christianity.

M. Fulliquet holds that at the time Jesus preached the Sermon on the Mount, He anticipated a great national reformation as the result of His influence, and that it was only towards the close of His ministry that the thought of death was borne in upon Him. The following sentences will indicate how Jesus interpreted the significance of His death. "Thus the man who will find himself in presence of the accomplished fact of the death of Jesus will thereby recognise the odious and tragic character of sin, he will comprehend the moral misery which must be his as long as he submits himself to the influence of the Prince of this world, he will be impelled to throw off the oppressive tyranny, and to demand from Jesus the secret of the spiritual life which He has brought to the world. Thus by the fact of His death, posterity will be rendered able to do that which His contemporaries failed to do—to desire ardently deliverance from sin and to seek eagerly spiritual life. Thus, the work of Jesus will become possible; His influence is assured; it

will take the place of the influence of the Prince of this world. That is just what Jesus desires. If for that His death is necessary, He accepts it" (p. 187.)

II. Historical Conception of Christianity. By this phrase is meant Christianity as interpreted by the original apostolical circle, but it is not made clear why that particular phrase should have been chosen. It suggests that Paul's Christianity was a less faithful exposition of the mind of Jesus than was that of James—a suggestion, however, which our author does not seem to wish to make.

Here as in the other sections our author seeks for the "central experience" of the apostolical circle. "This central experience is not individual but collective," their sympathy with one another. A somewhat vague experience out of which to derive the religious thought of the apostolical circle.

We have a description of the character and religious thought of the early church based on the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle of James, and the first Epistle of Peter. Hardly enough allowance is made for the influence of the universalism of Jesus upon his disciples. The Judaism of the early church stands out in strong relief—in too strong relief, especially in view of the fact that under "The Historical Conception of Christianity" we have an analysis of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

III. The Psychological Conception of Christianity (1. Preparation for the Pauline thought. 2. The Pauline Gospel. 3. The Postulates of the Pauline Gospel). This section is perhaps the most satisfactory in the book. At least the author seems to be more conversant with what has been written on the teaching of Paul than with what has been written on the teaching of Jesus or John. He begins with Paul's conversion, though much in Paul's thought has its explanation in the experience of his pre-Christian years. Paul's experience is an experience of salvation, he finds himself saved by Jesus from an evil way, where hope had failed him. So his principal thought is that Jesus brings a necessary and sufficient salvation for every man. This is the gist of Paul's experience and of his system (p. 302.) Different stages in Paul's theological development are distinguished as by Weiss and Sabatier. But in the working out of this Pauline development there is no such freshness and ingenuity (arbitrariness it may be thought by some) as in Dr Matheson's *Spiritual Development of St. Paul*. Several of M. Fulliquet's positions call for consideration as e.g. that up to the writing of the four great Epistles salvation meant for Paul little more than deliverance from condemnation, and not deliverance from sin itself (p. 320). M. Fulliquet finds no support in Pauline texts for a juridical theory of the atonement.

The true substitution is the substitution of the influence of Christ in the heart in place of the influence of sin in our flesh (p. 342). His ethicizing tendency is pronounced : faith is itself righteousness (p. 349). A believer is not merely declared righteous, but is made righteous through faith (p. 351). Paul's doctrine of predestination is explained through his own experience of God's dealings with him, and it is argued that Paul has no thought of such a thing as a predestination to evil (p. 361).

Under 'The Postulates of the Pauline Gospel' (what is meant by *postulates* in this connection I am unable to conjecture) we have an account of the development of Paul's thought in conflict with Gnostic and other errors. As a way of getting over some difficulties in the prison Epistles, it is suggested that the accounts which Paul received from his messengers of the heresies that were creeping into the churches may not always have been accurate.

Paul in these Epistles becomes a metaphysician to answer the bad metaphysics of the heretics. But his metaphysical construction of the person of Christ does not belong to the essence of the Gospel. It may be put on one side by those who have no interest in metaphysics. "Those are in the line of apostolic tradition who restrain the exercise of the metaphysical faculty in the interest of morality, and give the chief importance to ethical doctrine" (p. 431).

The pastoral Epistles are accepted as Pauline, and treated under the heading : "A familiar talk of Paul with his disciples."

IV. The Mystical Conception of Christianity (1. John the Apostle. 2. The Apocalypse. 3. The formation of the mystical 'thought.' 4. The mystical Gospel).

There is little in this section which calls for special comment. On the authorship of the fourth Gospel, M. Fulliquet says that it may have been written by another than John, but certainly under John's inspiration. Without John's reminiscences, one side of the teaching of Jesus would have been almost lost to us. John did not invent these thoughts of Jesus, he found them in his memory "underlined and illustrated by his own experience" (p. 478). "The historical framework rests upon personal reminiscences. . . . The discourses have been recomposed by the discovery in personal experience of the facts and conceptions with which Jesus was wont to familiarise His disciples" (p. 484).

D. M. Ross.

Das Evangelium des Lucas.

Erklärt von Dr G. L. Hahn, Professor zu Breslau. Zweiter Band.
Breslau: Morgenstern. Edinburgh and London: Williams
& Norgate. 8vo, pp. 715. Price, M. 14.

DR HAHN is to be congratulated on the completion of what may be regarded as not only the bulkiest, but the most useful commentary on the Gospel of Luke. The characteristics of the first volume are equally found in the second. There is the same judicious reference to significant textual readings, the same full record of opinion, the same independent and accurate consideration of the language, the same skill in seizing upon and exhibiting the heart of the passage. Dr Hahn has furnished us with a commentary which it is a pleasure to read, and which is quite sure to find its way into general use. It goes without saying that many of his interpretations will be disputed. Frequently he dissents from every previous interpretation, and while it would be unfair to charge him with straining after novelty, certainly his suggestions, although often brilliant, sometimes fail to carry conviction. MARCUS DODS.

Theologie du Nouveau Testament.

Tome Second. L'Enseignement des Apôtres par Jules Bovon.
Lausanne: Bridel. Paris: Fischbacher. Edinburgh and
London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 604. Price, Fr. 12.

IN this volume, which completes Professor Jules Bovon's New Testament Theology, we have an elaborate treatment of Paulinism, as well as of the Johannine theology, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Catholic Epistles. As in the previous volume, so in this, Professor Bovon shows great independence. It is impossible to predict what view he will take of the authenticity of an epistle or what interpretation he will put upon a given passage. Indeed, the volume is full of surprises. Thus it will no doubt give quite a shock to many critics to find that so entirely free a writer as Professor Bovon, while admitting that there is room for hesitancy regarding the Pastoral Epistles, yet maintains that the hypothesis of their authenticity is, on the whole, the simplest, and best satisfies all the conditions of the problem. Similarly he accepts both Epistles to the Thessalonians as well as the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians. These positions he adopts with a perfect knowledge of what has been urged against them, and with brief but trenchant criticism of alternative suppositions.

To Professor Pfeiderer's derivation of Paulinism from an amal-

gamation of the theology of Pharisaism with the ideas of Alexandrine thinkers, Professor Bovon firmly objects, and demands that some room should be left for the working of so powerful and original a mind as that of the apostle. He also sharply criticises Professor Pfeiderer's account of the conversion of St Paul. His views throughout are based upon a careful exegesis, and he rarely fails to throw fresh light on important doctrinal passages. Always one is struck by his fairness. He allows each passage to yield its full meaning, and makes no attempt to twist it into agreement with preconceived ideas of his own. Attention is paid to all opinions of any significance, whether they have been advocated by German, French, or English critics. Altogether, we have in Professor Bovon's work a valuable contribution to New Testament theology, which no student of the subject can afford to overlook.

MARCUS DODS.

Conscience : An Essay towards a New Analysis, Deduction and Development of Conscience.

By Rev. J. D. Robertson, M.A., D.Sc. Vol. I. New Analysis of Conscience. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 8vo, pp. xvi. 175. Price, 7s. 6d.

DR ROBERTSON starts from the general position that man is capable of various sensibilities, broadly distinguishable into conscious and unconscious—the latter more correctly designated sentiency or sensitivity ; the former more exactly described as sensibility of relation. "Sensibilities are modifications, psychic or organic, which respond to fitting excitations." They may further be distinguished into those which are higher and those which are lower in rank. The lowest form of sensibility is not accompanied by consciousness : "the lowest conscious form yields sensations proper"—and into these enter natural qualities and relations. The highest in the rank of sensibilities is the moral, because "in addition to the natural qualities and relations of things (just referred to), the moral qualities and relations of persons enter into its composition."

The term "sensibility" in this connection is analysed into "moral susceptibility" and "moral impulse." The former answers to the "minimum of sensational disturbance," i.e., to the element of pleasure or pain which accompanies or follows upon every excitation of sensibility ; the latter is "the attraction to the good and right, and the aversion to evil and wrong, in act or *motive*," and is peculiar to the excitation of the moral sensibility, finding expression in injunction and prohibition ; in "ought" and "shalt not."

Still further, "the pleasures and pains which are the products of the activity of the law in the moral susceptibility are termed *emotions* as distinguished from sensations," because they are "complex," "widely applicable," "contain many relations—many ideal elements," and are "not connected with special seats of sensibility, nor with any part whatever of the bodily framework" (p. 13). On the other hand, "The aversion or attraction which is the product of the law in the moral impulse is a form of *sentiment* as distinguished from sensational force." "Sentiment goes with the preceptive as opposed to the *perceptive* side of conscience."

In conformity to the point of view taken up at the outset, Dr Robertson's position may otherwise be defined as follows:—The free actions of persons excite in men sensations which are accompanied by feelings, *i.e.*, emotions; and by impulses, *i.e.*, sentiments, which take the form of command and prohibition;—which emotions and sentiments are moral, and constitute the activities of conscience or conscience itself. The question then arises, Why do free actions give rise to these emotions and sentiments, with their preceptive and prohibitory concomitants? Why do we perceive them as either right or wrong? Why approve or disapprove them? Why feel impelled to do or avoid them? These crucial questions are treated in the second part of the work headed, "Constitution of the Activities of Conscience," which falls into two great sections designated respectively, "The Formal and the Material Constitution of the Moral Sense and Sense of Duty."

Activities of conscience are "equivalent to the sensibilities in which the moral law is active." Now taking "law" and "constitution" as convertible terms, the definition just adduced will run, "the activities of conscience are equivalent to the sensibilities in which the moral constitution is active." "Moral consciousness," he further says, "may also be employed for moral constitution." So that we are finally landed in a definition of "the activities of conscience" as "the sensibilities in which the moral consciousness is active."

What the moral consciousness is, every one knows:—it is the "sum of ideas or conceptions by means of which moral differences are apprehended and moral demands imposed upon the will."

As we previously saw, "the moral sense is that susceptibility of our nature which is the seat of emotional judgments as to moral differences in motive and action." *Judging* accordingly is its great function. But its judgments merely *declare* right or wrong, they do not constitute it. "The moral distinction, though made known through our susceptibilities and judgments, is independent of them." In fact it is grounded in the very nature of our conceptions of human action:—they are the spring of the judgments in question, and they constitute the moral consciousness.

An analogous thing holds good of the sense of duty, *i.e.*, the impulse in our nature, which is the seat of *active* judgments and sentiments of obligation. "The particular judgments and sentiments do not create or constitute obligation in relation to the will—they only give expression and effect to it." The real source of the authority and power they wield over volition, is "the conceptions of obligation in possession of the particular sense of duty."

The conceptions or ideas, which constitute the moral consciousness or constitution or law, and which thus work in and through the activities of conscience, "fulfil the function of standards in the moral sense and of motives in the sense of duty"; that is, in pronouncing judgment and in urging to action. In the latter case they endow the judgments and sentiments of obligation with the very element that differentiates them; in the former, "they supply the norms of right and wrong by means of which the emotional judgments of the moral sense are made." Thus standard and motive, taken together, become the equivalent of the conceptions or consciousness or constitution or law, active in conscience. And if we can ascertain what the standards and motives are, we shall know what the law is.

The further question then is, whence these conceptions, this consciousness—this constitution, this law; in other words, the standard just referred to.

In Dr Robertson's view there are but three possible theories, two of which he examines only to condemn: the third is the one advanced by himself. The *first* is that advocated by Aristippus, Epicurus, and many others among the ancients, and by Hobbes, Helvetius, Bentham, and Bain among the moderns, and which he designates "*Instinctively selfish, or Individualistic Hedonism.*" This makes conscience ultimately an activity of our instinctively selfish nature, and represents its standard and motive as self-preservation. "Bodily pleasure and pain are active in the moral sense; and fears, or hopes and desires, in connection with it, are the consciousness or constitution, which is the last ground of activities of the sense of duty within each of us." The *second*, or "*Instinctively social theory, or Socialistic Hedonism,*" advocated by Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Hume, and Adam Smith, from one point of view; by Leslie Stephen, Clifford, Comte, and Schopenhauer from another; "identifies moral sense and sense of duty with the reflex activities of the social instinct, the manifestations of which occur in the susceptibilities and emotional judgments of natural sympathy, together with the accompanying impulses or sentiments and judgments of obligation; the former attesting what is right, the latter enforcing what is dutiful, in view of this attestation."

The conclusion arrived at with regard to these two theories is that

they are unable to "supply either the kind of standard needed in the moral sense, or the order of motive peculiar to the sense of duty"; besides that "the sensibilities in which they are active are neither high enough in rank nor wide enough in range to yield perceptions, least of all a perception of the moral quality of actions." The *third*, which he designates "*The Distinctively Rational Theory or Humanistic Eudæmonism*," is one of which Confucius and Socrates, Aristotle, Spinoza, and Hegel, Plato and Kant and T. H. Green, differ as they might in philosophical and other respects, have been supporters.

"Expressed in a few words," says the author, "its main position is that conscience is above all things an activity of reason in sensibility, directed to particular acts of willing or choice. Accordingly, the capacity or power which lies at the root of its manifestations is not instinctive, but rational; and although it expresses itself in sensibility, it is an outcome and concomitant of our self-conscious life. Without the speciality of rational and sensitive endowment which we possess, activities of conscience could not come into being, but with it they are inevitable."

But what are the capacities and powers present in *Reason*, which fit it to take the place assigned by the other theories to *Instinct*, in formally constituting activities of conscience? What is it that qualifies reason to play the part of the law in conscience?—rightly asks the author; and this is the crucial point.

He answers:—Reason, instead of playing the passive rôle and dependent function assigned to it in the theories that have been discarded, helplessly following the determinations of instinct, is essentially active, has relatively independent functions in reference to the judgment and control of volition—that is to say, the inherent capacity both of formally *constituting* and perceiving moral qualities in free or self-determined willing, is an integral part of its very essence and life in man. "When we are about to will, the judgment distinguishing a right from a wrong, and obligating us to realize the former, is part of our constitution as rational or self-conscious beings." At the same time, whilst to reason is thus assigned the primacy in activities of the Conscience, we must not forget that it is reason working in and through sensibilities that are native to it, which, as was shown, include also feeling of pleasure or pain, and attraction to, or repulsion from, action. On the ground of the former fact, the theory is described as *Distinctively Rational*; in view of the latter, *Humanistic Eudæmonism*. This latter "cumbersome expression"—to quote Dr Robertson's own description—may be taken to mean "Human Blessedness, or the higher happiness and well-being of mankind" in its entirety.

The position finally reached is that the law in conscience is "man's

true and proper being as rational appearing in judgments and sensibility as a potentially universal standard, and actually unconditioned motive for his free and self-determined activity."

The affinity between Dr Robertson's general principle and Kant is obvious, but he criticises "Kant's separation of Reason as Pure from Reason as Practical and his imperfect enumeration and articulation of the categories," as the ground of his failure, "to make clear to others that the same *principle of self-consciousness*, which was the key to nature and our knowledge of it, had *another expression in conscience*." In distinction from Kant, therefore, who relegated conscience to the Practical Reason, Dr Robertson takes up the position that "man, in virtue of his constitution as a distinctively rational or self-conscious being, is in possession of a category or root conception of the good which does not find its realisation in the satisfaction of animal wants and impulses, but points ever in willing to objects and interests distinct from these, as being of a higher or more complex character and wider range. When this original and native conception of the good is brought into relation to particular acts and motives through our judgments and sensibilities, then conscience is constituted." But as "this conception of the good" is also said to be "just the projection of our rational self into our practical consciousness," the importation thereof into the problem can scarcely be regarded as advancing the settlement of the question. Besides that, it seems to involve a departure from the original point of view. Almost as much as this is confessed too when the author says, "The real and full nature of 'right' and 'wrong' and 'ought' and 'ought not,' remains as mysterious as ever. We have only interpreted them in terms of the rational self. The good being the satisfaction of the higher self, that which furthers it is right and obligatory, and that which hinders it is wrong and forbidden."

Such are in brief the salient points of Dr Robertson's "New Analysis, Deduction and Development of Conscience." His work is not easy to read, still less to review. For one thing, his terminology is peculiar; for another, he does not consistently adhere to it. Ample evidence is supplied of wide study, earnest investigation, and independent thought; but the exposition is far from clear. Terms seem to me to be used in divergent senses; definitions to be sometimes tautologies; and premises and conclusions identical, if not in form, yet in fact. The following cases will illustrate my meaning.

Sensibility is first defined as a psychic modification; then as the "seat" of psychic modifications, or as "yielding" psychic modifications, i.e., sensations under excitation from an appropriate object. An interchange like this may be harmless enough in popular discourse, but it is very objectionable in a "new analysis" meant to be both scientific and simple. Again, conscience is defined as "the

activity of the moral law in our sensibilities"; yet shortly after the question is put, "What is the leading characteristic of an activity of conscience?" which, substituting the definition of conscience just quoted, would run, "What is the leading characteristic of the *activity of an activity* of the moral law in our sensibilities?" I am not sure that Dr Robertson's discussion of his important theme has not received a twist through what almost deserves to be called a terminological whim; namely, the anxiety to rehabilitate the term "conscience." For despite the pleas he urges for its retention, it seems to me to deserve the reproach of ambiguity brought against it by writers like Rothe. Whilst useful enough for the purpose of summarily naming that in man which relates to right and wrong, or which has to do with the regulation of his conduct; it is better avoided in scientific treatises. At all events, be the cause what it may, the elaborate analysis which he makes seems to serve little purpose, the deduction to lack continuity, and the development to end in a position which sets aside, instead of fulfilling, the beginning. If the author had really shown either why free personal acts excite moral judgments, when and as simply perceived; or, why the rational nature of the person perceiving free personal acts compels him to characterise them as right or wrong—two aims which seem successively to hover before him—his treatise would have been epoch-making. As it is, in my judgment, it will produce the impression of promising what it fails to accomplish.

D. W. SIMON.

Geschichte des Ebräischen Zeitalters.

Von Carl Niebuhr. Erstes Buch: Bis zum Tode Josua's. Berlin: Georg Nauck. 8vo, pp. vii. 378. Price, M. 8.

By the "Hebrew Age" the author apparently means that period of history which coincides with the unquestioned spiritual supremacy of Israel. How far the period extends we have yet to learn. The present volume takes us from the Deluge to the conquest of Palestine; but it is to be followed by others, and there is no obvious reason why the narrative should not be continued to the end of the world. The beginning of history at all events is, for Niebuhr, the great Flood, which he dates at 2600 B.C. It is necessary to explain, however, that in the author's view this great catastrophe was "not quite so wet" (*zwar weniger nass*) an affair as is generally supposed. Some slight spate on the Mesopotamian rivers there may have been, but the real fact commemorated in all traditions of the Deluge is neither more nor less than the Semitic invasion of Baby-

lonia. Accordingly, in an introductory chapter we have first a bird's-eye view of the ante-diluvian (i.e., prehistoric) population of the lands which afterwards became the seats of ancient civilisation, and then an account of the causes, the nature, and the effects of the Invasion itself. That the Semitic rule in Babylonia was thus established by a *coup de main*, or that it began so late as the middle of the third millennium, are opinions in which perhaps few Assyriologists will concur; Niebuhr is quite aware of this, and disposes of the adverse evidence to his own satisfaction. In Chapter II. he proceeds to trace in detail the complicated series of migrations started by the "flood," which, in the course of a few centuries, resulted in the distribution of races which existed when the Hebrews entered Palestine. In the beginning of the next chapter he favours us with his views on Pentateuch criticism (which are not so original as might have been expected of him), and then follows the course of that migration which brought the Hebrew people by slow stages and through many adventures from Babylonia to Palestine (Chapter III., "The patriarchal period"). The picture of patriarchal life upsets many prejudices. To begin with, the number of the patriarchs is increased from three to five; and these, if they have less individuality than the familiar figures of Genesis, certainly get through a much greater quantity of work. Instead of being simple shepherds, wandering peacefully from place to place, building altars, and, on the whole, preserving amicable relations with their neighbours, they are military chieftains, with well-armed followers at their back, founding kingdoms and losing them, and generally placing their terror in the land of the living. Ultimately, about B.C. 2040 all these tribes drifted gradually down to Egypt, and inaugurated the empire of the Hyksos. How Joseph became the first Hyksos king of Egypt, and why the Hebrew tradition conceals the fact; how the Hebrews, in opposition to the other Shasw, retained their nomadic habits, and thus gained favour with the restored native dynasty, how they remained behind after the expulsion of their kinsmen, and were appointed to guard the Eastern frontier—all this and much more is fully described in Chapter IV. ("Shasw and Hebrews").

The three remaining chapters are entitled, "Moses," "The Legislation at Kadesh and the Shittim-state," and "Joshua and the Invasion." The Exodus, which is placed in the reign of Thothmes III., is conceived as the unpremeditated sequel to an abortive insurrection, in which the Hebrew tribes took part. The heroes of the revolt were Moses and Aaron. Neither of them was a Hebrew, and happily there is no reason to suppose they were brothers. Moses was a high-born Egyptian, who had given trouble to Thothmes I., and been obliged to take refuge with the Arabian tribes in the

neighbourhood of Petra. There he formed alliances amongst the chiefs, married several of their daughters (Jethro's in particular), and enlisted their sympathy for his designs against the Egyptian government. There, too, he became a convert to the religion of Jahveh, whom he resolved to preach to the enslaved Hebrews in Goshen as the sole God and as their deliverer. Jahveh, although worshipped by the Kenites, Midianites, Moabites, &c., was then practically unknown to the Israelites, and by a shrewd stroke of policy Moses introduced him to them as a Thunder-god—thunderstorms being of rare occurrence in Egypt. But the chief merit of Moses as a religious genius was the suppression of the female consort, whom Jahveh, like every other Canaanitish and Egyptian deity, must originally have had—a suppression so complete that even Niebuhr has difficulty in guessing her name. He inclines to think that it was either Eve or Lilith. When his plans were matured, Moses opened communications with Aaron, another Egyptian, who was at the time Governor of Goshen. Having brought about an understanding between the Midianite chiefs and Aaron, Moses returned to Egypt under the protection of the latter, using the Jahveh-propaganda as a pretext to conceal the true object of his mission. Niebuhr expresses some surprise at the earnestness with which he devoted himself to this very subordinate object. At last the rebellion broke out, and failed, and the Hebrews, with their allies, were compelled to flee. Intercepted and defeated by Thothmes, they took refuge in the swamps of the Bitter Lakes, where they set fire to the marsh-grass—thus producing the pillar of cloud and fire—while the rash Egyptian charioteers, elated by victory, plunged into the deeper waters and perished. Somehow or other the Hebrews escaped from their perilous position, and made for the desert.

It was only now that Moses brought forward his last resource, which he had kept in reserve in case his plans should miscarry—the prospect of an occupation of Canaan. It succeeded beyond his expectation. A new enthusiasm was inspired into the motley and demoralised hordes that had lost their home, and they marched straight through the desert to Kadesh, in the mountains of Seir. Here we expect to get some information about the Mosaic legislation, but on that point the author contents himself with some pages of vague and desultory observations, the drift of which I have mostly failed to understand. The main interest of the story lies in the mutual rivalry of Moses and Aaron, and the compromise by which the latter was established as chief priest of the Jahveh religion. From the first there were two factions in the camp. On the one side was Aaron, with his bodyguard of Libyan mercenaries, who had been doing outpost duty under him in Goshen, and linked their fortunes with his. These Libyans formed the nucleus of the

tribe of Levi. On the other side was Moses, whose old relations with the Ishmaelites gave him now a great advantage over Aaron, which that ambitious person was not disposed to tolerate. The arrival of Jethro in the camp at Kadesh brought matters to a crisis. Aaron resented his presence and influence there as a confederate of Moses and a priest of Jahveh. He determined to become priest himself. While Moses and his friends were absent on one of their secret missions among the neighbouring tribes, he spread a report that they were not likely to be seen again, and thus had the supreme spiritual and secular power thrust on him amidst the acclamations of the whole people. The compact was sealed by a riotous festival in honour of the golden calf. The return of Moses led to an *imbroglio*, in which the Levites fought stoutly for their leader and calf, and the adherents of Moses were compelled to withdraw to a separate camp, where they erected a new sanctuary, and tried to draw over the true Hebrews to their party. Aaron was now put on his mettle, and resolved to attempt the conquest of Canaan at once. Being defeated, he had no alternative but to make terms with Moses and the Ishmaelites. A compromise was arranged, in accordance with which the Tabernacle and the Ark were recognised as the only sanctuaries, but Aaron was installed as high priest. Thus did "Aaron's wounded self-respect play a trick, whose consequences gave to the history of Israel its distinctive character, for they forced Jahvism, which, as a popular religion, had hitherto repudiated caste-distinctions before God, on to the lines of a mediatorial system, after the Egyptian model."

The writer has undoubtedly some of the qualities that go to make a historian. He has read extensively and laboriously in the literature of his subject, and knows his sources at first hand. He has a remarkably original and independent mind, and is absolutely unfettered by respect for the opinion of recognised authorities. Best of all, he possesses what the Germans call "*Combinationsgabe*"—the faculty of detecting affinities between seemingly unrelated facts, and bringing out their real significance by the unexpected light which they are made to throw upon each other. Although he writes with the utmost obscureness, his style is vigorous and pungent; and he has a keen sense of humour, which he might with advantage have turned inwards upon himself more frequently than is the case.

That with all these qualifications he has failed to write a real history is mainly due, as it seems to me, to two outstanding faults. The first is the abuse of that gift of combination to which I have just referred. Putting this and that together is a very dangerous business, unless it be conducted with some caution in the selection of the things to be combined. Now in this matter Niebuhr's pro-

cedure is reckless in the extreme. His method is to fix on those features of a tradition which make for the particular combination that strikes his fancy, and throw the rest overboard. Not unfrequently a statement of Josephus, or a late rabbinical or patristic legend, is treated with all the respect due to a contemporary document, merely because it happens to anticipate or suggest some speculation of the writer's. It is rarely, indeed, that he entirely rejects any tradition. He holds that if it does not state the truth, it must have been invented to conceal a truth; and between what it says and the opposite of what it says, it will go hard but Niebuhr will get something out of it. As might be expected, he is great in etymology, and (*pace* the "eminent German Semitist," who revised the proof sheets) the etymologies are mostly preposterous. Such an equation as this:— $\text{דָּמָסְקוֹס} = \text{דָּמָסְקוֹס} = \text{ἀδάμας} = \text{Damas, King of Damascus}$, raises a doubt of the writer's seriousness; this other:— $\text{הַלֵּלִית} = \text{הַלֵּלִית} = \text{'Αλιλατ}$, throws suspicion on his scholarship. And similar examples occur on almost every page.

The second defect of the book is a curious indifference to the ideal and spiritual elements in antiquity. That which alone gives value to the study of ancient history,—the development of social life, the origin and diffusion of ideas and beliefs, the growth of civilisation, &c.,—does not appear to interest the author at all. He has, for example, no sense of the diversity of national character. A Hebrew patriarch, an Egyptian official, an Arabian priest, are all of a piece; they think and act exactly alike. The *dramatis personæ* are nearly all born diplomatists and intriguers—fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils. But the defect is most apparent in the author's treatment of religion. That is a subject which he rarely approaches without displaying a certain shallowness of mind. Of religion as a living force in human life he appears to have no conception; it is wholly an affair of priest-craft and state-craft, as may be seen from the account of the origin of the Hebrew Theocracy noticed above, or from the pages of cheap sarcasm which are devoted to a description of the character of the God Jahveh. A writer who has nothing better than that to say about the religion of Israel, may surely find a more congenial sphere for the exercise of his talents than in an attempt to rewrite the Old Testament.

J. SKINNER.

De la Connaissance Religieuse. Essai Critique sur de récentes discussions.

Par Henri Bois, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de Montauban. Paris : Fischbacher. Edinburgh and London : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 363.

THIS is a laborious contribution to a controversy upon the nature of religious knowledge and revelation, which has been carried on during the last three years in the pages of the *Revue théologique de Montauban*, the *Chrétien évangélique*, and the *Revue chrétienne*, and also by means of separate publications, between M. Paul Sabatier on the one hand, and M. Godet, M. Charles Bois, and M. Henri Bois on the other. The present volume suffers from the defects of a controversial publication. It is mainly a running commentary on the works of M. Sabatier, varied by an occasional examination of the views of other writers. The remarks of M. Bois are often acute in criticism, and occasionally reveal insight; but whatever truth he has to offer would have been far more likely to win its way by means of a positive statement than through these continual references to the views of others.

M. Sabatier had been in search of some conception of Divine Revelation, more tenable in itself, and easier to establish, than that which makes it consist in a communication to the mind of abstract ideas. He had found a starting-point, as he thought, in the actual, concrete relationship between the soul and God. Considered as a Divine Act, this was a manifestation or revelation of God. Considered as a state of mind, it was the germ of both the love and the knowledge of God. M. Bois, on the other hand, while prepared to abandon the idea of revelation as a large system of theoretical truth, sees no difficulty in supposing that certain ideas should be communicated in a theoretical form to the mind upon Divine authority. Dogma is, for him, not a secondary product of revelation, but its original contents.

M. Bois considers that the "concrete religious experience" of M. Sabatier forms no element of objective revelation, and no germ of real religious knowledge. Influenced by this pre-supposition, he feels himself compelled to undertake the defence of dogma, and occupies many pages in making good the position that real knowledge is necessary to religion, and will have effects on conduct.

The real question, however, is this—How is dogma, if not based on experience, to be introduced into the mind? If M. Sabatier never passes beyond the subjective, does M. Bois give any intelligible account of how truths about God, in dogmatic form, arrive within the circle of subjective conviction at all?

So far as he is himself concerned, he finds, it must be said, very little difficulty in relating the subjective and objective elements in religion. "See," he says, "I am in a burning house, and do not know how to save myself. No doubt if you were to seek to explain to me the theory of combustion, or that of the fall of weights, you would never save me. But you call to me, 'Go, throw yourself out of the window of that room; we have put straw and mattresses below.' I go, I leap, and I am saved. . . . In a siege, I have nothing left to eat. Doubtless, you will not save me by expounding the most perfect theory of digestion. But you show me a place where bread is lying hid. I go thither, I take, eat, and am saved. . . . *In the same way*, I am dead in trespasses and sins. God sends His Son, who dies for me; and He tells me, Believe in Him, accept His mediation and His sacrifice" (p. 272). M. Sabatier may be excused if he has found the case somewhat more complicated than these illustrations would make it appear. Even the most convinced believer in revealed fact and Christian dogma will admit at least the relevancy of his question: By what right do we raise to the rank of axioms dogmas which plainly bear the marks of their historical origin? And while there may be a distinction in respect of evidence between fundamental religious truths and mere "theories of salvation," it is a distinction which palpably needs to be defined.

Meanwhile, in the light of history, it is hardly possible to deny M. Sabatier's description of religion as primarily a vague and undefined sense of superior powers, about whom clear and, still more certainly, true intellectual conceptions are only gradually formed. It does not surprise us that M. Bois, with his thesis on the relations of religion and dogma, practically refuses the name of religion to all the so-called religions of history, except the Hebrew and the Christian.

It is a perfectly fair proceeding to criticise the "theology of the religious consciousness"—to show its baselessness, its inability to claim actuality for its results; to point out that historically dogma has been something quite different from an analysis of consciousness, and has rested on believed facts and supposed itself to move among realities: so that the theology of the religious consciousness is not even true to the religious consciousness as it has developed historically. But we are here concerned with M. Bois and M. Sabatier, and with the attempt of the former to shut the latter up to pure subjectivity, and force him to a confession that dogmatic theology means only religious psychology.

And, first, with regard to the elements of Religion, M. Bois himself admits that room is made for the thought of an object in Sabatier's conception of primitive religion. "It appears that our theorist comes into contradiction with himself, and that, in his

genesis of religion, he shows us the idea playing a large part before experience" (pp. 79-81). It is not "before experience" but *in* experience; and the simple fact is that Sabatier admits the recognition of objective Deity in the primitive form of religion. This seems to undermine one half of M. Bois' criticism.

In the case of the second main point of controversy—the method of Revelation—M. Bois himself appears to waver between two conceptions of it. One is, that God reveals Himself in action. It is from this point of view that he criticises the doctrine that Revelation is given through religious experience (p. 245). The main object of his book, indeed, appears to be to prove that this is equivalent to a denial of objective Divine Revelation. To find the data of Revelation in experience is in his opinion to reduce the contents of Revelation to subjective feelings and ideas. He is not to be turned aside by M. Sabatier's explicit acknowledgment of a Divine agency in the experiences in question — "*révélation du Dieu-Esprit dans la vie intime de l'esprit de l'homme*"; and only refers in a footnote to the admission that those experiences were creative and fruitful in a peculiar sense in the prophets, in Christ, and in the apostles. But whether a particular theologian does justice or not to the Divine indwelling or to historical Revelation, it remains true that the Divine activity in the spiritual life must form the starting-point for the theory of Revelation. It cannot be seriously contended that mental facts are not objective realities, or that the inner life is unfitted to be the scene of a real activity and Revelation of God. M. Bois insists that "the fact should be fact," and not idea, and asks for "the local, the contingent, the historical"; but it is a strange misconception to suppose that a Revelation in moral and spiritual history would mean a Revelation in ideas rather than in realities.

But the truth is that M. Bois is not quite committed to the Revelation in reality. The idea of a Revelation of doctrines has a firm hold of his mind. And thus the conception of a spiritual experience, Divinely created and guided, as the unit of Revelation, is antipathetic to his mind for two precisely opposite reasons—on the one hand, because such experience is not "history," and on the other hand, because it is not dogma. It was not, to his view, a Divine Life in men that manifested God to us; but the witnesses of revealing facts were taught what to *think* of them, and those thoughts, those doctrines, are what they are now to teach us (pp. 245, 252, 253). Of the process by which such authoritative thoughts were communicated to men he has a twofold account to give. In some cases they arrived at truths and principles by ordinary psychological means (p. 257); and in these cases, if their authority is not to remain for us more human than Divine, we must

in the end fall back again upon the thought of God at work through their minds and in their experiences. In certain cases, since for him there need be no Divine indwelling and all he requires is supernatural information, M. Bois supposes an action from without of the Divine mind upon the human, conveying knowledge, after some manner which he twice compares with hypnotic suggestion (249-250 ; 255-6).

A. HALLIDAY DOUGLAS.

Nekyia : Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse.

Von Albrecht Dieterich. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Large 8vo, pp. vi. 238. Price, M. 6.

DIETERICH, a pupil in the school of Usener, is (as the readers of his *Abraxas* will be aware) a believer in the early and wholesale Hellenisation of Christianity, and this book (whose title is adopted, of course, from Polygnotus's picture in the Leschè at Delphi of the visit of Odysseus to the lower world, or from the common name in Plutarch and elsewhere for the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, where the story is told), is ostensibly a contribution to the explanation of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, discovered in 1892 in the same tomb at Akhmîm, in Lower Egypt, with the *Gospel of Peter*. But it is far more than this. The *Apocalypse* is made a peg whereon to hang an advocacy of the theory that early Christianity owed its conception of heaven and hell mainly to Greek sources. As in his *Abraxas* Dieterich dealt with early Christian cosmology, so in his *Nekyia* he deals with early Christian eschatology. In pursuit of his aim he first gives the text of the new *Apocalypse*, accompanied by a translation and critical notes; and then, after discussing the brief fragments already known to us in Clement of Alexandria, Methodius and Macarius Magnes, and the development of the original Akhmîm text which he argues that these fragments suggest, he proceeds to an elaborate exposition of the classical, the Jewish, and the early Christian views upon the kingdom of the dead, the state of bliss, and the punishments in Hades. He starts systematically with the first beginnings of eschatological ideas in Greek popular belief, and advances through the teaching of the Mysteries and the mythology of the philosophers, till he comes to the *Sibylline Books* and the earliest Christian apocryphal literature. The final purpose of the treatise is to trace the vision of heaven and hell in the Petrine *Apocalypse* straight to the

mystery doctrine of Pythagorean Orphism, and even almost wholly to a definite book or definite books in circulation among the brethren of the Orphic-Pythagorean order in Egypt, where Gospel and Apocalypse had their origin.

It is impossible, in a notice necessarily brief on account of limitation of space, to follow up arguments depending for their force upon accumulation and combination of details gathered not so much from an orchard as from a forest of literature. We must be content with exhibiting the general drift of the conclusions, and commenting upon the apparent strength and weakness of the process.

There is no doubt that Dieterich has brought out, perhaps for the first time so fully and clearly, the similarities or points of contact between the eschatology of the Orphic-Dionysiac cult which showed itself first conspicuously in Thrace, and that of the cult of Apollo at Delphi and the mystery-worship of Demeter and the subterranean deities at Eleusis; and has made it reasonably probable that, after being absorbed and elevated by the Pythagorean religious reformation in South Italy, this Orphism left its mark upon the myths of the Platonic philosophy and upon eschatological conceptions in Egypt, where it enjoyed an organised and reinvigorated life before and during the rise of Christian literature in that country. And the comparison of details, especially as to the punishments in Hades, is so striking as to furnish a strong presumption that Orphic imagery in this respect was largely taken over into the presentation of early Christian eschatological views. But, while all this may be admitted, it is a very different thing to attribute, as our author seems to do, to Pythagorean Orphism, and even to a definite Orphic book, as the single source, the whole, or nearly the whole, of the ideas about the kingdom of the dead found in Platonic myths, in Vergil's *Æneid*, on South Italian or Cretan tablets, and in the main bulk of Egyptian, Jewish, and Christian apocalyptic literature, most especially the *Apocalypse of Peter*. If Dieterich had quoted all the passages containing the Platonic mythology of the dead, it would have been seen that they are too incongruous for any such single source, and Plato himself speaks as if he had access to sources both oral and written. Experts in Egyptian Hades-lore are inclined to trace much of it to primitive tradition in Egypt itself. Jewish curiosity and speculation, so far as it was not original, may have drunk from Egyptian or Persian fountains far more than from Greek; and Christian apocalyptists may have borrowed straight from Jewish storehouses, and not from those of Orpheus-Dionysus-Apollo-Demeter-Pythagoras. Attention has been drawn lately to the fact that an *Apocalypse of Elias*, also found recently at Akhmîm, is of distinctly Jewish character, and yet has the penal "mud" and purifying "sulphur" of the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the Orphic-

Pythagorean eschatology. The supreme excellence of the *Nekyia* lies in its great wealth of reference, combination, illustration and suggestion, and in the solid contribution it thus makes to the science of Comparative Religion. Its chief defect is that sufficient allowance has not been made for the natural and independent growth, in different countries, at the same time or at different times, of similar ideas as to rewards and punishments after death. To start with a theory which makes one cult and one country (in spite of some vague talk about syncretism) the root of a genealogical tree, is to deliver oneself over frequently to fallacy, artifice and dogmatism; and has occasioned, in the case of this particular work, with all its excellences, a notable absence of precision in fixing the relative contributions to eschatology on the part of the Egyptian, Judaic, Hellenic, and early Christian factors respectively. Dieterich's attempt to trace to Orphism the Christian apocalyptic conception of final bliss is the weakest part of the book, and may be considered, in the main, a failure.

But even if Dieterich has succeeded in proving that the Christian imagery of the punishments in hell comes direct and in the bulk from Orphism, it remains to be decided what Orphism is. The idea of torture in Hades was quite out of harmony with the Greek spirit; according to that spirit it was, at any rate, reserved for the most conspicuous impiety, just as signal bliss after death was reserved for the most conspicuous merit. The ordinary man and woman passed away to a fate which was neither the one nor the other. Orphism was not genuinely Hellenic: it was rather a protest against Hellenism; and Pythagoreanism and Eleusinianism found it congruous with their efforts after moral rigour and religious reform. Neither was the idea of torture after death strictly indigenous to Egyptian soil; and the religious influence of Egypt over Greece was at least as potent as that of Greece over Egypt: Isis and Osiris measured strength with Demeter and Apollo. What Orphism essentially was, and what was the place of its birth, are problems still unsolved. Perhaps, after all, it was not a child whose parentage any single nation or race could properly claim: it may have been a spirit bubbling up among divers peoples at divers times, wherever and whenever the consciousness impressed itself that wickedness could not always flourish, or righteousness remain for ever unrewarded. And this consciousness was far less characteristic of the Hellenic than of the Oriental world.

JOHN MASSIE.

Sibawaihi's Buch über die Grammatik.

Nach der Ausgabe von H. Derenbourg und dem Commentar des Sträfl : übersetzt und erklärt und mit Auszügen aus Sträfl und anderen Commentaren versehen, von Dr G. Jahn, Professor in Königsberg. Mit Unterstützung der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Lieferungen, 1-5. Berlin: Reuther u. Reichard, 1894-95. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Price, M. 4 each part.

THE publication of a translation of the book of Sibawaihi reminds us of the antiquity of the Science of Arabic Grammar, and serves to mark the progress that has been made in the study by modern European scholars. The name of Sibawaihi takes us back almost to the fountain-head, for only the names have been preserved of the works on the same subject that preceded his, while his work, known as "the book" *par excellence*, has come down to us from about the year 150 of the Hijrah—that is to say, about the middle of the eighth century of our era.

The pre-Islamic poems that have been preserved show that, in the century before Mohammed, the Arabic language had reached a high degree of culture; but it was not till the codification of the Koran had taken place that an impulse was given to its systematic study. For the proper understanding of the sacred book it was necessary not only that historical allusions and personal references should be explained, which became the function of Tradition, but also that usages of words and phrases should be elucidated. This led to the study of the language in many aspects, and the Science of Grammar, which may be considered the chief of the specific Arabic Sciences, was one of the results. Expressions in the sacred book were illustrated and explained by examples from the poems and other compositions that had been handed down from early times, the idiom of the pure natives of Arabia being regarded as the standard of excellence.

The first impulse to the preparation of a treatise on Grammar is ascribed to the Caliph Ali ibn Abi Tālib. It is to be remembered that the wide spread of Islam beyond Arabia, and the use of the Koran by the converts in a language which to many of them was foreign, exposed them to the risk of repeating its phrases inelegantly, or even in a perverted sense. There are several anecdotes told of serious mistakes of this kind occurring, and Ali—as it is related—was so concerned that he urged Abu-l-Aswad ed-Duwali to prepare a treatise which should fix the rules of Grammar, and preserve the language inviolate. This Abu-l-Aswad, after hesita-

tion, consented to do ; and the fifth from him in a direct succession of master and pupil was Al-Khalîl, the preceptor of Sîbawaihi, and the reputed discoverer of the rules of Prosody, who died A.D. 718-19. Sîbawaihi himself (for so the Arabs pronounce his name, though, as a Persian word, it is more correctly Sîbûyah), received this name, it is said, from the *apple-tint* of his complexion. He was a native of Basra, his rival in the School of Cufa being Kisâ'i ; and there is a story related of an encounter between them, which is so characteristic that it is worth repeating. Coming together at Bagdad, they had a dispute over the correct syntax of a familiar phrase, Kisâ'i maintaining that the usage of the Arabs was one way, while Sîbawaihi maintained that it was another. It was agreed to call in an Arab of the desert, and abide by his dictum. Al-Amin, however (son of Harûn-ar-Rashîd), to whom Kisâ'i had been tutor, solicitous for the reputation of his master, discovered, in a private interview with the Arab before he was brought in, that Sîbawaihi was right, and endeavoured to induce the man to give the phrase as Kisâ'i had uttered it. This the Arab stoutly declared to be impossible, for that his tongue would refuse to pronounce the words incorrectly. Whereupon he was told that the two phrases would be proposed to him, and when asked whether Kisâ'i or Sîbawaihi was right, he must declare for Kisâ'i ; to which he replied, "That is a thing that can be done." As the story runs, Sîbawaihi retired from Bagdad in disgust, and, indeed, was so disappointed with the "public" of his day that he ordered his book to be buried along with him. He died about the age of forty ; and it is said that Al-Akhfash, who is described as both his pupil and his teacher, gave thirty dinars to Sîbawaihi's heirs to have the treasure disinterred. Certain it is that the book enjoyed the highest esteem. One after another is quoted as speaking in the highest terms in its praise, so much so that Muharrad declared there was no book on any Science so valuable ; for whereas books devoted to different Sciences did not make other works superfluous, the book of Sîbawaihi renders every other work useless to him who comprehends it well.

In point of fact, all subsequent grammarians appealed to him as an authority, and the book was copied and commented upon for generations with the utmost diligence. The MSS., of which there are many in different countries, show by the care bestowed upon them how high a value was placed upon the work. "The margins," says Derenbourg, "bear the traces of ardent discussions and swarm with notes and comments belonging to different periods, which more than once finally invade the text, and have incorporated themselves so intimately with it that one would endeavour in vain to disentangle them." But though this high value was set on the work, the labours of commentators brought it about that succeeding

authors produced works which, by their greater lucidity, have come to be used as authorities, and supplanted the original Sībawaihi, just as he outstripped all his predecessors. Yet again, just in proportion as these later authorities were studied, his influence upon them was the more strongly felt, and there has been, so to speak, a gradual working backwards to the first authority.

When De Sacy published his *Anthologie Grammaticale* in 1829, he included Sībawaihi among the authors from whom he presented selections, but the manuscript from which he drew these was not even indicated in the catalogue of the Royal Library in which it had a place ; and he himself confessed that he had not had time to study it sufficiently to pronounce an opinion upon it from full knowledge, though it appeared to him to be far from arranged on a rigorous method, such as is observable in works of more recent grammarians. The late Professor Fleischer, a pupil of De Sacy, who did more than any in this generation to foster the study of Arabic grammar after the Arabic method, as long ago as 1867 encouraged his distinguished pupil Derenbourg to persevere in his intention to prepare an edition of Sībawaihi's book, although he was of opinion that it could only be understood after the works of some of the later grammarians had been published. Accordingly, under the auspices of the German Oriental Society, the commentary of Ibn Ja'ish on the Mufasssal of Zamachshari was taken in hand in 1876 by Dr Jahn, and the second volume was only completed after ten years. Meanwhile, Derenbourg found himself in a position to carry out his design, and his edition of the text of Sībawaihi is now completed, the first volume being dated 1881 and the concluding part of the second volume 1889.

The work now under notice is a German translation by the same Dr Jahn of the text of Sībawaihi, with the commentary (in Arabic) of Sirāfi, the most famous of the commentators, the pagination of the two being for convenience reckoned separately. Where Ibn Ja'ish has already sufficiently elucidated a matter, the editor has not thought it necessary to repeat the comments of Sirāfi ; and where the text from which the translation is made diverges from that of Derenbourg, the fact is indicated.

Though the work thus takes us back to the beginning of Arabic grammar, it is not by any means a book for beginners, even in the translation. The editor says expressly it is for specialists, and only for such as are in a position to compare the original with the translation. The translation seeks not to take the place of the original, but only to make it intelligible. The reader must, in fact, have the original before him and turn to the lines indicated for the illustrative examples. What is recommended is a synoptic reading of the original, the translation, the explanations of Sirāfi, and the

relative sections of Ibn Ja'ish. Nevertheless, many a scholar who has spent painful years in the study of the native grammars will be thankful to Dr Jahn for the lucid form in which he has cast his rendering of the famous "Book."

It only remains to be said that the work appears in the best form, the German type being bold and well spaced, and the Arabic type clear and carefully pointed in the necessary places. The five parts which we have received bring the work up to the 151st page of Derenbourg's text, the pagination of which is indicated on the margin. Since, however, there are above 900 pages of text, the publishers have not asked too much in promising to finish the translation in three years. They deserve every encouragement. The work ought to find a place in every learned library. It will, in the first place, give immense assistance to specialists in Arabic, and, by and by, no doubt its influence will be felt in the wider circles of Semitic learning.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

The Foundations of Belief: Being Notes Introductory to the Study of Theology.

By the Right Hon. Arthur James Balfour, Author of "A Defence of Philosophic Doubt," etc. London: Longmans, Green & Co.; and New York: 15 East Sixteenth Street, 1895. 8vo, pp. viii. 356. Price 12s. 6d.

WHATEVER may be thought of some of the criticisms in this volume or of the general value of its constructive work, it must at once be acknowledged to be a notable, helpful, brilliant book. It comes with a special attraction and with a peculiar claim upon our regard due to the fact that it is the work—not of a professed metaphysician or theologian, but of a prominent statesman. A serious contribution to philosophy and religion made by a man occupying one of the first positions in English public life, and engaged in the arduous task of leading a great parliamentary party, is not an everyday occurrence. When such a thing happens, interest is at once quickened and attention secured. A book offered to the public under such conditions starts with great advantages on its side, and is not unlikely to be rated higher at first than a deliberate judgment may finally allow. The most grudging reader, however, will scarcely say this of Mr Balfour's volume. It has intrinsic merits which are more than sufficient to challenge our respect and admiration, apart from all accidental recommendations. It is a book that would have arrested attention by whomsoever written—a book of the order to which Butler's *Analogy* belongs, or, if that may seem too much to say of it, a book at least of the order to which Dean Mansel's *Limits of*

Religious Thought belongs. Those who were young men, full of the enthusiasm of truth, when the famous Bampton Lectures were published, know what a baptism of the spirit the book brought them. However they may have come to think in later years of much that satisfied and inspired them in these earlier and more buoyant days, they cannot forget how Mansel's book seemed to banish difficulties, clear the mental vision, and widen the horizon of faith. If they read Mr Balfour's volume now, they will probably find it recall some important passages in their own intellectual and religious experience. They will probably also prophesy for it a career like that which Mansel's Lectures have had, and a similar place at last in the ranks of books of religious defence, which have made a deep impression and exercised a great influence.

To say that its argument is planned with an admirable simplicity, and that the reasonings which contribute to its proof are conducted not only with skill, but with a rare restraint which keeps them in most cases far within the limit of overstatement, is to mention but one of its merits. There is a splendid reverence in it, a note of deep religious conviction which is kept well under command, but sometimes breaks out with all the greater impressiveness. There is a quality in its style which makes it charming reading—a lucidity and a directness which pass often into a lofty, natural eloquence. Its abstrusest discussions and most elaborate criticisms are illumined by telling illustration, keen satire, quick wit, gracious irony, and flashes of genial cleverness. It is pervaded withal by an engaging and transparent honesty, a moderation that now and again amounts almost to a hesitation about its own most important averments, a fairness which studies equally to avoid all injustice to an opponent, and to hide no weak spot in its own positions.

The author puts in a modest claim for his book. He wishes it to be understood to be addressed to the general reader, and to aim at nothing more than a series of Notes on a profound subject. It is meant to serve as an Introduction to Theology, not in the sense of furnishing a conspectus of the matters and methods of Theology, but in the sense of dealing with certain questions which are preliminary to Theology proper. The author also disclaims any thought of attempting a definite Christian Apologetic. It is not his object to show the reasonableness of the great doctrines which make the general Creed of Christendom. Only towards the end of his book does he commit himself to anything of that kind, and even then only in part. He does this with most system and with conspicuous success, so far as he follows out his statement, in certain suggestive and eloquent paragraphs in which he exhibits the place and meaning of the Incarnation. The goal to which he leads on his whole argument, indeed, is this truth, as the truth which relieves the

intellectual difficulty created by the apparent insignificance of man in the midst of the immensities and eternities of the universe, and the kindred difficulty caused by the mystery of suffering. But what the book as a whole grapples with is, not the defence of the central doctrine or any of the particular doctrines of the Christian Creed, but something more general than this and preliminary to it. It aims at freeing the matter of religious belief, as such, from certain doubts and difficulties which are due to the want of a proper relation to the problem of the world as a whole, and at removing "a certain superficiality and one-sidedness" into which we habitually fall in our way of looking at the great questions of belief. This limits and defines the service which the book aspires to render. It is a service, however, in which any measure of success means much to all serious thinkers, and very much to those who, by natural mental bent or peculiar openness to the impressions of the scientific and philosophical *Zeit-geist*, have the greatest difficulty in adjusting the promptings of religious faith to the demands of reason. The help which the book offers to minds of this order is the help of "doubting their doubts away." In this preliminary ministry, which aims at making a free way for faith, Mr Balfour is a discreet guide and an efficient worker. In this, too, there is a general resemblance between his principles and methods, and those of the old Scotch School. It was the familiar motto of the latter that no problem emerges in Theology which has not first emerged in Philosophy. In the same way, the keynote to Mr Balfour's whole position is given in these words—"The decisive battles of Theology are fought beyond its frontiers. It is not over purely religious controversies that the cause of religion is lost or won. The judgments we shall form upon its special problems are commonly settled for us by our general mode of looking at the Universe; and this again, in so far as it is determined by arguments at all, is determined by arguments of so wide a scope that they can seldom be claimed as more nearly concerned with Theology, than with the philosophy of Science or of Ethics." This is the Hamiltonian and Manselian platform with extensions.

Addressing himself to this work of describing and recommending the proper attitude of mind in relation to Science and Belief, Mr Balfour develops his argument in four sections. He begins by considering "Some Consequences of Belief," and proceeds to state "Some Reasons for Belief," and "Some Causes of Belief." Having done this, he approaches the constructive side of his task, and gives certain "Suggestions towards a Provisional Philosophy." He concludes with two important chapters, rich in fertile ideas, on "Science and Theology" and on a "Provisional Unification."

In each of these four parts there is much that is vigorously stated

and convincingly argued; much that will be felt by minds of a certain order to be a real aid to faith. In each, too, there are things which are open to question. His exposition and criticism of Idealism are not likely to satisfy the adherents of that important school of philosophy. He holds himself discharged by the nature and destination of his own argument from the duty of examining the principles of Transcendental Idealism as they are given by the great German thinkers. He judges rightly that, in order to bring it into relation with his purpose, German Transcendentalism would require to be translated into English thought as well as into English terms. He confines himself, therefore, to the English Idealists, and, naturally, gives special attention to Mr T. H. Green. His chapter on "Idealism, after some Recent English Writings," shows how enviable a faculty Mr Balfour possesses for lucid exposition of abstruse reasoning, and how appreciative he can be of a system of thought widely different from his own. He recognises the ability of books like Mr Bradley's *Appearance and Reality*, and the power and charm of Professor Edward Caird's writings. He values highly the fine qualities in the spiritual philosophy of Mr Green, and the loftiness of its aims. He could wish the Idealist all success in the enterprise of delivering us from a scepticism which is thought to be inherent in a mistaken theory of perception. He could wish him all success, too, in the attempt to exhibit Reason as the "very essence of all that is or can be," and in his strenuous endeavour to find an unchallengeable basis for man's moral freedom. But he fails to see that Idealism, whether German or English, has succeeded in these high undertakings, and he subjects it here to some formidable criticisms; he conceives that the higher unity, which Professor Caird thinks is made necessary by the existence of the two opposites of a world of objects and a perceiving mind, and which he identifies with God, means, in reality, that "God Himself would require some yet higher deity to explain His existence." He expresses himself on the Idealist theory of the "I" in a way which suggests that he does not set so high a value on the Hegelian view of the Self as Hegelians claim for it. We confess to some sympathy with him in this. The advantage gained by speaking of a *Self* and *activities*, rather than of a *Mind* and *faculties*, is no doubt something, but it is not everything. But, apart from this, it will scarcely be allowed by Idealists that Mr Balfour gives an adequate statement of the *Self* which they have in view. Above all, however, it seems to us that full justice is not done to the Idealist doctrine of moral freedom. Both in this chapter and in the very important section which is devoted to the consideration of "Naturalism and Ethics," the question is made to turn on a choice between two absolute opposites, *Determinism* and a kind

of Freedom, which seems to us to be undistinguishable from arbitrariness. Determinism is essentially mechanical determinism, and the distinction between *necessity* and *certainly* is practically overlooked. It is as if the question of Teleology were argued on the basis of a choice between two opposites—mechanism and finality—having no relation, no possibility of working the one by the other, the one to the other, but being simply exclusive of each other.

The system of thought, however, that Mr Balfour has specially in view is not Idealism, but what he calls *Naturalism*. By this he means what others might term Empiricism, or Materialism, less appropriately (though he deals with it as if it meant the same), Agnosticism—the system founded on the principle, that our knowledge is limited to phenomena and their laws, and that for us the only reality is the “World, which is revealed through perception, and which is the subject-matter of the Natural Sciences.” The poverty, the insufficiency, the inherent inconsistency of this system, and the logical absurdities or irrational ideas which are bound up with it, are unveiled with a masterly hand. This theory, which regards all the higher qualities of man, rational, æsthetic, and moral, as the slow work of purely physical forces, to which, neither in themselves nor in their aim, any grandeur can be ascribed, involves an ignoble view of all that gives dignity to human life. “If naturalism be true,” says Mr Balfour justly, “or rather, if it be the whole truth, then is morality but a bare catalogue of utilitarian precepts, beauty but the chance occasion of a passing pleasure, reason but the dim passage from one set of unthinking habits to another.” But, what is more, it implies a limited and equally ignoble view of Nature itself. It means that Nature is something which is “indifferent to our happiness, indifferent to our morals, but sedulous of our survival, commends disinterested virtue to our practice by decking it out in all the splendour which the specifically ethical sentiments alone are capable of supplying.” Nature, in short, is a cunning mistress, engaged in a series of tricks and devices, by which she deceives us into what is needful for our preservation, and lures us on to an altruism which has no intrinsic ethical quality, and into the doing of things and the pursuit of ideas which have no other value than a “protective” value, like that which belongs to the “blotches on the beetle’s back.” But Nature in this way is made at the same time a heap of incongruities. For in proportion as she advances the evolution of the species, and its progress towards knowledge and higher things, she stands self-convicted of destroying what she has laboriously built up, and of rending the very veil of delusion by which she has kept us in being, and moved us up from the lower to the higher.

One of the most important and characteristic parts of the argu-

ment is the proof which Mr Balfour offers of the very subordinate place which really belongs to reason in the formation of our ideas, and in the working out of our lives generally. He shows, in a very powerful manner, that in the beliefs which make the motive forces of life we owe vastly less to reason than to what he calls *Authority*, and sometimes *Custom*. He says much of a certain "psychological climate" to which we are large debtors, and of an irrational basis or source of much that we accept and act on. In this he is at one with Mr Kidd, and the general argument of his *Social Evolution*. In both writers there is a measure of uncertainty and an appearance of exaggeration in the statements which they make in this direction, which is due to the terms which they use. Neither *authority* nor *custom* seems the happiest term for what they have in view, and *Reason* in this connection must have the limited sense of the discursive Reason, or the logical faculty. But to this effect it is true that the beliefs and ideas on which we act most habitually, and through which the larger part of the business of life is carried on, become ours, not by processes of logic or by conscious reasoning, but as the gift of inheritance, surroundings, mental climate, and things about us and behind us, which are not of the nature of reasoning. Is this, then, to bring us finally to a view of life and the world which fails to recognise Reason at the heart of things? Or is its logical conclusion this—that it leaves the rational to develop itself somehow out of the irrational? Without proper explanation that might seem to be the case. But it is not so. For these causes or inducements of belief, which are not immediately the obvious work of Reason, are surely themselves to be traced back to thoughts and movements which were *ab initio* the children of Reason—a consideration to which Mr Balfour does not seem to give sufficient regard. But further, and here Mr Balfour's statement is all that could be desired, all this implies that there must be Reason presiding over the whole movement, controlling all this process of instinctive, unconscious, unreasoned acceptance of beliefs and habit of action, and directing all towards the realisation of a great purpose. So Mr Balfour brings us in the end to a position in which we are made to see that such a presupposition as the existence and guidance of a "living God" is not "only tolerated, but is actually required by science; that if it be accepted in the case of science, it can hardly be refused in the case of ethics, æsthetics or theology; and that, if it be thus accepted as a general principle, applicable to the whole circuit of belief, it will be found to provide us with a working solution of some, at least, of the difficulties with which naturalism is incompetent to deal."

The critical part of the book is better than the constructive, though both are of real value. The success of the argument lies

mainly in the proof which it gives that science needs its assumptions and presuppositions at least as much as Theology does, and that there are no difficulties belonging to the foundations of religious belief which do not belong in equal or greater measure to the foundations of science. It also achieves no inconsiderable measure of success in its constructive conclusion. But it is of the nature of all such arguments that the constructive side is opener to doubt than the other. There are things in the constructive section of this book which are capable of being turned, as was done with Mansel's great argument, to the very opposite effect, and used for destructive purposes. But we cannot speak too highly of the intention and spirit of the book, of the charm of its style and the brilliancy of its reasonings, of its seriousness and its grasp of the deep questions of faith.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Socialism.

*By Robert Flint, Professor in the University of Edinburgh.
London: Isbister & Company, Limited. 8vo, pp. vi. 512.
Price, 12s. 6d.*

THE movement known as *Socialism* has established itself as one of the great forces of the day. The ideas connected with the term have taken their place among the thoughts and aspirations of masses of men in this country and in other countries. It is impossible to ignore them. They have asserted themselves in a way which constrains even Popes and Church Congresses to debate them and give elaborate pronouncements upon them. They involve issues which make it certain that they must continue to engage the public mind, and that they will push on to results. What these results shall be it is impossible to forecast. In all probability they will be something different from what either the Socialist or the Individualist looks for—some new development of industry, perhaps essentially co-operative in character, some new order of society which is not even within the horizon at present. It is important in any case to be well informed about this movement, to understand its principles and its aims, and to know the impetus that is behind it. This is all the more important because the term *Socialism* is itself so vague and elastic, and the ideas associated with it are so far from uniform or certain.

Every well-considered contribution to the discussion of the system, and to the solution of the questions involved in it, is to be welcomed. In this volume Professor Flint makes an important addition to the helps at our disposal for the study of a subject which should engage the attention of every patriotic mind. His

book is the more welcome that it is written in a way to appeal to working men and others than professed students of Political Economy. Its attractiveness is all the greater, and its usefulness is likely to be all the more assured, that it recognises most frankly and sympathetically what is good and true in Socialism, while it exposes what is doubtful, mischievous, and deceptive in it.

The book begins appropriately with the fundamental question—*What is Socialism?* The origin of the term and the definitions which have been offered of it are considered at length—at greater length, some might think, than is necessary. So much depends, however, on the statement of the question at issue, and the study of the different applications which have been made of the term is itself so instructive, that too much space will not be felt to have been given to these matters. The use of the word is traced back at least to 1836, when M. Reybaud employed it as an equivalent to what had formerly been designated *Industrialism*, by certain French writers. But it is made plain that the accounts of the origin of the word and its introduction into English use, which are given by John Stuart Mill, Mr Kirkup and others, rest on no solid foundation, and that the whole question has yet to be cleared up. A long series of attempts to define Socialism by the French Academicians, by M. Littré, by Messrs Bradlaugh and Hyndman, by Proudhon, Kaufmann, Karl Marx, Bebel, Adolf Held, Dr Barry, Bishop Westcott, and others, is passed in review. The vagueness and insufficiency of most of these definitions are pungently dealt with. Professor Flint does not hold himself called upon to construct a definition that will satisfy both Socialists and Individualists. He gives the preference on the whole to M. Leroux's statement of Socialism as "a political organisation in which the individual is sacrificed to the society." In harmony with this he explains that he understands by Socialism "any theory of social organisation which sacrifices the legitimate liberties of individuals to the will or interests of the community." This is not a precise definition. We have seen some that are more exact. M. Leroux's definition is justly criticised as failing to recognise the fact that "there may be, and has been, a Socialism, not political, but religious." Professor Flint's definition has its own defects. All definitions, indeed, must seem more or less inadequate so long as the thing itself is so variable a quantity. And if Professor Flint is right in saying that Socialism is "essentially indefinite and indeterminate," he is certainly right in saying that "no definition of Socialism at once true and precise has ever been given, or ever will be given." But this is a view of Socialism which few Socialists will accept. With all their differences they have something in view which is the direct antithesis to Individualism, and which will gain in definiteness and sharpness of outline as things move on.

Of the chapter on the *History of Socialism* it is unnecessary to say more than that it is full of facts, gathered from an immense range of reading, carefully verified and pointedly stated. One very just remark that is made here is that exaggerated ideas are apt to be formed of the progress of German Socialism, because men forget that the doctrines of free trade, unlimited competition, and non-intervention on the part of the State never had the position in Germany which they have had in England. An instinctive estimate is given of the position of Socialism in our own country. It is admitted that a considerable advance has been made, and that the conditions of society and of life which provoke Socialism exist in greater strength in England than in any other country. Nowhere else is so much of the land in the hands of the very few; nowhere else is "industry so dependent on the enterprise of large capitalists;" nowhere else have we "in anything like so small a space above one hundred towns each with above 100,000 inhabitants." These are circumstances which should all tell formidably in favour of Socialism. Their influence in that direction is intensified by the misuse of wealth on the part of many of the very rich; by the wretchedness and degradation in which multitudes of the employed and the large intermittent masses of the unemployed are left; by the density of our population, the complexity of our industrial system, the pressure of competition, and the relaxing of religious faith. All these things are recognised in their full force by Professor Flint, and presented without disguise. Yet he looks with hope upon what is to come out of the confusion, difficulty, and inequality which seem to be inherent in the existing system of things. He looks to the general willingness of the toilers of Great Britain to work; to the increasing sense of the honourableness of labour; to the love of personal independence; to the strong sense which saves the British workman from accepting every new nostrum without question; to the growing feeling of brotherhood, and the "insensible gradations" which fill up the terrible interval between the very rich and the abjectly poor. Setting the one series of facts over against the other, he comes to the conclusion that there is nothing to shut us up to a despairing anticipation of the probable outcome of the miseries and restlessness of the present. "We may be less exposed," he thinks, "to the dangers of Individualism, and more to those of Socialism, than we were twenty years ago, but to be afraid of the speedy and decisive triumph of Socialism is to be foolishly alarmed." This seems to us at once a cheerful and a just conclusion. The times are critical and full of uncertainty. All seems to presage some great industrial change. But England has passed through more threatening times before. The Chartist agitation and the troubles connected with the repeal of the Corn Laws

and the institution of Free Trade, not to speak of the tremendous transition from feudalism, were more ominous movements in their time than anything we have to face at present. The result in each case was less disturbing than was feared, and so will it be no doubt with the social and industrial changes which hang upon the Socialistic agitation.

Touching lightly on Anarchism or Nihilism, Professor Flint subjects Communism, Collectivism, and the whole theory of State Intervention to searching examination. The difficulties attending the practical carrying out of the Communistic programme are summarised in a few telling pages. Communism is dismissed as a system which is "now generally regarded as an effete and undeveloped form of Socialism." Collectivism, the only really living and threatening species of Socialism, is dealt with, however, at length. It is described as "Society organised as the State intervening in all the industrial and economic arrangements of life, possessing almost everything, and so controlling and directing its members, that private and personal enterprises and interests are absorbed in those which are public and collective." This system is held to be inconsistent with the freedom of the individual. It is pronounced to amount to nothing less than a social despotism, and thus to be hostile to the real good of society. Professor Flint undertakes to prove that this is no unjust or hasty indictment. With this object he passes in review the chief positions which have been asserted by the Collectivist leaders, and the principles which have been proclaimed in important Collectivist manifestos and programmes. But, while he convicts them all of being in different degrees destructive of liberty, he is far from assuming an attitude of extreme or unqualified favour towards the opposite doctrine. He admits that Individualism, as it is usually understood, is scarcely less an excess than Collectivism. This is put, perhaps, even too strongly, and the criticisms which are passed on John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer are themselves open at certain points to criticism. Spencerians at least may have some cause to say that their master's contention on behalf of liberty and Individualism is not given quite in the proportion and with the qualifications which belong to it, as it is presented in the philosopher's various writings. But the general judgment passed upon Individualism as a theory which tends unduly to limit the function of the State is just. With all his zeal for liberty, Professor Flint affirms the right of the State to intervene in some measure, and holds that the State will intervene to a greater extent in the future for the "positive development of industry, intelligence, science, morality, and art." To attempt to lay down theoretically the limits of State intervention, however, would be a serious mistake.

Experience and the informing march of events are the best guides in a question of this kind. Hence Professor Flint wisely attempts nothing more than to mention certain general considerations touching moral law, fundamental human liberties, and economic principles, which should condition the application both of Individualism and of Collectivism.

The chapters which follow on *Socialism and Labour*, *Socialism and Capital*, and the *Nationalisation of the Land*, are remarkable, both for the extensive acquaintance which they indicate with the literature of these subjects, and for the strong sense with which the Socialistic doctrines are refuted. Karl Marx naturally occupies the largest share of Professor Flint's attention. The fallacious character of the Marxian theories of wages, labour, and capital, is exposed with a just severity. In terms which are admirably clear and popular, the Socialistic contentions that the value of commodities is given them only by the labour which is expended on them, and that capital is both an indolence and a theft, are refuted.

Much that is both just and pertinent is said on the relations between Socialism and Democracy. But the argument of the book reaches its highest in the closing discussions of the bearing of Socialism on Morality and Religion. With regard to the former it is shown that, as Professor Karl Pearson himself admits, the Socialistic theory of Morality is "based upon the agnostic treatment of the supersensuous"; that personal morality is sacrificed to Social Morality; that the basis of the moral doctrine of Socialism is utilitarianism or altruistic hedonism; that it is assumed that the "sole aim of mankind is happiness in this life, the happiness of society"; that the Socialist ideas of the common virtue of justice are defective and cause "demands for fictitious rights"; and that the whole effect of the system is to recognise no essential moral character in the conduct and habits of individuals, and to "see in the personal virtues no intrinsic value, but only such value as they may have when they happen to be advantageous to the community."

The closing chapter is devoted to a discussion of the question—How is Socialism related to Religion? The conflicting replies which have been returned to the question are examined at some length. There is a careful statement of the proportions of truth and error in the theory that Socialism and Religion have no proper connection with each other. The counter theory, that they are so closely connected as to be practically identical, especially as it is advocated in England by Mr Belford Bax, is shown to mean the suppression of Religion, not its preservation. An appreciative estimate is given of the movement known as Christian Socialism, and of the efforts of men like Maurice and Kingsley to establish a real harmony between Socialism and Religion, so that the one might support and supple-

ment the other. The propriety of the name *Christian Socialism* as applied to this movement, is however, challenged. With regard to the view which is most current among Socialists themselves—the view that there is a natural antagonism between Socialism and Religion—Professor Flint, while judging that there are principles in Socialism which can “only be fully developed in an atmosphere of Religion,” acknowledges that the union between Socialism and Materialism is only too natural, and that had the advocates of the system not regarded the Materialistic creed as “especially favourable to the success of their Socialism,” they would not have faced the “risks and disadvantages of their cause obviously inseparable from allying it to an atheistical philosophy.”

Professor Flint's conclusion is that there is a relation between Socialism and Religion, which is neither a casual relation nor one of identity, nor yet one essentially of harmony, but one which means that, in its efforts to re-organise society, Socialism aims at something which cannot be satisfactorily accomplished without the aid of Religion. This general statement of what Religion can do for Socialism is followed up by some wise and weighty words on the duty of the Christian preacher, and on the mission of the Church, in connection with the urgent social questions of the day.

The book is full of information, sound criticism, and good counsel. It is studiously impartial, and careful to do justice to every element of truth and goodness which exists in the various forms of Socialism. It is a discreet and manly discussion of the whole subject, and one that cannot fail to instruct and guide.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

The most recent addition to the series of *Handbooks for Bible Classes* is a volume which bears the title *From the Exile to the Advent*.¹ The period of Jewish history which comes under that title has been comparatively neglected by English scholars till a few years ago. This is especially true of the interval between the last of the Old Testament prophecies and the Christian dispensation. There has been a happy change, however, of late. Renewed attention has been given to these times, and the English reader has been put in possession of more than one popular statement of the history of the period. Mr Fairweather's book is one of the most scholarly and successful of these statements, as it is also one of the best volumes in the series to which it belongs. The opening chapters, which give a summary of the events falling within the

¹ By Rev. William Fairweather, M.A., Kirkcaldy. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 210. Price, 2s.

years B.C. 588-538, exhibit in a telling way the importance of the epoch of the Exile. They describe in a very vivid style the home of the Exiles, the life of the Jews in Babylon, the agency of the prophets of the time, the fortunes of the returning remnant, and the moral effect of the Exile. The Persian, Greek, Maccabean, and Roman periods are then taken up in succession, the main points of the history being given in each case, and pains being taken to bring out what the condition of the people was internally as well as externally. The sketch of the fortunes of the Asmonean dynasty is particularly well done. Not less successful is the account of the Pharisaic reaction under Alexander. One of the chief merits of the book is the attention which it gives to the various influences and ideas which told upon the Jews and made them what Christ found them to be. We may refer in especial to the chapters on the *Conflict between Hellenism and Judaism* in the Greek period, and on the *Revival of Hellenism* in the days of Judas Aristobulus and Alexander Jannæus. The book is the work of a careful scholar, who has a thorough grasp of his facts and can also set them forth in a clear and popular style.

In this connection we have also to report the publication of two new volumes in the series of *Bible-Class Primers*. *The Making of Israel*,¹ and *The Truth of the Christian Religion*.² The former takes up the Old Testament history at the point at which it was left in a previous Primer on *Abraham* by the same writer, and carries it on to the Conquest of the Holy Land. The special purpose of the book is to show how the guidance of God, the discipline of events, and the action of the great personalities of the race made a nation of the Hebrews—a nation of the marked character, the special gifts, and the peculiar relations to God for which Israel is known among the peoples. The latter is a contribution to the defence of the Christian religion, made from the stand-point of the most recent discussions. It opens with a chapter on the contrasts between *Christianity and Heathenism* as history exhibits them at the end of the second century. It proceeds to deal with the *Presuppositions of Christianity*, the contrasts between *Christianity and Judaism*, the problem of the *Gospels*, the picture which they give of the life and teaching of Jesus, and the question of their *Origins*. Further statements on *Hellenism*, the *Supernatural*, and the relations between Christianity and the Roman Empire, lead to the final conclusion.

Mr Buchanan Blake, who has done so much to help the English

¹ By the Rev. C. Anderson Scott, B.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 110. Price, 6d.; cloth, 8d.

² By the Rev. Professor James Iverach, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 101. Price, 6d.; cloth, 8d.

reader to understand the Old Testament Prophets by setting their prophecies in their historical connections, gives us now the fifth of his series of Studies.¹ This embraces the second half of Isaiah and the Post-Exilian Prophets. The prophecies with which he deals in this volume are of peculiar interest, and Mr Blake does his best to present them in their proper continuity. Where scholars differ in matters of material moment, the competing views are carefully stated and estimated. The Book of Daniel is included, but the last six chapters of Zechariah are excluded, as belonging to an earlier date. Joel is also omitted, having been already placed in Part I. It is noticed also that while chapters xxiv.-xxvii. of Isaiah are placed in Part II., they are now regarded by most critics as Post-Exilic. The text of the prophecies is first given in a series of thirteen chapters. In a second series of thirteen chapters the historical setting and appropriate explanations are given. In the closing division of the book we get a summary of the "Prophetic Conceptions" in the period in question, a useful "Chronological Table," a "Glossary of Names," and a series of Notes. Mr Blake is to be congratulated on having now completed, in so satisfactory a manner, a study of the Prophets, which will make a large part of the Old Testament a new thing to many English readers.

Professor Shedd of New York has added a third volume² to the large and important system of *Dogmatic Theology*, which he published in 1888. This volume is supplementary, and that in two senses. It works out more fully some of the more difficult points stated in the earlier volumes, and it gives a very considerable number of illustrative passages, selected from the writings of theologians of different schools and times. Professor Shedd's system is the completest statement and the most elaborate defence of the Augustinian and Elder-Calvinistic Theology which has been produced in our day. If any one wishes to understand the broad dividing lines of Calvinism and Arminianism, and the more specific points of difference between the older Calvinism and the more recent, it is to Professor Shedd's book that he ought to go. No-where else will he find the various questions which are connected with the doctrine of the "self-determined and responsible fall of mankind as a species in Adam" discussed with so much mastery of the entire subject, or with so perfect a conviction of the importance of the issues. The publication of this supplementary volume will be welcome to many. It places at our disposal a wealth of matter,

¹ How to Read the Prophets, &c. By the Rev. Buchanan Blake, B.D. Part V., Isaiah (xl.-lxvi.), and the Post-Exilian Prophets. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 246. Price, 4s.

² Dogmatic Theology. By William G. T. Shedd, D.D. Vol. iii., Supplement. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 8vo, pp. iv. 528. Price, \$4.00.

which will be of use to all who have an interest in the profoundest questions of Theology.

We are glad to see a second edition of Dr Dennis's book on *Foreign Missions*.¹ The volume consists of a series of Lectures, which were delivered in the spring of 1893, in Princeton Theological Seminary. They are the first fruits of a new foundation—a Student's Lectureship on Missions. They are lectures for the present times, their general object being to deal with the *Message of Foreign Missions to the Church*, the *Meaning of the Macedonian Vision*, the *Conflicts of the Foreign Field*, the *Problems of Theory and Method in Missions*, the *Controversies of Christianity with Opposing Religions*, and the *Summary of Success*—all in relation to the present day. The lectures are written in an easy style, which becomes now and again eloquent. They give a mass of facts which it is important to know. Both in form and in contents they are well suited to widen the views of students on the subject of missions, and to deepen their interest in the work.

The Rev. P. Thomson publishes the results of a very painstaking study of the Greek New Testament in his volume on *The Greek Tenses in the New Testament*.² His object is to show how much depends upon attention to the distinctions in the Greek Tenses in interpreting the New Testament. He gives, in the first place, a brief statement of the *Origin and Characteristics of New Testament Greek*. This seems to us to be by much the best part of the book. It is a remarkably correct summary of the sources, constitution, and qualities of New Testament Greek, compressed within a very few pages. This is followed by a condensed account of the *Force of the Tenses*. This also is well done on the whole, although some doubtful things are said on the relations of the aorist and the perfect. The bulk of the volume is occupied with a rendering of the four Gospels, which is meant to illustrate the author's general view of the distinctive uses of the Tenses, and their bearing on exact interpretation. There are many good passages in this section, but there are also not a few awkward renderings, and some which are in no sense an improvement on those either of the Authorised Version or the Revised. It is impossible to give details here. But a perusal of Mr Thomson's version of the opening chapters of Mark will probably be enough to satisfy most that this is the case. The book, nevertheless, deserves to be attentively read. It is a careful study,

¹ "Foreign Missions after a Century." By Rev. James S. Dennis, D.D., of the American Presbyterian Mission, Beyrout, Syria. New York: Revell. Published also (with Introduction by Professor T. M. Lindsay, D.D.) by Messrs Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh. Cr. 8vo, pp. 308. Price 5s.

² Edinburgh: J. Gardner Hitt. Cr. 8vo, pp. 317. Price 4s. 6d.

and shows a large acquaintance with the subject. Mr Thomson has studied the best grammarians, and done it to purpose. His book will be of use to students of theology.

Mr Lyttelton's excellent translation of Godet's *Lectures in Defence of the Christian Faith*¹ appears in its third edition. It would be difficult to name any book which handles the great questions of Christian Apologetics with a finer combination of the scientific with the popular than this one by the venerable Neuchâtel scholar. Every thing is touched with the skill of one long familiar with the subject, alive to its difficulties, and convinced of the truth of the Christian position by patient and reverent study. The papers on the *Perfect Holiness of Jesus Christ* and His *Divinity* are of particular value.

In his *Handbook to the Psalms*,² Dr Sharpe has brought together a great deal of matter bearing on the structure and characteristics of Hebrew poetry, the compilation and divisions of the Psalter, and the authorship and ideas of the Psalms. The book is written from a conservative standpoint, and all that can well be said on the traditional view of the origin and relations of the Psalms is said here. Some new lines of argument are followed in support of the old opinions on the headings, dates, and authorship of the Psalms. These are of some interest, though they are far from convincing. Other matters are dealt with at some length, which seldom find a place in books of this kind. There is a chapter, for example, on the *Topographical and Historical Elements in the Psalms*, and another on the *Poetic Imagery and Treatment of Nature*. These are pleasant and instructive reading. The sections, however, which will be read with most interest, are those on the *Theology* of the Psalms. The names and attributes of God, as they appear in the various sections of the Psalter, the references to the life beyond the grave, and the Messianic Hope are handled in succession. There are chapters also on the inspiration of the Psalms, and on their moral teaching and moral difficulties. In these discussions there are some interesting points. There is a useful appendix also on the *Use of the Psalms in the New Testament*. The book is a laborious collection of things of very different values. It is meant especially for those who are not Hebrew scholars. The Hebrew student will find something to engage his attention, if not to convince his understanding. The general reader will be furnished with a mass of information on many subjects, and will so far be able to draw his own conclusions.

¹ By Professor F. Godet. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 295. Price 4s.

² The Student's Handbook to the Psalms, by John Sharpe, D.D., Rector of Elmley Lovett, formerly Fellow of Christ's College. London : Eyre & Spottiswoode. 4to, pp. xv. 440. Price 12s.

Principal Wace has done much good service as an Apologist, most of all by his Boyle Lectures on *Christianity and Morality*. In his *Christianity and Agnosticism*,¹ he makes a further contribution to the literature of Christian Defence. The Essays which make up this volume have all appeared in print elsewhere—one of them in the report of the proceedings of the Manchester Church Congress, two of them in the *Nineteenth Century*, and four in the *Quarterly Review*. They will bear re-publication, however, in this form. There are several of them that one is glad to have at hand, especially the one on the *Historical Criticism of the New Testament*, which gives a very useful conspectus of recent discussions and their general results, and another of earlier date on the *Speaker's Commentary on the New Testament*. The replies to Mr Huxley, the refutation of Mr Cotter Morison, and the criticism of *Robert Elsmere*, have also many good passages, and will very well bear to be read now.

Dr Robert Young's *Analytical Concordance to the Bible*,² is a book so well known and so generally valued as to make it unnecessary to speak at length of its merits. It is one of the most laborious, exact, and complete works of its kind. It contains all that any one can well desire to have, and is not burdened with matter which is of small profit. It is convenient to use and may be safely trusted not to send one off upon a vain quest. The sixth edition is a thoroughly revised edition, and has the benefit of a *Sketch of recent Explorations in Bible Lands*, contributed by Dr Thomas Nicoll. The book will hold its place against any competitor.

Canon MacColl's *Life Here and Hereafter*³ is a book of very various contents. Consisting of sermons preached from time to time in Ripon Cathedral, St Paul's, and elsewhere, it gives popular and powerful statements on purity of heart, temptation, party spirit, forgiveness, capital and labour, and similar subjects. It also deals with such topics as *Agnosticism* and the Christian doctrine of *Immortality*. The addresses devoted to the last-named subject are of most interest. There are many suggestive things in these, forcibly stated and appropriately illustrated. There are also some things of very doubtful value—speculations on the powers of the departed, their knowledge of affairs on earth, and the like. One of the most attractive of these discourses, however, is the one

¹ By Henry Wace, D.D. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. Post 8vo, pp. xxvi. 339. Price, 10s. 6d. net.

² Edinburgh: George Adam Young & Company. 4to, pp. vi. 1090 and 80. Price, 24s. cloth.

³ By Malcolm MacColl, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Ripon. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 405. Price, 7s. 6d.

on *The Many Mansions of the Spiritual Realm*. But perhaps the most striking are those in which Canon MacColl grapples with the position in which the doctrine of immortality is placed by modern science, where he states the conclusion that, though at first sight physical science seemed to negative the doctrine, it "now supplies us with a principle which really furnishes us with an antidote to its own scepticism—the principle of the reversal of appearances." There is much original and stimulating thought in the book.

The *Expositor* has now reached the tenth volume of its fourth series.¹ It has a long and honourable record, and its well-earned reputation is sustained by the present issue. Among articles of special interest are those by Professor Beet on the *New Testament Teaching on the Second Coming of Christ*, Professor Bruce on *Paul's Conception of Christianity*, and Professors Lindsay and Cheyne on *Professor W. Robertson Smith's Doctrine of Scripture*. These are but some out of a large number of papers of great value on a wide variety of subjects.

Two books of profound, but very different, religious interest are Ernst Haeckel's *The Confession of Faith of a Man of Science*,² and *Thoughts on Religion*,³ by the late George John Romanes. The former says all that can be said in favour of Monism, and is remarkable among other things for the strength of its rejection of the doctrine of personal immortality on the one hand, and its anxiety on the other hand to conserve religion in some fashion. The God to whom the twentieth century is to build its altars is a certain "triune Divine Ideal," a certain "enforced combination and mutual supplementing" of the "three august Divine Ones," known as the True, the Beautiful, and the Good. The latter volume has all the pathetic interest of a series of reflections and reasonings, often broken and incomplete, which let us into the secret workings of a trained scientific intellect and an open, receptive soul, and show us how the writer won his way back, step by step, from something like blank scepticism to a spiritual faith, which brought him at last into communion with the Christian Church. Both books deserve to be studied and pondered again, and yet again.

*The Life and Letters of Dean Church*⁴ will be perused by a wide

¹ Edited by W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price, 7s. 6d.

² Monism, as connecting Religion and Science, translated from the German by J. Gilchrist, M.A. London: Adam & Charles Black. Cr. 8vo, pp. 117. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

³ Edited by Charles Gore, M.A., Canon of Westminster. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. 184. Price, 4s. 6d.

⁴ Edited by his daughter, Mary C. Church. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. vii. 355. Price, 12s. 6d. net.

circle of readers. It has the advantage of a delicately written and appreciative preface by Dean Paget. But it has itself all the grace of a touching tribute of filial reverence. From beginning to end, too, it is full of interest. The letters are charming reading, not only by reason of their style, but for what they disclose of the lamented Dean's opinions on many men and many subjects. Newman, Pusey, Tait, Maurice, Stanley, Tyndall, Goldwin Smith, and others come before us in these vivid pages, sometimes in familiar ways, sometimes in unwonted attitudes, in novel lights, and as the subjects of unexpected criticisms or appreciations. After all the contributions which have been made of late years to our knowledge of the Oxford Movement, and even after all that Dean Church himself did for the elucidation of that remarkable movement by his own important volume on the subject, there are things in these letters, many of them nothing more than a few quiet sentences or incidental notes, which we should not willingly miss. They touch the springs of the movement hidden away in the feelings of some of the actors, in the cravings of others, and in the strange arrangements of circumstances. Above all, the book brings us close to one of the purest minds and most reverent spirits of our time, and shows us the secret of the deep and penetrating influence which was exerted by so modest and retiring a personality. It leaves us all the while with the sense that there is more to know of the Dean, or rather with the sense that his was a nature too rare and too unobtrusive to reveal itself to any one in all that it was.

Messrs Adam & Charles Black have reprinted in separate book-form the very weighty article on *Syriac Literature*¹ which the late Professor William Wright, of Cambridge, contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The pre-eminent value of Professor Wright's work is so well understood and thoroughly appreciated by all interested in the subjects on which he wrote, that it is needless to say more of this volume than that it is by the lamented scholar whose name it bears. Certain additions have been made to the original article, which add to the value of the book. In issuing the *History* in this form, the publishers do a service to students.

The *Story of the Nations* series includes now a large number of volumes, most of them of high merit. The volume on the *Crusades*² is one of the very best. It is the work of two distinct hands, Mr Kingsford having had to finish what Mr Archer was prevented by ill-health from completing. Mr Kingsford's task

¹ A Short History of Syriac Literature. Cr. 8vo, pp. 296. Price, 6s. net.

² By T. A. Archer and Charles Lethbridge Kingsford. London: T. Fisher Unwin. Large cr. 8vo, pp. xxx. 467. Price, 5s.

has been no easy one, but he has done it well. The result is an informing and very attractive book. The authors wisely limit themselves to the history of the Crusades proper, not going beyond the fall of Acre, and the events consequent on that. Hence the sub-title—*The Story of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*. The value of the book would be greatly increased if more were attempted in the way of estimating the internal conditions in which the Crusading movement had its deepest roots. But this is perhaps too much to expect from a study of this kind and these limits. The task which it takes up is certainly done with great success. The sketch of the external events and the memorable passages in the movement is powerfully drawn. The great personages are vividly depicted and carefully characterised. The history of the military orders, their laws, their strength and weakness, the good and the evil which were connected with them, is given in its broad outlines most lucidly. Great events like the fall of Jerusalem, are graphically described. Nor is the story confined entirely to these external things. A good idea is given us of the life of the people in these strange and stormy times. The closing chapter, which deals with the results of the Crusades deserves special notice. We know no book of moderate size that tells this wonderful story so well as Messrs Archer and Kingsford's admirable joint-composition.

The appropriate title of *Central Truths and Side Issues*¹ is given to a series of papers on great doctrinal themes, including the Incarnation, the Atonement, and the Resurrection of the Body. The volume is the work of a busy minister in a large city, where the demands on preacher and pastor are very heavy. The discussions show wide acquaintance with the literature of these great subjects, and are valuable as acute and well considered statements of the Confessional doctrine. One of the papers is devoted to an exegetical study of the first two verses of Hebrews vi., and suggests an interpretation of the phrase "doctrine of washings," which, though not convincing, deserves consideration. The papers on the Atonement are perhaps the best in the volume. They give a very clear exposition of the Evangelical view and an able criticism of the alternative or counter theories. There is nothing strained in these studies. All is carefully thought out and modestly put. The book deserves a good reception.

Under the title of *Deutero-graphs*² Canon Girdlestone gives the

¹ By Robert G. Balfour, D.D., Minister of Free North Church, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 238. Price, 3s. 6d.

² Arranged and annotated by Robert B. Girdlestone, M.A., Honorary Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. xxxi. 172. Price, 7s. 6d.

results of a study of duplicate passages in the Old Testament. The parallels in the historical books, especially the many sections in Samuel and Kings which have their correspondents in Chronicles, are examined with great care. The minor and more incidental parallels found in the Psalms and the Prophets to paragraphs in the historical books are also noticed. The details of the resemblances and differences are exhibited very clearly, critical and grammatical notes being added where they are most required. We are furnished with a very distinct and instructive view of the amount of matter which is common to the sections, and the variations of different kinds which characterise them. This helps us to understand the problem of the composition of the histories, the plan on which they were constructed, and the sources of their matter. Mr Girdlestone also gives a summary of the conclusions to which, in his judgment, the facts thus elicited point, as regards the state of the Hebrew text, the method of compilation, the authorities used, and the peculiarities of quotation. Among other things he finds that many differences which the critic is apt at first to regard as textual corruptions or various readings, are "probably deliberate dialectical or verbal changes." He discovers two hands at work in the composition of these historical narratives,—one which he terms A, and takes to represent a school rather than an individual, and another called B, which, whether the work of a school or an individual, certainly had A before it. As to the date of these sources or hands, he sees "no reason for bringing A down beyond the date of Jeremiah and Baruch," nor any necessity for "bringing B beyond the age of Nehemiah, if indeed it came so low." There are positions on which the critics have a good deal to say that the Canon does not take into account. But the book is an independent and painstaking study, well worth consideration, and opening up some fruitful lines of inquiry.

To Archdeacon Farrar's unwearied pen we owe a volume on *The Book of Daniel*,¹ which makes one of the latest and most interesting additions to the *Expositor's Bible*. It is written in the Archdeacon's best style. It is instructive and stimulating throughout, and answers in every way the idea of the series to which it belongs. It is most remarkable, however, for its frank and unhesitating acceptance of the critical position. The book opens with a brief but well-put statement of the evidence for and against the historical existence of the prophet. The language of the prophecy is next examined, and the main considerations of a linguistic or philological nature which bear upon the date of the writing are reviewed. The writing of the book, its style, the peculiarities of

¹ London : Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 334. Price, 7s. 6d.

the historic section, the general structure of the composition, the questions of internal evidence, canonicity, and the like, are all discussed in succession in the light of the results of the best historical, archæological, and literary criticism. The general result reached is, that in its present form the book belongs to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and that the first six chapters were "never meant to be regarded in any other light than that of moral and religious *Haggadoth*." The spiritual value which belongs to the book of Daniel, even when the utmost demands of criticism are conceded, is strongly asserted and largely illustrated.

Mr Walker's *Comprehensive Concordance to the Holy Scriptures*¹ follows the Authorised Version, and is constructed on the general plan of Cruden, but with certain important improvements. It gives some 50,000 references more than Cruden contains, it accents the proper names, and it adheres throughout to the alphabetical order. The type is clear, and the book altogether is easy to use. It is also remarkably cheap. Without going into all the details which are given in larger books of the kind, or attempting to pass beyond what is essential to a Concordance, it furnishes all that most readers really require, and will be a very welcome aid to many.

We have pleasure also in noticing new editions of Mr Seeley's *The Great Reconciliation and the Reign of Grace*,² and Dr T. Campbell Finlayson's *Biological Religion*³—an acute criticism of Professor Drummond's "Natural Law in the Spiritual World"; also Mr Worley's *The Catholic Revival of the Nineteenth Century*,⁴ a course of Lectures giving an admirably popular and in many respects most instructive account of the Oxford Movement in its precursors, its progress, and its results; a series of *Lecture-Sermons*⁵ in which Dean Stubbs unfolds with great power the Universal Empire of Christianity; vindicating for the Religion of Christ the supremacy in history, philosophy, law, art, ethics, politics, science, sociology, and poetry; a selection of very useful discourses by different preachers on the *Church of England's Duty to the People of England*⁶; and another similar selec-

¹ By Rev. J. B. R. Walker. Boston and Chicago Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society. Large 8vo, pp. 980. Price, \$2.00.

² London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. 306. Price, 3s. 6d.

³ London: James Clarke & Co. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 86. Price, 1s. 6d.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 152. Price, 5s.

⁵ Christus Imperator. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 215. Price, 6s.

⁶ The Church of the People. London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 230. Price, 3s. 6d.

tion of sermons by various preachers on *Religion in Common Life*.¹

Dr Erich Haupt of Halle makes an original contribution to Biblical Theology in his *Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu in den Synoptischen Evangelien*.² He begins with a statement on the importance which belongs to our Lord's words on the Last Things in the present position of theology, and on the principles applicable to the scientific exposition of the import of these words. The two principles which he holds to be essential are these—that the measure by which we estimate any particular saying of our Lord on these subjects can be no other than His religious consciousness as a whole, and that a critical analysis of the eschatological discourses must precede any attempt to interpret them. The critical analysis is given in detail in the first section, and then follows a chapter on the formal rules for an estimate of Christ's eschatological sayings. The points of contact with the Apocalyptic literature of the Jews are carefully noticed, the conclusion reached being that they are no proof of literary dependence. The relation of our Lord's teaching to the religious tradition of the Jews is also examined and rightly shown to amount to a formal connection, accompanied by a change in the ideas in the way of deepening and spiritualising them. Account being further taken of the figurative character of our Lord's sayings, the question of the meaning of these discourses is next faced. The whole subject of Christ's doctrine of the Last Things is brought in a remarkably clear and telling way under the two broad divisions of the *Completion of the Messianic Kingdom* and the *Completer* of that kingdom. The criticisms of the competing views of what Christ meant by the *Kingdom of God* are very acute. Of special interest are the sections in which Schnedermann, Schmoller, and J. Weiss are dealt with. We are entirely at one with what is so forcibly said there of the ineptitude of these laboured attempts to measure the teaching of our Lord by the standard of the popular Jewish ideas, and to prove that the "Kingdom of God" was to Him always an eschatological term. The question of His *Coming*, its meaning and its relation to the Judgment, is examined with much ability, and among other things the position is affirmed that this *Coming* is never combined with the Jewish catastrophe. The closing section sums up the results on the general question, dealing at the same time with the authenticity of Christ's words on the Last Things in the Synoptists, their relation to the fourth gospel and other kindred subjects. There are some things in which Dr

¹ London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 138. Price, 6s. 6d.

² Berlin: Reuter u. Reichardt. 8vo, pp. viii. 167. Price, M. 3.60.

Haupt is perhaps over subtle. He is certainly never dull, and his fine exegetical faculty makes itself felt all through the book. Many passages are set in a new light, and the interpretation of Christ's eschatological teaching as a whole is advanced by the suggestive treatment which it receives in this volume.

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Introduction to the Book of Isaiah.

By the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1895. Pp. xxxix. and 449. Price 24s.

THIS is in reality the work of more than half a life-time. For nearly thirty years Canon Cheyne has laboured to interpret the complex group of writings to which the name of Isaiah is prefixed. The first fruits of his industry was the pamphlet "Notes and Criticisms on the Hebrew text of Isaiah," published in 1868, followed in 1870 by a small octavo volume, embracing the whole of the prophecies, entitled "The Book of Isaiah chronologically arranged," and containing spirited and idiomatic translations, accompanied by brief scholarly notes. Here the dominant influence was that of Göttingen, where the young Oxford scholar had studied under the teaching of the renowned Semitist and exegete Ewald. Both these writings obtained immediate recognition in Germany, and a laudatory mention of them is inserted by Diestel in the preface to his Commentary on Isaiah (1872). Cheyne was then known as the almost solitary English representative of a new spirit and tendency in Old Testament studies.

A decennium follows of earnest scholarly work in the field of Hebrew studies, despite the interruptions occasioned by the cares of an Essex parish. In 1880 there appeared a new commentary on Isaiah in two volumes, with full annotations and rendering. The critical results are here made less prominent, but the rich store of archaeological material, which has always characterized Cheyne's work, is now greatly enlarged and becomes a fresh and welcome contribution to the interpretation of Isaiah. The charge is sometimes brought by conservative scholars against the more advanced Higher Critics that they are oblivious of, or depreciate the results of Assyriology. Of Wellhausen this was formerly true; but of Cheyne this could never have been said with any truth. His earliest and his latest work show that he has consistently taken pains to master all the best results of this important ancillary branch of study.

But we must turn to the article "Isaiah" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1881) in order to learn what were the critical results attained in 1870-1880. We there find a considerable modification of his critical estimate of Isa. xl.-lxvi. We are now referring to that last section of literature (lvi.-lxvi.) recently called by Duhm

"Trito-Isaiah." In 1881 Cheyne wrote:—"natural as the feeling against disintegration may be, the difficulties in the way of admitting the unity of chaps. xl.-lxvi. are insurmountable." It would not be out of place to register in brief his opinions at that date respecting the concluding chapters of the great Isaiah collection. Lvi. 1-8 he considers post-exilian (age of Nehemiah), also lviii., which resembles it in hortatory tone. Stress is laid on fasting; comp. Zech vii. 3; viii. 19: Joel ii. 12, 13. Moreover, he seemed disposed to regard lix. as post-exilian owing to its affinity with Proverbs, a favourite subject of study during the Exile. Lxiii. 1-6, with its eschatological and apocalyptic tone, Cheyne is strongly disposed to make post-exilian owing to its parallels with Joel and Malachi. Lxiii. 7—lxiv., with its thanksgiving, penitence, and supplication, is compared with Lamentations, but no opinion is given as to its date. On the other hand, lxv. and lxvi. proceed from one author, and have points of contact with Joel iii. 12-16. Accordingly it is placed by Cheyne "well on in the Persian period." On the other hand, lvi. 9—lvii. he is disposed (with Ewald and Bleek) to assign to a time of persecution in the reign of Manasseh. Such were the main critical results attained by Cheyne fourteen years ago on the last eleven chapters of Isaiah. It is obvious that he had even then advanced a considerable way towards the conclusions indicated in the volume before us. In 1891 two articles in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (July and October) show that the author had then attained to a definite position on problems which had in 1881 remained untouched, or had only received partial solution. Thus on lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12 (11) the author, after a careful survey (Oct. 1891, p. 104, foll.), arrives at the conclusion that this section of "liturgical poetry," furnishing numerous parallels with post-exilian Psalms, must be referred "to the last century of Persian rule, to the period when the doleful book of Ecclesiastes was written . . . which witnessed the cruel treatment of the Jews by Artaxerxes Ochus."

In order to do justice to our author we have thought it right to lay particular stress upon the preliminary stages of his work ("Vorarbeiten") which have prepared the way for the monument of massive erudition exhibited in these pages. No one can accuse him of undue haste in the formation of his judgments. And on this subject of the Trito-Isaiah the results have been matured through constant study not only of Isaianic literature, but also of the entire field of Old Testament writings (particularly *Prophetæ posteriores*, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Lamentations). Throughout all his work there has been evidence of patient investigation of the minutiae of language and of literary parallels. The results attained are rarely simple, for, as Prof. Cheyne has observed

with profound insight and truth, "Complication and not simplicity is the note of the questions and of the answers which constitute Old Testament criticism" (Proph. of Isaiah, ii., p. 228).

It is instructive in the light of this dictum to turn to Duhm's results on the same department (Trito-Isaiah) in his recent brilliant commentary. This ingenious writer appears to move more rapidly to his conclusions than his English contemporary. Amid the disparities of form and substance he sees but one author and historic standpoint in chapters lvi.—lxvi. With felicitous powers of generalization he sums up the post-exilic situation (preceding the rebuilding of the temple and the constitution of Ezra) with its internal disorganization, its heretic enemies, and the false brethren of the Jerusalemite community. Far different, and to the ordinary reader less attractive, is the exposition contained in Cheyne's "Introduction" (pp. xxxi. foll., p. 310 foll.), owing to its insistence on the complex features. The internal diversities of thought are now presented in stronger lights and shadows, while the specialities of style are duly enforced. But is it not most useful—indeed necessary—to have in our hands the results of the patient inductive method of the English scholar to place by the side of the rapid luminous generalizations of his brilliant German contemporary. In one respect, indeed, the Oxford scholar shows a decisive superiority. No one has been more vehemently attacked; no one has shown a more kindly courtesy to opponents. It would be impossible in all Cheyne's writings to find any approach to such bitterness in literary polemic as sometimes afflicts the reader of Duhm's pages.¹

It is in the region of the Proto-Isaiah that I find it most difficult to follow Canon Cheyne. And the criticism which I passed three years ago on his Bampton Lectures I am constrained to repeat upon his Introduction to Isaiah, viz.: that he *underrates the intellectual and spiritual possibilities of the great prophetic leaders of præ-exilic Israel*. The result of this tendency is an excessive restriction of the range of vision open to a remarkable creative personality like that of Isaiah. Surely it is time for us to consider well whether comparative tables of linguistic usage, founded on relatively small areas of literature, and those constantly redacted, may not conduct us to illusory results, unless the cumulative effect

¹ Read for example the scolding he gives to the great exegete Dillmann (p. 26 on Isaiah iii. 10, 11). And yet surely Duhm, with all his brilliance of suggestion, exposes himself to some severe retorts when he deliberately coins Hebrew words for Isaiah's use, when it is obvious that the invention (Hifil of קשר in Isa. viii. 13) is merely a textual "Nothbehelf" of the German critic. It deserves a stronger epithet than "a needlessly hard riddle" (Introduction, p. 41).

of the evidence be overwhelming (like the masterly array of facts presented on pp. 247—271). But when we have to examine brief sections, the utmost caution is needed lest the use of one or two words or phrases, which find an echo in late literature, should betray us into imposing restraints on the possibilities of genius, which, if consistently enforced, would reduce the history of human thought to a mechanical and uniform gradient. But the history of mankind, as we all know, has its Alpine peaks of personality to break the monotony of normal evolutionary progress. To a mind such as Isaiah possessed, succeeding to the great spiritual inheritance left to him by Amos, we may well attribute such universalism and imaginative forecasts as find expression in Isa. ii. 2-4; xix. 19-22; nor should the Messianic ideals portrayed in ix. 1-6 and xi. 1-9 occasion serious misgiving. These considerations would at least save us from such textual peddling as endeavours to manipulate the evidence by altering נָלָה into בָּלָה (Duhm on Isa. v. 13) as though Isaiah remained tied to one idea all his life, and that with Ephraim's doom straight before his eyes!

I find that this tendency to depreciate the intellectual and spiritual possessions of præ-exilian prophets increases with every successive work that comes from Canon Cheyne's pen. Thus the literary gem (Isa. ii. 2-4) which belongs to the collection of Micah's and of Isaiah's oracles in common, which in 1889 the author recognised as an "old prophecy" and is still regarded as such by Duhm, is now made post-exilian (a result previously announced in the *Jewish Chronicle*, July 1892).

Has the mind of the writer been unconsciously influenced by the exigencies of his theory of the Psalter as a literary product lying entirely outside the region of Israel's præ-exilian history (unless we except Ps. xviii.)? Whatever be the reason, he, like Cornill (Einleitung p. 139, comp. Z.A.T.W. 1884 p. 88) appears to have been converted by the arguments of Stade (Z.A.T.W. *ibid.* p. 292). It must be acknowledged that Cheyne's later position has the merit of logical consistency, for such passages as Isa. ii. 2-4; iv. 2-6¹ form inconvenient *fulcra* whereby the cogency of arguments for the late origin of Pss. xlvi., xlviii., and l. may be successfully overturned. In the volume before us the process of elimination has been carried still further, and the great Messianic passages ix. 1-6 and xi. 1-8 are surrendered, though with reluctance, accompanied by the confession that the weight of evidence is not very great (see pp. 44 foll. and also xxiv).

Let us consider ix. 1-6 first. Here neither language nor contents appear to me to lend any strong support to Hackmann's view,

¹ I admit that there is some force in the arguments against iv. 5, 6.

especially when we take into account the speciality of subject with which this lyrical passage deals. One of Prof. Cheyne's arguments for surrendering the Isaianic authorship is that neither Jeremiah, II. Isaiah, nor Zechariah refer to these great passages. Surely such a plea has no cogency. For (1) Care must be exercised in the use of an *argumentum ex silentio*, unless we are prepared for some very strange results; (2) II. Isaiah and Zechariah belonged to an age which had almost ceased to find its consolation in the idea of a Messianic king; (3) Cheyne has already stated that "x. 26 and xiv. 5 contain allusions to ix. 3, and xxxvii. 32 (end) is copied from ix. 6 end." In other words, later writers regarded ix. 1-6 as Isaiah's. Surely the following sentence (top of page 45), in its attempt to minimize the force of the author's own concession, contains some weak special pleading. For, according to Cheyne himself, xiv. 5 belongs to the close of the exile (a very probable date), while the non-Isaianic origin of x. 26 is by no means proved. For the coincidence with the P passages in Exod. xiv. is too slight to be significant, while another parallel, Judg. vii. 24, 25, belongs, according to Budde's analysis, to the older sections of the Gideon-narratives (Richter und Samuel pp. 112 foll. 124). When we turn to xi. 1-9 we find that the discussion (pp. 62-66) leads to very unsatisfactory results. There is certainly no lack of thoroughness in dealing with Hackmann's arguments. But what is the total impression left on the reader's mind after a perusal of Cheyne's carefully balanced analysis of both the formal and material side of Hackmann's evidence? Surely (1) that the linguistic phenomena present no decisively preponderating evidence for a late origin; (2) that "there seems to be some exaggeration" in Hackmann's treatment of the contents. Yet we are finally assured of this "seriously important result," that the question must be decided against the authorship of Isaiah both in ix. 1-6 and xi. 1-9.

Respecting xix. 18-25, I still find myself unable to agree with the author's later opinions. His views expressed in 1881 (Encycl. Britt.) appear to me sounder. It is quite possible that verse 18 may have been inserted in the interests of Onias, who founded the rival temple to Jehovah at Leontopolis. At the present time Cheyne regards the entire chapter 1-15 and 16-25 as non-Isaianic. On the linguistic side of the problem it is not easy to argue with a writer who contends that "Isaianic phrases are easily accounted for by imitation." On the general arguments for Isaianic authorship it is sufficient to refer to Kuenen's careful and well-balanced discussion (German edition, pp. 66 foll.) and to Dillmann's commentary. Both these critics rightly lay stress on the *massebah* in Egypt (verse 19) as strong evidence for a pre-Deuteronomic origin. There is no cogency in the citation of Mal. i. 11. (p. 101) where the

reference is to *pagan* cults, which no Jew could regard as forming a legitimate precedent for his own ritual practice (comp. Deut. iv. 19 and Kuenen, Hibbert Lectures, p. 181).

Chap. iii. 2, 3 is rejected as non-Isaianic, "because such long catalogues are not in Isaiah's manner." It may be observed that the author follows Duhm in rejecting the enumeration of the paraphernalia of feminine attire in verses 18-23. But we doubt whether this summary process is justifiable in verses 2, 3. Surely ii. 12-16, which is accepted as Isaianic, is a detailed enumeration which is fairly elaborate in character (comp. v. 27, 28; i. 11, 13). It is not easy to see why the redactional heading in i. 1 should refer to chaps. i.-xxxix. rather than to the entire book of Isaiah. The view of Duhm appears to me to be preferable, which assigns it to the collector of the oracles in i.-xii., to which the phrase "about Judah and Jerusalem" more especially applies. I see that Canon Cheyne seems disposed (pp. 4 and 17) to accept Winckler's identification of 'אד' in North Syria (mentioned in the Sendjirli inscription) with the *Jaudu* of the Nimrod insc. (Altoriental. Forsch. 1893, first essay), and to regard Azriau of Tiglath-Pileser's mutilated record as an Aramæan prince and not Uzziah of Judah. It should, however, be remembered that the results of Winckler's ingenious essay have not yet obtained general approval from Assyriological experts. Dr Schrader, at all events, remains unconvinced. In conclusion, I would express my satisfaction at Canon Cheyne's rejection of Staerk's theory of the late origin of the phrase אחרית הימים (pp. 11, 12, footnote). Also one final word of commendation as to the plan of this truly great and monumental work. In a prologue of a little more than twenty pages we obtain a lucid conspectus of the entire results. Then follow 385 pages heavily weighted with the minute details of criticism on each succeeding group of chapters. At the end of the work we have a very useful translation of all the oracles, short interpolations and redactional additions being omitted as a general rule.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

Comte, Mill, and Spencer : An Outline of Philosophy.

By John Watson, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Queen's College, Kingston, Canada ; Author of "Kant and his English Critics." Glasgow: Maclehose & Sons. 8vo, pp. vii. 302. Price, 6s. net.

THE first edition of "Kant and his English Critics" appeared in 1881. Readers of that acute and able book looked to Professor

Watson for more work of the same kind. They expected that he would give them some adequate account of the more recent development of Philosophy, or better still, that he would make some contribution of his own. For there could be no question of his ability. He could do some worthy work, if he would. The years passed, and Professor Watson kept silence, or the silence was broken only by the publication of his *Selections from Kant*, "The Philosophy of Kant, as contained in extracts from his own writings," a valuable book, but not the kind of work we had a right to expect from Professor Watson.

We gladly welcome, then, the present volume as an instalment. We expect something more in the near future. Meanwhile, we look at the gift we now receive, and we prize it as most valuable in itself, and relevant to the questions of the hour. Comte, Mill, and Spencer are three typical names, representative of different phases of a great movement in the world of contemporary thought. They hold in common a doctrine of the Relativity of Knowledge which in the long run seems to make all knowledge impossible, and they differ in their views as to psychology, as to the test of truth, and as to the elements which go to constitute knowledge and experience. Comte would limit us to ascertaining and recording the laws of phenomena, and would shut us out from all search after causes, and would place psychology in his *Index Expurgatorius*. Mill believes in psychology of a kind. Mill may be taken as the representative of the English empirical school, which follows in the footsteps of Locke, has a hatred of "innate ideas" and *à priori* truths, and reduces psychological questions to a process of natural history, or to a process which has taken place in the experience of the individual. In the philosophy of Spencer there are wider elements, and a recognition of truths and processes regarded as illegitimate by the other two. He recognises a Power within and beyond phenomena; he recognises that there are *à priori* truths for the individual, though these are still *à posteriori* to the race. The weakness of his system lies largely in what he has in common with Comte and Mill; but we shall follow Professor Watson in his criticism of these three typical thinkers.

Professor Watson begins with "The Problem of Philosophy." Having stated and explained the Aristotelian and Platonic definitions of Philosophy, he sets forth his own view of Philosophy and of its relation to the Sciences. The relation of Philosophy to Mathematics is the main subject of the first chapter, and Professor Watson has occasion to speak of Mill and Hume, and proves that Philosophy has to examine the principles assumed by such sciences as physics and chemistry. Then Philosophy is provisionally divided into (1) Philosophy of Nature, (2) Philosophy of Mind, (3) Philosophy of God.

The second chapter deals with the philosophy of Comte. The "subjective" and "objective" synthesis of Comte is thus explained: "Man must be content to gain such a limited knowledge of the world and of human life as will enable him to make use of nature for the perfecting of society." Readers of Kaftan will remember the striking resemblance between his view and that of Comte. Professor Watson notes the intellectual development and historical position of Comte, states his view of the three stages, and passes to the discussion of the main question of the Relativity of Knowledge as set forth by Comte. In brief and masterly fashion he criticises the theory, and manifests himself to be one of the keenest and most competent of philosophical critics.

The third and fourth chapters deal with the philosophy of Nature: the third deals mainly with Mill's view of Geometry, and the fourth with his view of Algebra. We quote from Professor Watson:—"It is not claimed that we have all knowledge, but only that what we know expresses the true nature of things. The progress of knowledge always has two sides: on the one hand it is an advance to a fuller apprehension of the particular aspects of existence, and, on the other hand, it is an advance to a better comprehension of the laws or relations of existence. We cannot have one without the other. The very idea of the progress of knowledge implies that as we advance we carry with us what we have already acquired. The course of science is not by discontinuous leaps; it is an evolution in which a principle already grasped is seen to involve a higher principle. But the higher principle does not destroy but only reinterprets the lower. Thus the principles of Mathematics are not abolished by physics or chemistry, but are accepted and shown to involve more concrete principles. Biology does not destroy physics and chemistry, but only shows that they involve wider principles." P. 42.

Having dealt with Geometry and Algebra as aspects of the philosophy of Nature, Professor Watson in the fifth and sixth chapters deals with the physical sciences and biology as further aspects of the philosophy of Nature. In these chapters, into which we cannot enter fully, there is much that deserves serious study. The four chapters form a great contribution towards a philosophy of Nature, and a solution of the three great problems of Nature. The chapter on Biological science contains many wise reflections and apt criticisms of the Darwinian hypothesis. In the following chapter—the Relations of Biology and Philosophy—we have one of the greatest contributions we know to the criticism of Darwinism. There are only twenty-two pages of it, but it contains more relevant remarks than we have found anywhere else.

The philosophy of Mind has only one chapter given to it, and deals

mainly with Mr Spencer. We shall give the following and no more. "The following propositions are maintained by Mr Spencer: (1st) We are conscious of an absolute distinction between subject and object, mind and matter. (2nd) The object is conceivable only as a complex of feelings or mental states; the subject only as a complex of movements. (3rd) The ultimate constituents of the subject as known are simple feelings, the ultimate constituents of the object as known are simple movements. (4th) There is an exact correspondence, but no connection, between the feelings of the subject and the movements of the object. (5th) In their real nature subject and object are identical, though we are unable to comprehend that identity. 'All which propositions,' to apply the famous views of Carlyle, 'I must modestly but peremptorily and irrevocably deny.' The ground on which I base that denial may be best understood by an examination of the first of these propositions, on which all the others depend." Pp. 159-60.

How Professor Watson deals with these propositions we have not space to say. But whoever delights in lucid thought and clear expression, in urgent argument and drastic criticism, and in profound reasoning clearly and adequately set forth, ought to read this chapter.

Even more important are the chapters on Moral Philosophy. The three chapters deal with the idea of Duty, the idea of Freedom, the idea of Rights, and both the methods and the results are of that kind which we now expect from men trained in Glasgow, and who have passed under the influence of Hegel. We do not say this in reproach, for we do not know in Ethics a higher or a truer influence. We are glad to think that there are many who have made themselves familiar with that method, and who look at Ethical problems from that point of view, for we in this country greatly needed something of the kind. Ethical speculation with us had so long ploughed the sand, and bore no fruit. We trust that many will study these chapters, and learn from a master something worth while.

We are somewhat disappointed with the concluding chapter, entitled "Philosophy of the Absolute." The discussion is too brief, and it falls below the level of the rest of the book. It is quite inadequate. It may be that Professor Watson had not space to give us an adequate treatment of the great subject of Religion and Art. If so, we trust he will speedily remedy that defect. Why should he not give us another book, and treat religion on the same scale as Nature and Morality have been treated by him? No one could deal adequately with the philosophy of Religion in fifteen pages. Yet even in this brief treatment there is something worthy. "The essence of the religious consciousness is the assurance that in

realising the higher life man is a fellow-worker with God, and that in so realising himself all things work together for good. If man cannot identify himself with God all his strivings are vain efforts to escape from his own limited individuality. If he cannot know God he can know nothing, because all his apparent knowledge must be infected with the illusion of his finitude; if he cannot identify his will with the will of God his goodness is from the absolute point of view a mere semblance. Hence the consciousness of the moral law cannot be separated from the consciousness of God without losing its power and authority. What gives absoluteness both to the individual consciousness and to the laws of society is the identity of both with the infinite perfection of God. It is true that neither involves a complete consciousness of all that is implicit in that perfection; but except in so far as man is conscious that in himself and others the divine is continually being realised, he has no ground for his faith in goodness. Ultimately, therefore, morality rests on religion."

JAMES IVERACH.

John Stuart Mill: A Study of his Philosophy.

By Charles Douglas, M.A., D.Sc., Lecturer in Moral Philosophy, and Assistant to the Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 274. Price 4s. 6d.

It is within the mark to say that the writer on philosophy who exerted the largest influence on contemporary thought was John Stuart Mill. Himself without a formal academic training, his writings became text-books in all our universities. In Logic, in Ethics, in Psychology, in Political Economy, and in other related subjects, he worked with zeal and energy, and to all of them he made contributions of lasting value. The time has come when a calm and reasoned estimate of the man, of his place in the history of English thought, and of the worth of his work, may well be made. It is no easy task. Even to read the writings of Mill is no slight undertaking. For his works are numerous and varied, and the study of them demands sustained attention. To estimate his place and work rightly requires a knowledge of the trend of philosophical study in England, at least from the time of Locke, of the problem of philosophy as it was set to Mill by his predecessors, and by his training, and a critical power which can disengage the elements which he received from his predecessors from those he himself added to the system which constitutes his contribution to philosophy.

Dr Douglas is a competent and sympathetic critic, as well as a patient and careful expositor. He seems to have studied all that Mill has written, to have compared one writing with another with a view to find the central thought of Mill, or to find whether there is a central thought, or whether Mill had not changed his view and had not brought elements into his system which were inconsistent with the presuppositions from which he started. In short, this book may be described as "an attempt to discover the distinctive ways of thinking to which his philosophy owes its special interest." Mill starts with what may be called the common inheritance of British thinkers—a tendency to think of things as isolated from one another, and to treat the relations in which we think them as fictions, which do not belong to them as they really are. The tendency to see in the relation of cause and effect only a succession of subjective states, and to make knowledge only a series of mental changes, led him inevitably to a fictitious isolation of the subject from the object of knowledge, which has important consequences in every department of his philosophic work. This, however, is not the whole of his philosophy. Perhaps the most interesting and important part of Dr Douglas' book is that part in which he traces the appearance of elements in Mill's philosophy which belong to himself. These elements are in his system, and they form a source of perplexity to the critic and expositor of Mill. For Mill never seemed to have revised the fundamental assumptions he had taken over from his predecessors, even when he had supplemented them by other views which were really inconsistent with them.

The first chapter of the book deals with what Dr Douglas calls "isolation." In it we have a lucid description of Mill's theory of knowledge. The derivation of his individualistic theory of knowledge is traced back to Locke, Berkeley, and Hume; its significance in the development of English philosophy is shown; its influence on Mill is depicted; and its effect on his view of man's relation to the world and on his conception of logic is briefly yet vividly set forth. Then we pass to Mill's theory of experience. Mill is not consistently individualistic. His theories of definition and inference are influenced by his limitation of knowledge to states of consciousness, but he seems to forget this limitation when he sets forth logic as the science of evidence and truth, and consequently departs from the view which limits logic to the science dealing with mere mental states, and makes it a science of reality. If logic is a science that can deal with reality, clearly there must be some way of passing from mere mental states to the reality of an objective world. The difficulty is, how on Mill's system are we to reach objective reality? How are we to think of causality? Are we to think of it, with Hume, as the result of custom, as merely subjective, or are we

to think of it as objectively real, as working real changes in a real world, changes which may be known by us as real? Mill seems to hold both views. Indeed, this seems to be the view held in common by all the disciples of Hume. It is interesting to find Professor Huxley, for example, at one moment insisting on universality and reality of causation as the one article of the creed of a scientific man, and at the next moment insisting with equal vehemence on Hume's maxim that belief in causation is the outcome of mere habit. Now they cannot have it both ways. If the reality of causation is to be vindicated, some way of transcending Hume must be found.

Dr Douglas, with characteristic generosity, seeks to reduce the inconsistency of Mill to a minimum, but not with much success. After all his endeavour, the two fundamental assumptions of Mill lie side by side, not only unreconciled, but also, seemingly, without a thought on the part of Mill that a reconciliation was required. True, the most valuable part of Mill's contribution to human knowledge consists in those elements which he did not receive from his predecessors. But his contribution would have been more valuable had he set himself to revise his fundamental assumptions, and had he made them consistent with themselves, and with the results to which he had come in the course of his investigations.

We should like to dwell on the successive chapters of the volume. It would be of interest to dwell on the exposition and criticism of Mill's Hedonism, on his relation to Positivism, on his doctrine of Determinism, and of Freedom, on his Ethical Hedonism, on his view of the Worth of Conduct, and finally on the account given here of Mill's view of Nature and Spirit. But we have nearly reached our limits. We must call attention to the chapter on "The Worth of Conduct." It is an important bit of work. Dr Douglas gathers into one all that Mill has written on Conduct, sets forth Mill's view with precision, indicates its merits and defects, and shows how great is the advance made by Mill on the work of previous thinkers of the same school. We may quote the passage descriptive of the qualification of Hedonism made by Mill: "In regarding the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number' as the end which should determine conduct he makes the moral good of the individual agent consist not in the enjoyment but in the production of pleasure; and, however much he may be disposed to believe in the actual coincidence of private and general happiness, he does not hesitate, in case of conflict, to make the common good the criterion of conduct. This, however, is to make the moral good of the individual consist, not in a state of feeling, but in a kind of activity or personal character. Similarly, the distinction among pleasures depends upon their relation to the

objective life of character ; and by this distinction, and by the non-hedonistic preference of higher to lower pleasures, the good, whether of single individuals or of the greatest number, is made to consist not in pleasure or satisfaction but in qualities of personal life. This conception of the moral end derives no support from the doctrine that only pleasure is desired ; it may rather be said to be inconsistent with that doctrine, and to depend for its legitimacy upon a less abstract notion of desire. The far-reaching qualification of hedonism, which is conveyed in making the moral end for individuals a common good, and in establishing qualitative differences among pleasures, is fatal also to that logical use of the hedonistic principle, as a moral calculus, which largely determined Mill's belief in its scientific value. If moral good depends upon character, and if their relation to character determines the worth of pleasures themselves, then the detail of the moral life cannot be regulated by mere calculation of pleasant feelings in the abstract."

JAMES IVERACH.

Leib und Seele bei Fechner und Lotze.

Von Dr Theodor Simon. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 118. Price, M.2.40.

THIS book is a clear and able treatment of the relation of body and soul, as that relation has been set forth by Fechner and Lotze. We have first a statement of the question in the introductory part, then an exposition of the solution of the problem as set forth by Lotze and by Fechner. The exposition is remarkably full and clear, and it is a great gain to have so good an account of the systems of these thinkers in so short a space. Dr Simon then points out what elements they have in common. Both believe in the unity of the Ground of the world, both are believers in God, and both believe that the "Real is the Spiritual." Dr Simon gives us an account of the differences between them. (1) From the point of view of Anatomy and Physiology, (a) as regards the seat of the soul, (b) as regards the union of the activities of the soul with the body. (2) From the point of view of Metaphysics. He shows us how Fechner and Lotze conceive (1) of the Unity of the soul over against the manifoldness of space, (2) of the Unity of the soul in the interchange of time. It is a most clear and interesting discussion, based in a thorough knowledge of the numerous writings of these distinguished men? We have, finally, a chapter which shows that Dr Simon can not

only clearly summarize the methods and results of other thinkers, but he can maintain his independence, think for himself, criticise, and work his way to a clear apprehension of the problems and their solution. There is a vast amount of thought and learning in this little book.

JAMES IVERACH.

The Messiah of the Gospels.

By Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D., Edward Robinson Professor of Biblical Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. xv. 337. Price 6s. 6d.

THIS work is the second of a series of three volumes on the Messianic Ideal, projected by the author, of which the first, on *Messianic Prophecy*, appeared in 1886. While having for its main theme the Messiah of the Gospels, it sketches in an introductory chapter the Messianic idea in pre-Christian Judaism, which is gathered chiefly from three sources: the Book of Enoch, the Psalter of Solomon, and the Hellenistic Book of Wisdom. Before coming to his main topic, the author deals in a second chapter with what he calls the Messianic idea of the *Forerunners of Jesus*, including under that head not only John the Baptist, but the persons brought on the scene in the two first chapters of *Luke*: Zacharias, Elizabeth, Mary, Simeon, and apparently even the angels spoken of in the story; for their messages of annunciation are given along with the songs of Zacharias, Mary and Simeon as part of the relative material. It is noticeable that the *Annunciations*, as well as the *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc Dimittis*, are all alike regarded as poems. With reference to all Dr Briggs remarks: "These songs, which have been selected for use in the Gospel of Luke, doubtless represent reflection upon these events by Christian poets who put in the mouths of the angels the mothers and the fathers, the poems which they composed." The remark may seem to imperil the historicity of the story, but the writer adds: "The inspired author of the Gospel vouches for their propriety and for their essential conformity to truth and fact." In each case the gist of the song is given, then a kind of poetic version, then a comment. This method—gist, text, comment—is followed throughout the book. Dr Briggs finds in the songs of the Forerunners a Christology earlier and less developed than those of the Gospel of John, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Epistle to the Colossians; not going beyond the Paulinism of the Epistles to the Corinthians, and implying nothing more than the sending or birth taught by the Epistles to the Galatians and Romans.

The Messianic conceptions of the Gospels are ascertained by a separate study of each gospel, after which the total idea thus gathered is compared with Old Testament predictions in order to ascertain how far they correspond. Mark, as the simplest and earliest, is taken up first. All the passages bearing on the subject are carefully gone over, quoted and commented on—some of the most important of the comments taking the form of footnotes. Among the latter is a lengthy notice of the opinions of Jülicher and Spitta on the question whether Jesus can be said to have instituted the sacrament of the Supper as an ordinance to be observed continuously. The author seems inclined to relegate the "institution" proper to the post-resurrection period, and to suppose that "the risen Lord commanded the perpetual observance of the holy supper just as he gave the apostles their commission to preach and baptize." He follows up the discussion of the Messianic texts in Mark by a chapter on "the Apocalypse of Jesus," contained in Mark xiii. and parallels. This chapter contains copious references to the literature of this difficult subject, and endeavours to grapple with the knotty questions involved. How far successfully is a point on which opinion will differ. For myself I cannot say that the treatment is altogether convincing or satisfactory. Dr Briggs thinks it clear that in Mark xiii. 5-8, referring to false Messiahs, Jesus has chiefly in mind his *παρουσία* and not the destruction of the city and temple. This is by no means clear to me. The "Apocalypse" arose out of the conversation about the destruction of the temple, and it is most natural to suppose that the main subject of discourse was the approaching crisis of the Jewish people, not the "Second Coming" or the end of the world.

In a work on the Messianic element in the Gospels many points of doubtful interpretation inevitably come up, and it is no valid objection to a book that it contains exegetical views to which one feels inclined to demur. In any views of this sort expressed by Dr Briggs, he follows good authorities, such as Weiss, Wendt, or Bayschlag. One may be inclined to think that he follows authorities too much, and does not sufficiently exercise his own judgment. Be that as it may, there is one department in which Dr Briggs owns no master, but follows his own course. He seems disposed to find *poetry* everywhere, often where most have found only plain prose; e.g., in the directions given by the Lord Jesus to his disciples in connection with the *Galilean mission*. He even uses the hypothesis of poetic form as a canon in criticism. He remarks, e.g., on the words "save a staff only," Mark vi. 8: "This clause is doubtless original. Matthew x. 10 gives a reverse statement. In Luke v. 3 the staff is prohibited and begins the list of prohibited objects. The statement of Mark comes from the original Mark; those of

Matthew and Luke from the *Logia*, but in an incorrect form, *because the words of Mark give a true line of poetry appropriate in this place—the words in Matthew and Luke mar the line of poetry to which they are attached.*” I do not feel competent to appreciate the value of such criticism, of which various examples occur in the volume.

In the course of the work the author touches upon some important and burning theological questions, *e.g.*, *Baptismal Regeneration* and *the Middle State*. The former topic comes up in connection with John iii. 5. Dr Briggs distinguishes two kinds of regeneration—one by water, and one by the Spirit. “Regeneration by water admits to the external organisation of the visible kingdom. Regeneration by the spirit admits to the spiritual kingdom itself.” This double use of the term does not seem conducive to clear thinking on the subject. “Regeneration by water” is for my mind merely a combination of words without any corresponding thought. In these days it is desirable to avoid vague phrases in connection with sacramentarian controversies, and to take up a position that is unmistakeable and does not wear the aspect of being on both sides of a vital question. Dr Briggs, I am sure, has no intention of “straddling the fence,” but a certain mystic element is traceable in his sacramental references, with which, with all due respect, I cannot personally sympathise.

In summing up the Messianic doctrine of the Gospels as compared with Old Testament prophecy, Dr Briggs finds that of the eleven Messianic ideals in the prophetic writings, only a single one of them, the suffering prophet, was entirely fulfilled by the earthly life of Jesus. Of the remaining ten some were fulfilled only in part, others not at all; the full realisation in both cases being postponed to the exaltation state. “The vast majority of the predictions of the Old Testament prophets and the great mass of their ideals were taken up by Jesus into his predictive prophecy and projected into the future.” On this account it is held to be the reverse of surprising that the Jews of our Lord’s day were so slow to accept him as the Messiah.

With whatever disputable matter it may be weighted, this volume is a scholarly, painstaking, and instructive study of an interesting and vitally important subject.

Nothing has interested me more in the work than its dedication to one who has been the victim of recent ecclesiastical proceedings in connection with the modern critical movement, Henry Preserved Smith, D.D., “true scholar, faithful friend, and brave companion in holy warfare.”

A. B. BRUCE.

The Book of Ezekiel.

By the Rev. John Skinner, M.A. The Expositor's Bible. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1895. Cr. 8vo, pp. 499. Price 7s. 6d.

STUDENTS of the Bible are under a deep obligation to Professor Skinner for his exposition of Ezekiel. The value and comfort of his guidance will be most fully appreciated by those who have themselves tried to explore the depths of this master of visions. In spite of the difficulties of the subject, a lucid style and clear consecutive thinking make the book eminently readable. In Professor Skinner's hands even the obscure and complicated descriptions of the Chariot (i.) and the Temple (xl.-xlii.) attain something like simplicity and vividness, and yield a reasonable and edifying symbolism. For instance, three conspicuous ruling principles in the design of the Temple, "separation, gradation, and symmetry . . . symbolise three aspects of the one great idea of holiness" (p. 413). One could have wished that the careful description of the ground plan of the Temple had been illustrated by a diagram; it is hollow mockery to bid the English reader "see the plan in Benzinger, *Archäologie*."

Professor Skinner says in his preface "the book has no pretensions to rank as a contribution to Old Testament scholarship." Nevertheless, this disclaimer will prepare the judicious reader for the discovery that this volume is pre-eminent in the Expositor's Bible for its careful and thorough scholarship. The familiar and wide acquaintance with the best work on the Old Testament, which has led Professor Skinner to form a high ideal of scholarship, enables him to contribute without making pretensions. His constant and unflinching mastery of the subject in all its bearings and relations enables our author to move with a quiet ease, which may possibly tempt his readers to overlook the difficulties that have been grappled with and overcome. We do not forget the obligations to Dr Davidson, which are freely and emphatically acknowledged—one could wish that the treasures embalmed in the Cambridge Bible Ezekiel could be further utilised by Dr Davidson for a commentary on the Hebrew text—but the task set Professor Skinner made peculiar claims upon his resources, and these have been fully met. One striking feature of his exposition is its remarkable fidelity to the standpoint of Ezekiel and his age, and the success with which he avoids the tendency to interpret the Old Testament according to the presuppositions of modern dogmatics. Such fidelity is the more valuable, because—according to a remark which Professor Skinner quotes and endorses—"Ezekiel is the

first dogmatic theologian." Naturally, therefore, an exposition of Ezekiel deals largely and formally with Old Testament theology.

Partly following Dr Davidson, our author does much to elucidate the doctrine of prophecy. In this connection we may note with satisfaction that Professor Skinner rejects Klostermann's attempt to explain the prophet's liability to ecstatic visions by the hypothesis that for seven years Ezekiel laboured under serious nervous disorders. This theory seems to have been adopted from apologetic motives, but as Professor Skinner says, "In the hands of Klostermann and Orelli the hypothesis assumes a stupendous miracle; but it is obvious that a critic of another school might readily 'wear his rue with a difference,' and treat the whole of Ezekiel's prophetic experiences as hallucinations of a deranged intellect."

Professor Skinner lays stress on Ezekiel's "serious and profound sense of pastoral responsibility," and the truth which is its modern counterpart, "that the salvation of men and women is the supreme end which the minister of Christ is to set before him, and that to which all other instruction is subordinated." We would also call special attention to the exposition (pp. 333-341, 361, 362) of xxxvi. 16-38, in which, following Dr Davidson, Professor Skinner shows that, according to Ezekiel, repentance is the consequence, and not the antecedent condition of forgiveness. Repentance is not the result of punishment, but with Ezekiel, as with St Paul (Rom. ii. 4), "the effect of the goodness of God will be to lead them to repentance."

It is scarcely necessary to say that in critical matters Professor Skinner moves along modern lines; he has some very compact and suggestive paragraphs on the relation of the Book of Ezekiel to Pentateuchal criticism, showing how disastrous traditional views on Leviticus would be to the value and authority of Ezekiel. But this volume is itself thoroughly constructive, and the reader cannot fail to be struck with the great positive gain for evangelical truth, which is obtained by a fearless and candid application of the principles of modern scholarship to the interpretation of the Old Testament. We may quote, in conclusion, some sentences worthy of careful pondering in these days when the Social Gospel is so vigorously preached. In reference to Ezekiel's river which flows from the temple to reclaim the Judæan desert and purify the Dead Sea, Professor Skinner writes: "Nowadays we are sometimes reminded that the Dead Sea must be drained before the gospel can have a fair chance of influencing human lives, and there may be much wisdom in the suggestion. . . . But the true spirit of Christianity can neither be confined to the watercourses of religious habit, nor wait for the schemes of the social reformer. . . . Ezekiel . . . believed in the possibility of reclaiming the waste places of his

country for the Kingdom of God. When Christians are united in like faith in the power of Christ and the abiding presence of His Spirit, we may expect to see times of refreshing from the presence of God, and the whole earth filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."

W. H. BENNETT.

Die Quellen der Apostelgeschichte.

Von Johannes Jüngst. Gotha: Perthes. 8vo, pp. 226. Price, M.4.

IN recent years the attention of New Testament critics has been somewhat withdrawn from the Synoptic problem and concentrated on the Book of Acts and the Apocalypse. These books afford an inviting field for that kind of analysis and partition among various sources, which has been so vigorously exercised upon the Hexateuch. It is a legitimate exercise of criticism, having for its aim the attainment of more accurate knowledge of the composition of our New Testament books. And even when it fails to reach conclusions which commend themselves as quite incontestable, it sheds so much light upon peculiarities of language and upon the relation of the various parts of the book under consideration, and it so thoroughly awakens attention and demands feasible solution of difficulties which previously have been rather evaded than solved, that every effort in this department of criticism must be welcome. It is also a process which calls for so much scholarship, patience, acuteness, and judgment that, when seriously undertaken, it should receive recognition. And it may at once be said that Herr Jüngst, although not infallible, possesses the qualities which inspire confidence in a critic, and that no one can follow him through his analysis without receiving an excellent lesson in criticism, and without gaining much valuable insight into the Book of Acts.

Herr Jüngst divides his work into three parts. The first of these occupies thirteen pages, and presents a brief sketch of the search for the sources of *Acts* up to the present time. The second part forms the body of the volume, and consists of a careful analysis of each section of the book with a view to the discovery of repetitions, ill-fitted connections, unusual expressions, contradictions, and, in short, any marks which betray that the writer has used more than one source of information. The third part occupies thirty pages, and presents the results of the investigation, describing with some fulness the characteristics of the sources which have been discovered, and concluding with a table, by the help of which it can be seen

at a glance to what hand each verse of the book is due. The whole is written with conciseness and lucidity, and in a serious and dispassionate spirit.

Some of the foremost of recent critics despair of ascertaining with any completeness the sources of the narrative of Acts. Although persuaded that the writer has made use of written sources, they think he has so freely adapted his material to the requirements of his book, that it is now impossible thoroughly to sift source from source, or source from redaction. Weizsäcker, *e.g.*, says (E. Tr. i. p. 14): "If he used a source, it cannot be indicated in his text. The narrative is too much of a piece, and too smooth for that." This position, at anyrate so far as regards the earlier parts of the book, is held by Holtzmann, Pfeiderer, and Beyschlag. On the other hand there have always been, since Schleiermacher's time, critics who not only believed in the possibility of dissecting the narrative into its original component parts, but have actually attempted the dissection. Some of these attempts have, indeed, been merely conjectures or suggestions, not based upon any close examination of the text. Thus Schleiermacher suggested that the book was made up of scraps of local tradition—an idea which, as Jüngst points out, takes no account of the unity of style in various parts of the book, nor of the relation of the speeches to one another. Biographies of Peter, Paul, and Barnabas have been supposed, and a number of other documents. When greater attention began to be paid to the language there was, except in Van Manen and Clemen, a return to simpler views. Feine was satisfied with two sources: Spitta found that two-thirds of the book, including the "We-passages," were from the hand of Luke, and that a Jewish Christian document, containing scarcely any speeches, and admitting much more of popular tradition, appears to have been used, not only in the early chapters, but throughout. Jüngst makes no mention of the theory of Blass—whose recent commentary affords so much help from the linguistic side—although he seems to have published subsequently. Blass suggests that Luke may have derived his information regarding the early history of the Church in Jerusalem from Mark, who lived there, and who was connected both with Peter and with Barnabas. Whether Mark had put in writing what he knew is not so easily determined: but the probability is that he had.

The result reached by Jüngst himself is that the *Acts of the Apostles* have been composed essentially out of two sources, of which the one (A) embraces the "We-passages," and extends through the entire work, but has admitted in the second half considerable interpolations at the hand of the Redactor. In the first twelve chapters the Redactor (R) has used the so-called "ebionite" source made use of in the Gospel (B), but has dislocated its chronological order

to adapt it to A. This view has certainly the merit of simplicity. The difficulty is that he does not allow the final revision to be ascribed to Luke. To this companion of Paul's he refers A inclusive of the "We-passages"; R, the final Redactor, really the composer of the book, is brought down to the period between 110 and 125 A.D. He was certainly a bold Redactor who, at that date, should not only definitely link his book to the Gospel by referring to it as "the former" treatise, but should address it to a dead and unknown Theophilus. The proofs of this late date advanced by Jüngst must be pronounced entirely insufficient. They consist mainly of those passages in the book which refer to the wide extension of the proclamation of the Gospel—as in xiii. 49, xix. 10. But these references are no stronger than similar allusions which occur in the epistles of Paul, and certainly cannot be accepted as evidence of late date.

It may be taken for granted that the author of the Book of Acts made use of documentary sources, and was not particularly anxious to conceal this by skilful editing. Dislocations of the narrative, repetitions in the same or very slightly altered form, and other "infallible proofs," put this beyond question. It is enough to refer to c. v. 12b-14, c. ii. 41-47, cp. c. v. 32-35. Let any one consider how ii. 41, in which it is said that 3000 souls had been added to the Church, is related to v. 43, in which it is said that they were all in one place; or let him consider the relation between the statement of ii. 43, that many wonders and signs were done by the Apostles, and the account given in c. iii. of the *first* miracle, and he will conclude that this book was not written freely from information held in the mind of the writer, but that he was endeavouring to embody as much as he could of the information which lay before him in documentary sources. A very simple proof of this may be drawn from the 16th chapter, where in the first verse *Δύστροα* is treated as a feminine singular, while in the second verse it is considered to be a neuter plural. The natural inference certainly is that here Luke was not writing directly from his own knowledge, but was using other sources. And if in *Acts* Luke followed the same method as he tells us he used in the Gospel, then the probability is that he used all the sources he could lay hands on.

But, accepting this use of sources, the difficulty is to ascribe each portion of the book to its original source. Plainly the hinge of Jüngst's contention is his proof that R differs from A. In other words, the point he must make good is that Luke is accountable for the narrative used especially in the latter half of the book (A), but not for the revision of the whole. Now it is significant that Jüngst himself points out that the revision of the second half of *Acts* is not so careful as that which has been bestowed upon the first part: that is to say, he admits that it is more difficult to discriminate between

the hand of the Reviser and the hand of A than between R and B. ["Im ganzen lässt sich wohl behaupten, dass die Sorgfalt der Bearbeitung im zweiten Teil von Acta bedeutend nachgelassen hat."] It is in this discrimination of R as distinct from A that he differs from Blass, and we should therefore expect to find him especially strong in this part of his treatment of the subject. But it cannot be said that he has made out this part of his case.

The analysis of the first part of the book is considerably marred by the characteristic vice of German scholarship—pedantry, the inability to imagine that any writer should not adhere rigidly to the rules of grammar and the laws of logic. Thus Herr Jüngst damages his case by insisting upon contradictions which exist only in appearance and when judged by an absolutely inflexible rule, as when he finds that Bethany and Olivet could not, by one and the same person, be alluded to as the scene of the Ascension. It is difficult to understand why he should so confidently affirm that xvi. 6 is an addition, and that "Asia" in this verse is not the Roman province, and therefore contradicts the usage and also xviii. 23. This is the reasoning of a counsel who has a case to make out, not of a judicial critic. And frequent instances of this impart a feeling of uncertainty regarding his conclusions. No doubt he does make out that the narrative of the second portion of *Acts* is not entirely homogeneous, has not been written at first hand by the Author of the "We-passages." But this does not determine his point. It is quite possible that Luke himself may have interpolated his own original narrative or journal by accounts which he received from oral or written sources before he wrote, or while he was writing, the Book of Acts.

Jüngst characterises the style of R as distinguished from that of A and B. It is a good Greek style, not picturesque or graphic, yet embellishing and harmonizing the original sources. He also remarks that the Redactor, when he finds a happy or striking phrase in one of his sources, is apt to use it in the revision of the other: a trait of R which has a suspicious appearance of having been made to order. In the substance of what R contributes, the presentation of Paul is especially worthy of note; for this, he thinks, is due to the need of the time at which R flourished for a conciliatory view of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

Herr Jüngst's volume is small, but it is full of matter, and can only be disposed of by carefully following him in all his analysis and criticism. No future investigator of the problem of the composition of *Acts* can afford to neglect his treatment of the book; and whether we agree or not with his conclusions, we are grateful for the material and the method which his compact volume furnishes.

MARCUS DODS.

Die Einheitlichkeit der Paulinischen Briefe an der Hand der bisher mit Bezug auf die aufgestellten Interpolations-und-Compilationshypothesen geprüft.

Von Lic. Dr Carl Clemen, Privatdocent an der Universität Halle-Wittenberg (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.) 8vo, pp. 184. Price, M.4.80.

THE possibility that the Pauline epistles may have admitted interpolations from the hand of revisers, or may have received additions at the instance of the original writer, or may have been made up into their present form by combining letters or fragments originally separate, cannot well be denied. And yet, when admitted, this possibility opens an alarmingly wide door to conjectural emendations and unbridled criticism. We know so little of the first fortunes of the letters which churches or individuals received, and so little understand the feelings with which they would originally be regarded, or the use which might be made of them either by friends or enemies, that it is impossible, *à priori*, to deny that they may have been tampered with, and may not now exist in the form in which they came from their writer's hand. They were not at once put into wide circulation, nor were they regularly read even by the churches to which they were addressed. They were written on frail papyrus, and in the course of years would be reproduced. Copyists might not be absolutely infallible: words, sentences, possibly loose pages, might be misplaced. In profane literature there are many instances of the revisal of books either by their authors or by others. Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides revised and retouched their own plays; the great orators issued differing editions of their speeches, and it is a small part of extant classical literature which can claim to have been exempt from the "emendations" and reconstructions of ancient editors. It is also known that in those times as now the writer sometimes added a sentence on the margin or interlined it.

It is the task of criticism to discover how far these normal hazards of ancient literature attach to the Pauline letters, and to what extent these most precious relics of antiquity have been affected by them. The possibility of referring a letter to two hands or to two different occasions presents so easy a means of accounting for all apparent contradictions and inconsistencies, and so ready an instrument for getting rid of all that does not approve itself to the often very limited apprehension of the critic, that its enthusiastic adoption by a certain school is not surprising. When the *Verisimilia* of Pierson and Naber appeared in 1886, few who read the

book took it seriously, and still fewer thought it worth while to reply. The analysis of the epistles into their supposed original parts and the allotment of paragraphs, verses, and clauses to their respective authors were there carried out with an astonishing self-confidence, and with an extravagance which nullified the effect. But, in Holland especially, the work begun by Marcion and revived by these modern critics has been diligently pursued by Baljon, Bruins, Cramer, Van Manen, Michelsen, Rovers, Van de Sande Bakhuyzen, and Straatman. In Germany, Steck and Völter represent the same tendency. Clemen, while he recognises that much of this criticism has been arbitrary and futile, and while he does not scruple to condemn many of the findings of the *Verisimilia* as "not merely nonsensical, but even insane," is yet of opinion that there is room for investigation, and that the whole truth about the relation of our received form of the Pauline letters to the original is not yet ascertained. While, therefore, he has on the one hand aimed at collecting all the opinions which have been published regarding the integrity of the Epistles, so that his volume may furnish a book of reference for friend and foe alike, he has, on the other hand, aimed at an independent sifting of the entire material already accumulated, and at a positive ascertainment of what is to be believed on this subject.

Clemen is himself entirely unfettered in his criticism, and, while as compared with the Dutch school he may be termed conservative, he reaches some conclusions which need revisal. First and Second Thessalonians and Philemon, he believes, have come down to us intact [durchaus einheitlich]. Galatians and Colossians are practically as they came from the hand of Paul. In Col. i. 18-20 we have, indeed, an addition by a redactor; and in Gal. iii. 18 we have the gloss of a stupid copyist. Also in Gal. vi. 3-5 and 6, we have two separate marginal notes by Paul himself. This view, which has its merits, he buttresses by the assertion that in the 11th v. Paul refers to these marginal notes in the words: "See with how large letters I have written unto you with mine own hand." A similar marginal note from the hand of Paul himself he finds in Rom. ii. 14. On the usual grounds he considers Rom. xvi. 1-20 to have been originally addressed to Ephesus. In our two Epistles to the Corinthians he finds five epistles, either in whole or in part, and so pieced together or woven into one, that the critic who disintegrates the present form and confidently allots the *disjecta membra* to their various original bodies must feel that he has done a great day's work, and thrown Cuvier, Owen, and Huxley completely into the shade.

The Epistle to the Philippians was the first to have its integrity called in question. Two hundred years ago Le Moynes suggested

that it was a combination of two letters, and this opinion is still held ; and, among others, by our present author. He is of opinion that the passages ii. 19-24 and iii. 2-4 are in their present connection irrelevant, and that they dislocate the sequence of the Epistle. They must therefore, he says, be disengaged from their present connection and be referred to an earlier Pauline letter to the Philippians. Ephesians is bodily dismissed ; and the Pastoral Epistles are referred to several hands not exclusive of Paul's.

On the whole, the small volume is stimulating and instructive ; and its author deserves the thanks of students of the New Testament for dealing with an important and difficult department of criticism with industry, scholarship, and patience, and in a serious spirit.

MARCUS DODS.

Grammaire grecque du Nouveau Testament.

Par Ernest Combe. Lausanne. 8vo, pp. 189.

THE Protestant Professor of Exegesis at Lausanne gives us in this handy and beautifully printed little book an introduction to Greek Testament study, which will no doubt be largely used in France. It is exceedingly clear and accurate, and in its small compass contrives to include a great deal. The accidence is given as far as the New Testament student requires it, and short syntax notes are supplied *pari passu*, that alone appearing which is really wanted for translation. A concluding chapter contains a well-written description of the New Testament Greek, and a plea for its scientific study. Hebrew and Aramaic are rather liberally quoted, but the beginner can ignore the superfluity without loss. Tables of passages referred to and of Greek words complete the volume. I have not detected any errors beyond a few obvious and unimportant misprints, and the infinitives *τιμᾶν* and *δηλοῦν*, which should not be given alone in the paradigm when the book is likely to be used mainly by possessors of modern texts. The force of prepositions in composition with verbs might with advantage have been added in chap. viii. My only other objection is to some occasional scraps of philology, which, if given at all, should be up to date. Thus the genitive in *-ου* from *-α* nouns is not from *-αο* ; *λέων* is not for *λεοντς*, which would give *λεους* ; *-τρα-* in *πατράσι* is not "for *-τερ-* by metathesis" ; and *ἀφίδω* does not owe its *φ* to the digamma—for in this root there is no trace of aspiration in connexion with the *F*—but simply to the analogy of its present *ἀφορῶ*.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

Étude sur le grec du Nouveau Testament.

Le Verbe: syntaxe des Propositions. Par M. l'Abbé Joseph Viteau.
Paris: E. Bouillon. 8vo, pp. lxi. 240.

THE appearance of M. Viteau's book is one of the most satisfactory of recent events in the field of Greek Testament Grammar, as it brings French scholarship into this work almost for the first time. That the subject would profit by the contributions of French orderliness and lucidity was to be expected, and the study of this essay does not disappoint expectation. There is nothing particularly new in the book, which covers the whole field of verb syntax, after describing in a lengthy introduction the general features of New Testament Greek. But the arrangement is admirable, the grammatical sense clear and sane, and the estimate of the work of others eminently sober and discriminating. M. Viteau's is an exhaustive summary of New Testament Greek within the limits he has selected, and he starts from this as his basis, classifying all the varieties of verbal clauses, and showing their relation to classical usage, post-classical and colloquial diction, and Hebrew modes of thought which underlay the expression of the writers. There is only one weakness in the execution, and many scholars would demur to its being so described. It seems to me that M. Viteau does not show keen enough sense of *historical* grammar. To be always recognising primeval features of proto-Aryan syntax in such Greek would, of course, be absurd. But I cannot help thinking that a grammar whose arrangement started from the conceptions of original functions in the case of each mood and tense would have a considerable advantage. The Subjunctive, Optative, and Infinitive particularly have very much to gain from a treatment which recognises their original character—a character which has by no means vanished, even in Hellenistic times. With this preface we can proceed to notice a few details.

M. Viteau opens with some distinctly irritating sets of *Addenda* and *Corrigenda*: we toil through a long list of rather minute corrections, only to find that there is another gleaning on a loose sheet. Having thus sacrificed to Nemesis at the outset of his task, the writer is able to resign himself to his native lucidity, and he soon succeeds in expelling the reader's initial grievance. The introduction (pp. iii.-lxi.) is a luminous review of the differentia of Hellenistic—or, as he prefers to call it, Judæo-Christian—Greek. The various elements which make up New Testament language are clearly set out and estimated according to their relative importance; while from time to time we have notes of the virgin fields yet awaiting the diligence of explorers hardy enough to stand the excitement of

grammatical investigations in post-classical Greek. Only a few points in the introduction call for remark, especially as there is no claim of novelty. The knotty question of the languages spoken in Palestine is decided (p. ix.) after Schürer (II. i. 48), but the arguments selected seem decidedly weak. The fact that Paul addressed the Jerusalem mob in Aramaic proves nothing, as anyone can see who has before him the conditions of bi-lingual Wales. To speak in English there, even when the people understand it, is to speak as a foreigner, and conditions would seem to have been fairly parallel in the Palestine of Paul's day. The most natural impression in Acts xxii. 2 is that the crowd were expecting an address in Greek, and were unexpectedly conciliated by the sound of their native tongue. Passing on, we notice on p. xvi. the assertion that ἐπισκιάζειν in Luke i. 35 means merely "extend over." The blurring of the metaphor, so vivid in the torrid East, seems to me very unnecessary. The inscription quoted (p. xxi.) in two redactions to show the difference between educated and uneducated Greek is interesting as exhibiting the form παραδοῖ (after ᾧ ἄν) in the latter, with παραδῶ duly answering to it in the more correct copy (*C.I.A.*, III. i. 73, 74). Viteau (p. 66) remarks on the form as Asiatic, but there are some forms in this piece of Greek "as she was wrote" suggesting a Boeotian home for the learned scribe. Smyth does not recognise such terms as Ionic in his recent monograph on that dialect. The later part of the Introduction contains an excellent orientation of New Testament Greek as a colloquial idiom, distinguished from the vulgar on the one side and the literary on the other, the styles of the several writers being graduated according to their approximation to literary standards. The influence of common post-classical Greek, of Latin, and of Aramaic are set in their proper places. The author's treatment of Hebraisms is very sound. He shows how Shemitic modes of thought affected the Greek, mainly by causing the selection of constructions, current in spoken Greek, which suited best the Hebrew love of directness, co-ordination, emphasis, etc. We are thus enabled to see how it is that Greek warrant can almost always be given for locutions which have passed as Hebraisms. The relation between LXX. and New Testament Greek is well described in this connexion; note the interesting point (p. xxxvii.) that non-classical types in the New Testament are almost always found first in the LXX. Latinising influences in Greek (p. liv.) are traced especially to bi-lingual official documents.

Taking now some details in the body of the book, I notice what seems a confusion in the treatment of "unreal" indicatives (p. 4): ἡδύνατο πρᾶθῆναι is not unreal, for it *could* as a fact have been sold. It is simply the substitution of a different phrase for one which would have expressed the unreality through the

medium of grammatical construction. On p. 26 Viteau quotes John viii. 25, in W. H.'s text, with the gloss "entendez : οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν τὴν ἀρχήν ;" surely to supply an interrogative οὐκ εἰμὶ before this difficult phrase is absolutely impossible. It is certainly not what the editors meant by their punctuation, for Westcott (Comm. *in loc.*) defends the R.V. margin (see Winer, p. 581 n.³). The suggestion in the same paragraph to read Acts xi. 17 ἐγὼ τις ἤμην δυνατός . . . ;—with τις qualifying δυνατός as in Theocr. vii. 28 (read 38), etc.—seems at least plausible. The remarks on the aorist subjunctive (p. 31) might be supplemented by noting the historical fact that the future tense took its rise (mainly) in the subjunctive of the sigmatic aorist, which was detached to form a new tense: the close connexion visible throughout Greek literature between future indicative and aorist subjunctive is manifestly due to this in the main. On ἄφες ἰδῶμεν (p. 32) the use of the modern Greek ἄς might have been brought in. In Matt. vii. 4 ἄφες ἐκβάλλω is very little stronger than the "let me cast out" (mod. Gr. ἄς ἐκβάλλω) which the English gives; and in Matt. xxvii. 49, Mark xv. 36, there is a very strong reason for treating ἄφες, ἄφετε, as almost an auxiliary, bringing the translation into line with the R.V. of ἄφες ἐκβάλα. If we translate "Let be, let us see," we make identical words bear opposite senses in Matthew and Mark: in the former the soldier is bidden to "let alone" his kindly-meant action; in the latter he asks his comrades to "let him alone" to perform it. But if both mean simply "Let us see," the inconsistency between these two identical narratives disappears. M. Viteau keeps W. H.'s punctuation, but translates like the English version. Here, of course, he has the mass of authority with him; on the next point he is, I should imagine, unsupported. He ventures to assert (pp. 45 and 79) that the normal sequence in a dependent clause is an aorist subjunctive, answering to the classical optative, after a secondary tense in the principal clause; the present subjunctive in such a sentence would be the direct form retained unchanged. This modal distinction between present and aorist subjunctive is a most dangerous principle to bring in—one would almost be inclined to suggest that M. Viteau fancied himself writing on Latin instead of Greek. What is to come of the special connexion between aorist subjunctive and the future if the former is to be the successor of the optative? Surely we must have very strong evidence before we assert that the difference between present and aorist subjunctive has anything of a time character? The evidence here is not at all overwhelming, if I may judge from a hasty count of the examples of ἵνα in the Synoptic Gospels following secondary tenses. The present and aorist come out exactly equal. As a matter of fact, the present is very much less common than the

aorist subjunctive, and it is more liable to be used after a primary tense, because its *continuous* force is more often needed there.

A much vexed question, that of *δῶν* versus *δύη* in 2 Tim. ii. 26 and Eph. i. 17, is discussed on pp. 66 and 80. His argument for the optative is not decisive: Winer's new German editor seems to me safer (p. 120) in reading *δῶν* there, and W. H. may be said to incline about 49 per cent. to that view (see Vol. ii. p. 168). Much less hesitation may be felt in differing from Viteau on Matt. xxvi. 50, where he would gloss (*οἶδα*) *ἐφ' ὃ πάρει*—another absolutely incredible ellipse. Little noticeable appears—barring an argument for ecabatic *ἴνα* (p. 74 note)—till p. 130, where we have an extremely flat exegesis of John xxi. 19-23: *ἕως ἔρχομαι* means apparently "till I come back" to the place where he is standing. A rather unguarded grammatical note appears on p. 142. "L'emploi du subjonctif sans *ἄν* existe chez Homère (Goodwin, 545), et doit appartenir à la langue familière." Of course in Homer *ἄν* was entirely free to accompany the subjunctive or absent itself, there being a distinct difference of meaning. Our author can hardly mean that this primitive freedom survived colloquially throughout the classical period, and crops out in the *κοινή* as a genuine survival. On the infinitive the most satisfactory arrangement is surely to give first the uses which preserve the original dative or locative verbal noun, developing thence the uses in which the infinitive has become a mere indeclinable. The lack of this historical method makes the exegetic infinitive (a pure locative) and the final (a dative) into an extension "surtout hébraïsant." On the contrary, nothing could be more entirely in accord with the original genius of the infinitive as developed on Indo-Germanic soil. That Greek mainly, and Latin entirely, restricted such uses to poetry in the literary epoch, only shows that other constructions were considered more precise, and a recrudescence in late Greek was perfectly natural. Hebraism is applied with decided success, on the other hand (p. 202), to explain the cases of "nominative absolute," so common in the Apocalypse—*cf.* also John vii. 38, Mark xii. 40, Phil. iii. 19. Two small criticisms on the treatment of *μή* will serve to conclude with. Is it enough to say (p. 213) in John iii. 18, that the second *μή* (*ὅτι μὴ πεπίστευκεν*) "a dû être attiré par le premier?" Surely the *ὅτι* clause gives the *charge*, "for not having believed": contrast 1 John v. 10, *ὅτι οὐ πεπίστευκεν*, "because (as a *fact*) he hath not believed." And is M. Viteau right in declaring (p. 217 *sq.*) that the use of *οὐ* with the participle is Hebraising, as classical syntax would have required *μή*? In the great majority of cases, at least, classical syntax would have required *οὐ*: the encroachments in later Greek were in the opposite direction, and the comparison of the two Hebrew negatives is at best a very fallacious one. By the way, we

may note that one quotation given (Rom. viii. 20) only applies to *οὐ* with a participle when we treat *ἐκοῦσα* as such—a very “historical” proceeding indeed!

These nibbling criticisms have, I fear, given a very imperfect picture of a good and careful book. I leave its perusal for the present with two wishes—the appearance of a second edition without “additions et corrections,” and the early fulfilment of M. Viteau’s hinted ambition to become some day the desiderated French Winer or Buttmann.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit. ✓

Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen. 1 und Ap. Joh. 12, von Hermann Gunkel, a.o. Prof. der Theologie in Berlin. Mit Beiträgen von Heinrich Zimmern, a.o. Prof. der Assyriologie in Leipzig. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1895. 8vo. pp. xiv. 431. Price, M.10.

THIS is a very able work, and it will give me great pleasure to point out its merits. It has also some striking faults, which, if unmentioned, may do harm to the cause of progress. I venture, therefore, most unwillingly to mention them at once. They are three, viz.:—(1) an excessive self-reliance; (2) a superabundant amount of controversy; and (3) in some parts of the book an insufficient recognition of the international character of Biblical criticism. By self-reliance I mean not merely a confidence in one’s own ability, but a tendency to suppose that all problems can be solved by one method—the method for which one has oneself a special predilection. By controversy I mean finding fault with individuals, instead of leaving the truth (as a rule) to fight its own battles. By recognition of the international character of criticism I mean treating the critical study of the Bible as a historical movement in which each of the leading nations has had a share.

Now, so far as the Old Testament is concerned, it appears to me that in theory all competent scholars are agreed that critical study has passed into what may be called a semi-archæological phase. Archæology and the history of religions must be frequently consulted, even with a view to such questions as the age and origin of documents. In practice, however, Old Testament critics as a rule have not made quite the most of their opportunities. They refer sometimes to Assyriology and Egyptology, but too often in such a way as to suggest that they have not given very serious study to these important *Hilfswissenschaften*, and, so far as I can judge, the

writers on the so-called Old Testament theology have rarely much acquaintance with the history of religions. It is, therefore, desirable that some one should come forward to urge critics to bring up their practice to the level of their theory, and that this importunate person should be, not an outsider like Professor Sayce, but one who is at once an Old Testament critic and, in a certain limited sense, an Assyriologist. Professor Gunkel may very likely be fully qualified for this function. His acute study on Nahum i. (ZATW, 1893, pp. 223-244), of which, on p. 102, he presents us with some helpful corrections, reveals in him a genuine critical capacity, reminding us on the one side of Bickell, and on the other of Wellhausen and Stade; and his present work displays an interior knowledge of Assyriology, for which, among his colleagues, it would be difficult to find a parallel. But he should remember that there were grave reasons why a thorough treatment of Old Testament problems from a combined critical and Assyriological point of view could not at an earlier date have been hopefully attempted, and he should give cordial and graceful recognition to any workers, whether German or English, who represented his own side before, by age and ripe study, he was himself qualified to come forward.¹

¹ On p. 30 "some Assyriologists and theologians" are mentioned as having anticipated the author in referring to certain Old Testament passages, viz.:—Riehm, Hommel, Zimmern, and G. A. Barton. A somewhat meagre list! Here are a very few omitted references on various points.

P. 78, Jer. li. 34, 44. See my *Jeremiah*, vol. II. (1885), p. 293; *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, p. 317.

P. 38, note 2, Job ix. 13. Cf. rather *Job and Solomon*, p. 76 f.

P. 46, note 2. DEN. Cf. Halévy, *Recherches critiques*, 1876, p. 228; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 244.

P. 91. St George. Very strange to omit Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'archéologie orientale*, part I., who connects St George with Horus.

Pp. 63, 64. Cf. Toy, *Judaism and Christianity*, 1890, p. 162.

P. 67, note 8. Ps. lxxviii. 31, בָּעֵלִי. The emendation was adopted by me from Matthes.

Pp. 30-33. Cf. *Prophecies of Isaiah*, II. 31.

P. 22. Cf. S. Karpe, *Revue Sémitique*, avril 1894. P. 29, note 2. Cf. Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, p. 174.

P. 29; *ribbu* = רִבּוּ. See also Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 258, cf. 141.

P. 136, note 1. Isa. xlv. 7. Refer rather to my *Isaiah*, which preceded Dillmann's.

P. 140, note. Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, p. 357 and elsewhere, and *Journal of Philology*, ix. 97, can hardly be ignored.

P. 148, on Phil. ii. 6; and p. 377, on Gen. xiv. 14, add reference to Hitzig.

P. 121. Effect of Babylonian Exile. Cf. *Origin of Psalter*, pp. 267-271.

P. 293. Origin of Essenes. Cf. *Or. Ps.*, pp. 418-420, 445-449 (Babylonian and Persian influences).

Among German scholars, I venture to think that, in spite of his critical and theological backwardness, Schlottmann well deserved to be mentioned as a pioneer in the study of Hebrew mythology, nor can I help thinking that indirectly the articles "Leviathan" and "Rahab" in Riehm's HWB (1884), to which Professor Gunkel refers on p. 30, may owe much to Riehm's intercourse with his learned colleague, while among recent writers Professor Budde (*Urgeschichte*, 1883) has shown an attitude, at once appreciative and critical, which should have softened the somewhat sharp criticisms once and again directed against him by Professor Gunkel (Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 306, is much more generous). Among English scholars there are three, Robertson Smith, Sayce, and myself—the first for his wide grasp of fact and theory (though not specially for his Assyriology), the second for his Assyriological learning and interest in the Old Testament, the third for an ideal in which, twenty years ago, he stood quite alone among Old Testament scholars, but which is now taken up by Professor Gunkel and, as I hope, other rising German scholars. It can only be the inadequacy of German libraries, and the seclusion of German students, which have led Professor Gunkel to ignore the fact that I have been his chief predecessor, and to insert on p. 58 a strange and inappropriate note, in which I become the scapegoat of a school which insists on accounting for resemblances in imagery or expression by the dependence of one writer on another.¹ I might content myself with a bare expression of surprise at this. But it is wiser, I think, to try to put matters right, and so I will mention that, from 1877 onwards, in a succession of works, I have anticipated much of Professor Gunkel's exegetical evidence for the dragon and ocean-myths, and traced some of the outlines of a sketch of the relations of Israel to the mythologies and religions of other nations. Strongly impressed by Kuenen's *Godsdienst van Israël*, I yet recognised the *lacunæ* in the lamented author's historical construction, and devoted myself, after Isaiah, to special studies on Genesis. There the folk-lore elements at once interested me, as several articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* testify; and, with reference to Gen. i. (which forms the theme of Part I. of *Schöpfung und Chaos*), it should be observed that my article "Cosmogony" deals with one of Professor Gunkel's most striking ideas—viz., that the Hebrew cosmogony, together with works of pronounced supernaturalism, contains mythic elements of a very archaic type. What the diff-

¹ The idea that the Book of Job is a monument of the revival of mythology in Israel is one which is, in a special sense, my own. But this is quite consistent with the belief that, if the text of Ps. civ. 26 is correct, the writer is phraseologically indebted to Job xl. 29, 19 († see lxx.). Professor Gunkel is in too great a hurry to make a point, and treats one of his closest allies as an opponent.

culties were which interrupted my Genesis studies I have said elsewhere (*Origin of the Psalter*, p. xvii.); they are precisely those which Professor Gunkel would have felt had he been in my position. But the books entitled *The Prophecies of Isaiah* (ed. 1, 1880-1881), *Job and Solomon* (1887), *The Psalms* (1888), and the *Origin of the Psalter* (1891), together with my article, "Jonah: a Study in Jewish Folk-lore and Religion," in the *Theological Review* for 1877 (cf. *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, 1893, pp. 316-319), show that I was moving in advance of contemporary German exegetes.¹ In the latest of these works (1891) I took a step even beyond Professor Gunkel, by admitting Mazdeism as well as Babylonian religion within the range of my inquiries. A cry of triumph was raised in the hostile camp when the brilliant and learned Darmesteter published his revolutionary work on the Avesta; it seemed to the party which would exclude the Bible from "religionsgeschichtliche" researches that I had been "beating the air." But brilliance cannot be accepted in lieu of the humdrum, but necessary, details of all-round investigation. It is not to Darmesteter that I owe the recognition of the *lacunae* in my statements. The progress of study has convinced all workers, not excluding myself, that there was most probably a very early infiltration of Babylonian ideas into early Mazdean beliefs. Professor Gunkel has not experienced the fascination of this department of the history of religion, but he leaves room for Zoroastrian influences on Jewish and Jewish-Christian beliefs, though (if I may say so) rather too parenthetically. I ought to add that in the same little-known work I sketched the relations of post-Exilic Israel to the religion of Babylon, and I conceive that the position taken up there, and in my *Job and Solomon*, though it requires supplementing, has not been fundamentally subverted. It is much to my regret that the necessity of winding-up long-planned critical work on Isaiah postponed my resumption of this subject. But, at any rate, it is not to me that either Professor Gunkel or Professor Sayce can address a complaint of the non-assimilation of the lessons of the Tell-el-Amarna discoveries by Biblical critics.

My present position, then, is briefly this:—"The letters sent by

¹ I agree with the criticism embodied in the following sentence, though no English critic could have ventured (or would, I hope, have wished) to express himself thus. The writer has been saying that the Resurrection belief did not arise out of "Ahnungen," but has quite another origin. "Demnach ist dieser Glaube dem Alttestamentler ein sehr schwieriges Räthsel" (p. 291). Professor Gunkel's own solution ("die Lösung," as he calls it) is indicated in the context. If space allows, I will return to it. No reference is here made to Zoroastrianism. But, at any rate, we want a connecting link between the half-developed Babylonian belief and the almost full-blown resurrection-faith of Israel.

kings and governors of Western Asia to Amenhotep III. and Amenhotep IV. prove that, before the Egyptian conquests, and before the rise of the Assyrian kingdom, Babylonian culture had spread to the shores of the Mediterranean. Religious myths must have formed part of this culture.”¹ We need not, therefore, be surprised if not only Babylonian ideas on a future state, but the Babylonian creation- and deluge-myths, made their way into Canaan. I do not, however, think it at all probable that such Canaanitish-Babylonian myths were adopted, in their complete form, by the Israelites, or even that we can, from the fragmentary Genesis-documents and from other rather doubtful sources, reconstruct the early Israelitish ideas. Indeed, to dogmatise as to the forms which the Babylonian myths themselves wore at the time when they penetrated into Canaan would be most injudicious. But there appears to be sufficient evidence that there was a great revival of the mythological spirit among the Jews in the Babylonian and Persian periods, and it is very possible that the old myths assumed more definite forms through the direct and indirect influence of Babylonia. Such has been the way in which, latterly, I have fitted the results of Tell-el-Amarna into my older theory. And with regard to the strata of the Yahwistic narrative, which, in 1877, were already a difficulty to me (*Or. Ps., l. c.*), I recognise, with Budde and others, that “the Yahwist” and “the Elohist” are not so much individuals as schools of writers, and that it is not impossible that this school went on writing till quite late in the pre-Exilic period. From this point of view I take up Professor Gunkel’s *Schöpfung und Chaos*, and ask—(1) What new and sound results has the learned author attained with regard to Gen. i. and the connected literature? (2) What has he done for the interpretation of Rev. xii. (which, he says, relates to the creation of the latter age as Gen. i. describes the creation of the primitive age)? and (3) What incidental contributions has he made to Biblical exegesis?

It must be premised that Prof. Gunkel is no despiser of the results of literary analysis, though he feels with me that the leading textual critics are still too phraseological, and the leading exegetes of the poetical and prophetic books not alive enough to survivals of antique notions. His own contribution to what in popular books is sometimes called “higher criticism” is this—that he gives positive and definite expression to the hints dropped now and then by previous writers, and says right out, “The close of the literary arrangement of legends in J is to be placed in the seventh century. The dates usually given are mere compromises, and to be abandoned. But most of the legends are very old” (p. 144 f.). I doubt whether the writer would have said this previously to 1888.

¹ “Ancient Beliefs in Immortality,” *Nineteenth Century*, Dec. 1891, p. 964.

Proceeding next to the all-important question, Does the cosmogony in Gen. i. 1—ii. 4a contain archaic elements? Prof. Gunkel answers that it does, and gives a complete and well-rounded form to his answer. So far so good. And of course the chief points in the Hebrew cosmogony have ultimately a Babylonian origin. As Jensen has well put it, "The Bible took up the Babylonian legends of creation in such a way as to suppress what was specifically Babylonian, and [on the whole] to substitute a monotheistic for a mythological and polytheistic element." The dragon *Tiāmat*, which the cosmogony in Gen. i. rejects, has found its place, as others besides Jensen have remarked,¹ in the apocryphal dragon of Babylon, which Daniel is said to have caused to burst asunder. But when did a Babylonian creation-myth first find its way into Palestine? Presumably before the Israelitish conquests. But have we any evidence of a Hebrew cosmogony before the Exile? Long ago I referred to Prov. iii. 19, 20; viii. 22-31; Job xv. 7, 8, together with the introduction to the story of Eden. But the last of these passages is so fragmentary, and the others are so vague as well as poetical, that they do not help us much. We must therefore look further, and Dr Bacon has acutely referred to Gen. xlix. 25 [cf. Am. vii. 4] and Judges v. 20 as presenting some elements of a cosmogonic story.² Prof. Gunkel, however, has far ampler resources. He thinks that from scattered allusions in the canonical and extra-canonical books to the myth of the dragon which *Yahwè* in the olden times overcame, and to the stormy primeval ocean which *Yahwè* subdued, he has recovered "an ample and copious history of the myth of chaos and creation" among the Israelites (p. 111). The passages on which he relies for evidence of an early Israelitish creation-myth akin to the Babylonian are firstly those in which the chaos-dragon seems to be referred to either (a) as *Rahab*, or (b) as *Leviathan*, or (c) as *Behemoth*, or (d) as the dragon in the sea, or (e) as the serpent. Under (a) the author mentions—Isa. li. 9 f.; Ps. lxxxix. 10-15; Job xxvi. 12 f.; Job ix. 13; Ps. lxxxvii. 4; Isa. xxx. 7; Ps. xl. 5. Under (b)—Ps. lxxiv. 12-19; Isa. xxvii. 1; Job xl. 25—xli. 26; Ps. civ. 25 f.; Job iii. 8. Under (c)—Job xl. 19-24; Enoch lx. 7-9; 4 Ezra vi. 49-52; Isa. xxx. 6; Ps. lxviii. 31. Under (d)—Job vii. 12; Ps. xlv. 20; Ezek. xxix. 3-6, xxxii. 2-8; Jer. li. 34, 36, 42; Ps. Sol. ii. 28-34. Under (e)—Am. ix. 2 f.

Next come the passages which may refer to the primitive ocean subdued by *Yahwè*, viz., Ps. civ. 5-9; Job xxxviii. 8-11; Prov. viii. 22-31; Jer. v. 22, xxxi. 35; Ps. xxxiii. 6, lxxv. 7 f.; Ecclus.

¹ I am glad that, when on *Bel and the Dragon*, Prof. Gunkel has done justice to the acuteness of the Rev. C. J. Ball, at once a theologian and an Assyriologist.

² Dr Bacon adds: 1 Sam. ii. 8; Deut. xxxiii. 13, 26. But these are late passages.

xlili. (25) 23; Prayer of Man. 2-4; Isa. l. 2 f.; or in which the tradition of the primeval subduing of the sea is directly or indirectly applied to the latter days, such as Ps. xlv. i.; Isa. xvii. 12-14; Hab. iii. 8; Nah. i. 4; Ps. xviii. 16-18, xciii. 3, 4, lxxvii. 17, cvi. 9; Ex. xv. 7; Isa. lix. 15-20. And lastly we have passages in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and in the Apocalypse of John, such as Ap. Baruch xxix.; Add. Esth. i. 4-10; Bel and the Dragon; Rev. xii.

No doubt many, or even most, of these passages are correctly interpreted; what follows? This, in the first place,—that the chief elements of the Babylonian creation-myth were current among the Jews till a quite late period, a result which of course does not exclude the influence of other Oriental forms of belief besides the Babylonian. Prof. Gunkel holds, as I have long since done, that there was a revival of mythology in the later period, but he sees, what neither I nor any one else has yet seen, that all the scattered mythic elements, when put together, give evidence of the existence of a much more mythological view of the origin of the world than from a study of Gen. i. 1 we should have supposed possible. He has also shown that there was, in later times at any rate, a systematic application of primitive myths in an eschatological sense. And he thinks that he has conclusively proved that the Babylonian creation-myth existed among the Israelites from the time of their entrance into Canaan, if not among their remoter ancestors.

There are, however, two weaknesses in Professor Gunkel's argument. First, he is too much given to taking the early date of passages for granted. I can myself find but one undoubtedly pre-Exilic passage in the list quoted above, viz., Am. ix. 3. We there learn that, according to Jewish folk-lore, there was a serpent (*nāḥāsh*) at the bottom of the sea which could destroy a multitude of men, but how pale a reflexion this is of the dragon cut in pieces by the god of light! The case is more remarkable even than that of the priest-like seraphim of Isaiah's inaugural vision—Isaiah's only reference to a religious myth—for Professor Gunkel will not easily persuade me that Hackmann is wrong in denying the Isaianic authorship of Is. xi. 1-9 (see p. 87). That this is not decisive against the new theory I fully admit. We have only fragments of the early prophetic works, and, apart from this, it was not the object of the prophets to baptize folk-lore with the spirit of a pure religion. And, as Professor Gunkel points out, we have in the brazen sea of Solomon's temple, with its twelve supporting oxen (1 Kings vii. 23, 25) an evident copy of the *apsi* or "abysses" of the temples of Marduk.¹

¹ Giesebrecht unwisely denies this (*Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1895, p. 194), but see Schrader, KIB, iii. 1, pp. 13, 143; cf. p. 27 f. (referred to by Gunkel). Cf. also Kusters, *Theol. Tijdschr.*, 1879, p. 445; Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 63.

And beside this we may place (p. 163) the fragment of song ascribed to Solomon, virtually discovered by Wellhausen, which clearly proves the existence of the creation-idea in comparatively early times (see *Origin of the Psalter*, pp. 193, 212). At the same time, it is still possible to hold that before the Exile the cosmogonic ideas of the Israelites at large were in a fragmentary state. Also, that there was a revival of mythology, not only as Professor Gunkel equally with myself holds, during and after the Exile, but in the last century of the pre-Exilic period, and that the myths which this critic rightly supposes to have been known traditionally to the Israelites in very early times were then taken up by religious writers, enriched with some fresh elements, and adapted to general use. And, finally, that the creation-idea did not become theologically fruitful till Exilic and post-Exilic times.

The eschatological application of primitive myths is a point on which Professor Gunkel has thrown much light. The allusions to Yahwè's power over the angry primeval ocean are more numerous than one had suspected, though some of the instances quoted (*e.g.*, Isa. xvii. 12-14) are very far-fetched indeed. I think, however, that he underrates the extent to which mythological phrases may be combined with references to historical situations. It is a strong measure to assert that the enemies spoken of in Isa. lix. 18 are merely unknown foes, such as "Gog and Magog"; we might just as well say that in Hag. ii. 21, 22, there was no included reference to the Persians. Against such a narrow view of apocalyptic writings, see Joel iii., iv. But it is in the second part of Professor Gunkel's book, which has to do with Rev. xii., that the theory of the eschatological application of myths is applied with the most startling results. Here, at any rate, Professor Gunkel has, so far as I can judge, no predecessors. Professor Spitta is indeed of opinion that the Apocalypse, especially chap. xii., contains some mythological elements (see, *e.g.*, his *Offenbarung des Johannes*, pp. 353, 358), but as it now stands, Rev. xii. is the free composition of a Jewish apocalyptic writer. Not so, says Professor Gunkel; this is no fancy piece, but full of a holy seriousness, and it is fundamentally neither Jewish nor Christian, but, at least in the main, the codification of a tradition originating in Babylonian mythology, and applied eschatologically. The proofs of this are—(1) the breaks in the connexion, which can only be explained by a knowledge of the dragon- and chaos-myth; (2) the combination of certain pale and scarcely intelligible details with others that are in a high degree concrete, but are unexplained by the context; (3) the references in

Apou = the primeval ocean. Like Halévy, Gunkel connects the word with the root **אפן**, and, with Hommel, ventures on a comparison with the common expression **אפני ארץ**.

Daniel, Enoch, and elsewhere, to the same traditional material. Professor Gunkel thinks that to the Jewish writer himself many details of the mythic tradition were unintelligible. And of this he gives two examples, Ἀρμαγεδών (Rev. xvi. 16), and the mystic number three and a half (Rev. xii. 14, cf. 6). He vigorously attacks the various current explanations of Armagedon, which can neither, as he declares, be "mountain (or, mountain-district) of Megiddo," nor yet הַר מְנִידוֹ, "his precious mountain" = the land of Israel (ZATW, 1887, p. 170), nor yet, by *gematria*, רומה הגדולה, "Rome the great" (Ewald), but a name of mythological origin, and, as Zimmern and Jensen think, compounded with a form of a divine name, handed down to us side by side with the name of the Babylonian goddess of the underworld, Ἐρεσχιγαλ (Erištigal).¹ I confess that this strikes me as highly probable. The latter-day defeat of the dragon and his helpers would naturally be placed on the spot where Tîamat in the olden time had been overpowered, and consigned to the abyss. But I would not go so far as Professor Gunkel in disparaging the interpretation "Mountain of Megiddo." That "mountain" should be substituted for "plain" is not inconceivable with Ezek. xxxviii. 8, 21, xxxix. 2, 4, 17, before us. Only, I would rather take this as the Jewish writer's misinterpretation than as the original sense of the story from which, as an arranger (I do not like the word codifier) of earlier material, he drew. And now as to "three and a half." The commentators tell us that this mystic number comes from Daniel (vii. 25, and elsewhere). Old Testament critics explain it in that book with reference to contemporary history. Professor Gunkel disputes the legitimacy of this, and declares that, having regard to the nature of the context both in Daniel and (especially) in John's Apocalypse, the number must have belonged to Judaistic tradition. On p. 390 he offers a still partly incomplete mythological explanation. Lastly, the number 666 is תְּהוֹם קְדְמוֹנִיָּה, *tehom kadmoniyyah*, "primeval chaos" (cf. "the old serpent," "the first Adam"). *Se non è vero, è ben trovato*.

In the course of his argument the author is led to resume the indication of Babylonian elements in Judaism. Among them he includes the seven spirits and the twenty-four *πρεσβύτεροι* in the Apocalypse, the twelve Zodiac angels in Enoch, the seven hells of Rabbinic tradition, the story of Esther (following Jensen and Zimmern), Leviathan and Behemoth in Enoch and Ap. Baruch, the

¹ We have the name in two forms, Ἐρεσμιγαδών in a magic formula printed by Kuhnert from a Greek papyrus, *Rheinisches Museum*, xlix. 49 (not 94 as printed in Gunkel, p. 389), and Ἐρεσμιγαδών on a lead weight from Alexandria, *Rheinisches Museum*, xviii. 563.

dragons in Add. Esth., the story of Bel and the Dragon, and lastly, the seventh chapter of Daniel. Of the vision in the latter passage he says that it is an allegorization of the old chaos-myth. It is closely connected (as the commentators have seen) with Isa. xxx. 7, Ezek. xxix. 32, Ps. lxxviii. 31, lxxxvii. 4, Isa. xxvii. 1, Ps. lxxiv., Ps. Sol. ii. 1, in all of which Prof. Gunkel recognises the eschatological application of old myths. It would have been pleasing to English scholars had he mentioned Robertson Smith's suggestion that the imagery in Dan. vii. 2 is borrowed from primitive cosmogonic stories (see Bevan, *Daniel*, p. 120), and Fuller's reference to the description of the Deluge in the Babylonian Deluge-story (*Speaker's Bible*, vi. 323 f.).

I have myself no difficulty in accepting, to a considerable degree, the extension which the author has given to the idea of tradition. In a fragmentary way the scholars who have preceded this fortunate discoverer have long believed in tradition.¹ And though Goldziher carried the theory of a traditional element in the Jewish Haggada too far, yet I would not deny that fragments of an old tradition may lie there under a mass of fantastic accretions. Prof. Gunkel is however, perhaps, tempted to exaggerate the completeness of the tradition in the older period, and hardly allows enough for the mixture of elements in the later.

There is scarcely any space left for chronicling even a few of the many bold suggestions for the correction and elucidation of the text of the Hebrew Bible. One of the most convincing is due to a university student, Herr Gottfried Schmidt; it is to correct יום in Job iii. 8 into יָמָא (p. 59). Cursers of the day are hardly suitable in this context. Leviathan, i.e., the chaos-dragon, lies in a charmed sleep in the now hushed ocean. Those who "curse it," or "keep it under the ban," are not impious interferers with the divinely-willed order of nature, but use their spells under the authority of the Most High. Strange, very strange, is the explanation (p. 40) of Ps. xl. 5, "Happy is the man . . . that does not look toward the Rehābīm (the Rahabs, = the 'helpers of Rahab,' Job ix. 13), nor turn aside to a lie." A most original view is given of Ezek. viii. 10, which would have startled our friend Robertson Smith. The forms "poutrayed on the wall" are representations of the animals of the Zodiac, and the "image of jealousy," תַּמָּל הַקִּנְיָאָה (w. 3, 5), is rather the "reed-image," תַּמָּל הַקִּנְיָנָה, a name of the chaos-monster

¹ In this connexion I would observe that on p. 237 the author is not quite just to Dillmann. That great scholar's *Enoch* was published in 1853, when the idea of tradition was not likely to have suggested itself as probable. Yet so fair is Dillmann (p. vii.) that he admits that there may conceivably be some basis of *tradition* in the later stories of Enoch.

(p. 141). Ps. lxxviii. 31 is rendered thus from a corrected text (p. 66):—

[Yahwè] hath rebuked | the beasts of the reeds,
The assembly of the gods, | the lords of nations.
The stirred up sea | he purified more than silver ;
He scattered the nations | who had pleasure in war.

The poet compares the warlike nations to the sea. The judgment pronounced upon them extends to their gods, who are, in Jewish belief, the angels appointed to be "lords of nations," and who have misused their commission for the oppression of the innocent. Reeds, acc. to Job xl. 21, are the abode of Behemoth, and Behemoth was originally the chaos-monster. Very strange things (not without an element of truth) are told us on the text and meaning of Job xl. and xli., but I must not pause to relate them. On Ps. xlv. 20, the helpful suggestion is made to read תַּנִּין for תַּנִּים. The people complains that God has treated it as if it were the chaos-dragon ; חָלַל receives the sense of "dishonouring," which is defended with great plausibility, p. 33, note 3. Rev. xxi. 6 is admirably explained (p. 370) as an allusion to the dangerous primeval ocean. Elsewhere I am pleased to find that the author recognises the Hebrew origin of, at any rate, chap. xiii. of the Apocalypse as probable.

I wish I could do more justice to the attractive sides of this original book. There are some things from which I decidedly differ ; many things which I doubt ; many things which, as a matter of taste, I could wish expressed otherwise or omitted. But on the whole it is a fascinating book, and its value is greatly increased by the translations from cuneiform sources by Prof. H. Zimmern in the appendix.

T. K. CHEYNE.

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Dr Drummond's treatment of his subject is necessarily limited in scope, and the way in which, with a few bold strokes of the pen, he sets forth some of the noblest features of elemental Christianity is admirable. Yet one cannot but feel some surprise, not to say disappointment, that neither the death nor the resurrection of our Lord finds any place within his self-prescribed limits.

In the first Lecture it is inferred that the notion of a Church entered very little, or not at all, into Christ's teaching, and that there is no evidence that Jesus made His apostles the nucleus of a society which was to be constituted under fixed rules, and placed under the direction of a hierarchy. Yet the Church may truly be said to have been founded by Christ, in the sense that it was the unpremeditated consequence of His life and doctrine. "We must conclude then," says Dr Drummond, "that even if Jesus did not constitute the Church by any express command, still its formation is a genuine and inevitable outcome of the Christian principle, and in this sense we may speak of Christ as the Founder of the Church."

The idea of a sacred order, clerical or sacerdotal, "is quite alien to the original principles of Christianity." Yet inasmuch as every society requires officers for the direction and administration of its affairs, and such an organisation, agreeable to the system which has prevailed in the largest sections of the Church ever since, arose out of practical necessities at an early period, "it is perfectly legitimate, and runs counter to the primitive Gospel only when it lays claim to a special divine authority, and invests its officers with clerical or sacerdotal functions"—two statements which we venture to think hard to reconcile.

With regard to the sacraments, Dr Drummond's conclusion is also of a negative character. "It is impossible to prove," he says, "that Christ formally constituted them a part of His religion for all time." "Even if the words ['This do in remembrance of Me'] were used, they were spoken simply to the disciples then present, and there is nothing to suggest their application to the followers of Christ for all time."

In the second Lecture, speaking of the early Christian views of the Bible, Dr Drummond attempts to show that though Jesus did not, like Marcion, out of repugnance to some portions of its teaching, place Himself in revolutionary antagonism to it, yet He felt that the presence and operation of God in the making of the Old Testament "were no guarantee of its infallibility, for they were

seen through the dimness of human vision, and the divine message was expressed through the halting forms of human speech. Discrimination was necessary."

Alluding to the modern position with regard to the Bible (Lect. iii.), whether it be Old or New Testament, Dr Drummond says, "The ground on which men thought they stood has vanished beneath their feet, and the value of the Bible as a mere external authority is gone, for we can no longer assume that a statement is true simply because it is between the covers of the venerable book." Yet, on his own confession, men crave the support of some authority; all but the very strongest souls seek the support of something that lies outside their own feeble, partial, and isolated lives. But where does such an authority lie? Dr Drummond would appear to regard the religious instinct of the individual as the final test of truth. "The highest authority is found when truths come straight to the soul, and receive that inward response without which religious truth is dead and useless."

All which may be very true; but if this is the only guide, it is an uncertain guide, and one which has led men into every kind of error. Dr Drummond says in one place, pertinently enough, "It may be true that the pure in heart shall see God," but it is lack of this very purity in heart which makes external authority a necessity for us. It is because we cannot see God that we require someone or something to tell us, authoritatively, what He is. In this we have the weak point in the system to which he adheres—that it fails to give the soul that external, yet elevating and certain, authority which we who believe in the Godhead of Jesus Christ possess in His words.

But here we may make an end of Dr Drummond's negative positions. From Lecture iv. onwards we have far more positive teaching. In Lecture iv. there are some admirable passages, and for Lectures vi. and vii., which deal with Christian Ethics, we have nothing but praise. On the one hand, they cannot but be inspiring (as also a passage on pp. 36, 37) to all ministers of religion, and on the other hand, they must compel all of us to ask whether after all we do not need to re-echo the words of St Ignatius, "Let us learn to live according to Christianity!"

Lecture viii. is perhaps the most disappointing in the book, and it is here that the influence of the school to which Dr Drummond belongs becomes most felt. He discusses the "Motive power of Christianity," and finds it in three things. Firstly, in 'the power of ideas': "It cannot be denied that ideas themselves, when embraced with hearty faith, possess a life-giving efficacy, and he who discovers or enforces some great spiritual truth, and makes it a reality within the minds of men, stands in the front rank of the world's bene-

factors." Secondly, in 'the power of Christ's personality': "It may be said, we might have an historical interest in the Founder of Christianity; but if we had never heard of Him, the truth which He announced would remain, and our religion would be uninjured. . . . I would speak with all respect of this view, and not call in question for a moment the genuine Christianity of those who hold it; for we all have imperfect experience and imperfect thoughts, and the defect is now on this side and now on that. Nevertheless I am sure that the great mass of believers would feel that it gave a very inadequate account, I do not say of ecclesiastical dogmas, which have been handed down for centuries, and do not always correspond to the present state of living conviction, but of what passed in their own souls when Christianity first took possession of them, and gave shape and colour to their lives, or of what has remained with them as its unrivalled and unique power. To them Christianity without Christ would be something fundamentally different from that by which they have lived." Thirdly, in the 'power of the Church as a community': "Into the brotherhood of seeking and consecrated souls a man may enter, and find the strength of holy association, and the uplifting power of heavenward thought and purpose . . . and in cutting themselves off from religious communion with their fellows, men not only kill a natural yearning of the Christian heart, but separate themselves from a source of inward life and power."

With all this we heartily agree. Nevertheless we ask, "What lack we yet?" It is the knowledge of the true divinity of our Lord. Jesus Christ is undoubtedly a magnificent example, but if He is not Divine, His example chills rather than inspires us. We love His gentleness, His purity, His perfect humanity, but if He is only human we feel that He is too far above us. We cannot reach the height of His holiness—and discouraged we faint. No! what we want is a love that is mighty to save—mighty because by reason of its Godhead—it carries a power with it that is more than human and stronger than death. Here is the weakness of Dr Drummond's book. But in spite of the defect it is a book which all will do well to read, and in which all will find, and cannot but find, much that is fresh, much that is inspiring. Dr Drummond dedicates the Lectures "to all of every name and church who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity." To such we too can commend a volume which, though open to serious criticism, has been helpful to ourselves.

F. B. AMBROSE WILLIAMS.

Gesammelte Aufsätze.

*Von Albrecht Ritschl. Freiburg und Leipzig. Pp. 247.
Large 8vo. Price, M.6.*

THE essays included in this volume have, with one exception—that on “Hengstenberg and the Union”—already appeared in theological periodicals, and are now collected under the careful supervision of Ritschl’s son and biographer for the benefit of a wider class of readers. It had long been in the mind of Ritschl himself to make a collection of his more important papers; but this project, owing to the pressure of other duties, had never been carried out. Even now it is only a selection from his essays that is given, and the editor explains in the preface the principle on which the choice has been made. Ritschl’s views on theological subjects are by this time tolerably well known; it therefore seemed desirable to give the preference to essays bearing on his doctrine of the Church, which is less generally understood, and is only partially unfolded in his great work on “Justification and Reconciliation.” The principal portion of the present volume, accordingly, consists of two weighty essays on the right conception of the Church—the first on “The Notion of Visible and Invisible Church,” and the second on “The Foundation of Church Law in the Evangelical Notion of the Church”; and of two historical essays on “The Origin of the Lutheran Church.” With these are connected a number of other papers—one, going back to 1851, on “The Present State of the Criticism of the Synoptical Gospels”; another, the unprinted paper on Hengstenberg above referred to; a third, on “The Method of the older History of Dogma”; and a fourth, on “The Two Principles of Protestantism” (the so-called formal and material).

The volume thus contains eight essays, necessarily of varying interest and value, but none of them without importance, if only as marking stages in Ritschl’s own mental development. The essay on Synoptical Criticism belongs to a period when Ritschl was yet an adherent of the school of Baur, but is marked by characteristic independence. Though reflecting a stage of controversy already more than forty years old, and in this sense pretty obsolete, it abounds in acute remarks and criticisms which time has justified. In view of the recent discovery of the “Gospel of Peter,” one reads with curiosity Ritschl’s elaborate refutation of Hilgenfeld’s hypothesis that this apocryphal Gospel was the basis of our canonical Mark. Ritschl struck out for the originality and independence of Mark, at a time when this view had few advocates; and for the rest holds Matthew to be dependent on Mark, and Luke to be dependent on both the

others. The really important part of the volume, however, lies, as above observed, in the discussions on the idea of the Church. Ritschl strenuously holds that the idea of the Church, like every other part of the Protestant system, must be re-shaped in the light of the Evangelical principle. He lays great stress on a right apprehension of the distinction of the visible and the invisible Church—contesting, both from the historical and from the doctrinal point of view, current conceptions on this subject,—and in a second essay shows the application of his principles to Church office, and the reciprocal rights of clergy and laity (Kirchenrecht). The discussion on the visible and the invisible Church will be found on pp. 68-100, and again, in the second essay, on pp. 109-113. Ritschl first, after his manner, carefully investigates the meaning of this distinction in Zwingli (in whom it is first found, but who is shown to be dependent for his fundamental idea on Huss), in Luther and Melancthon, in Calvin, &c. He rejects the Zwinglian and Calvinistic view, which identifies the “invisible” Church with the whole body of the elect, known only to God, and attaches himself to the doctrine of Luther, whose distinction of a *spiritual and inward*, and a *bodily and outward* Christianity, he affirms to have nothing to do with the ordinary conception of invisible and visible. He argues that for the Evangelical conception of the Church nothing is more important than the right distinction and proper inter-relating of the dogmatic, the ethical, and the political marks of the Church. In the Catholic view, all other marks of the Church are submerged in the “political” (outward polity). In distinction from this, the Reformers laid stress on the “dogmatic” marks of the Church,—the Church as the fellowship of saints is recognised by the preaching of the Gospel and the pure administration of the sacraments. Yet more in accordance with the Evangelical principle is the conception of the Church as an “ethical” community, within which there is to be recognised the possibility and right of distinct confessional standpoints. This Ritschl takes to be the real outcome of Luther’s teaching, and of the spirit of the Protestant confessions, and in harmony with it he draws his distinction of a visible and invisible Church. It is one and the same body—outwardly recognisable by Word and Sacrament—to which both of these predicates apply, only that it is viewed in a distinct relation under each. In its empirical historical existence (Sein), it is visible; as a moral growth and development (Werden), it is invisible. More precisely, as an object of sense, the Church is visible; but in its *essential* nature as a Divine institution, embodying Divine factors (Gospel and Sacraments), and existing to realise a Divine ideal, it is not an object of sense, but properly an object of “faith,” and so is invisible. In strictness, it is faith alone which can apprehend it as *the Church*, even in its visible capacity. The Church, therefore, has an

empirical or visible side, but has likewise an ideal or invisible side, and the predicate "invisible" belongs to it through a "determination of worth" proceeding from faith—the organ by which we apprehend "things not seen" (Heb. xi. 1). We are not convinced that Ritschl has succeeded in disproving the truth or scripturalness of the usual distinction, but his able and searching discussion well deserves consideration. The remaining papers in the volume, the subjects of which have been indicated above, must be passed over without further remark.

JAMES ORR.

The Meeting-Place of Geology and History.

By Sir J. William Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S. London: Religious Tract Society. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo, pp. 223. Price, 5s.

THIS book discusses the problems presented by the earliest traces of Man, and gives a picture of that strange shadowland where geological research begins to blend with tradition and archæology. This region is intensely interesting because of the light it throws on the questions of Man's Origin, Antiquity, and Primitive Condition, and few are better fitted to discuss these difficulties than the author.

After a brief outline of the World's history before Man, he enters upon the question of the Antiquity of our race, and gives it as his opinion that Man has not inhabited the Earth for more than 7000 years. Looking to the phenomena of river-gorges, such as the gorge of the Niagara, which has been entirely cut in Post-Glacial times, and are reckoned to be from 7000 to 8000 years old, he infers a very moderate antiquity for the human race. But the question of Tertiary Man comes in here, and Sir J. W. Dawson discusses the evidences of Man's presence in the Miocene and Pliocene eras, and he declares that although there is no proof that Man lived in the former of these epochs, there would be nothing opposed to the Bible in the idea that he then existed. Now, no living geologist would place the Miocene Epoch at a period less removed from the present time than half a million of years, and how this opinion of Man's existence at that time can be reconciled with *any* scheme of Biblical chronology we cannot understand. The signs of Man's presence in this geological era are only a few minute fragments of flint, which are found in France and Spain, and which it is not possible to suppose were made by Man. In the Pliocene Period, which immediately follows, the evidences of Man's existence are much stronger, for here, for the first time, we find

human bones. In Italy skulls and skeletons have been discovered, and at Castelnedolo, near Brescia, several skeletons were discovered, which, it has been asserted, belonged to men who were *shipwrecked* in the Pliocene Period ! If Man, a quarter of a million of years ago, was already a *navigator* on the sea, then Evolutionists may at once abandon all hope of gaining any support for the theory of the ape-origin of Man from geology ; it is, however, very likely that the Castenedolo skeletons belong to later times.

It has been supposed that Man existed in Europe and in America during the early days of the Glacial Period, and in the time of the great Ice-Sheets ; but Sir J. W. Dawson rejects this view, and considers that the so-called implements in the North American glacial gravels belong to a comparatively recent period. He believes that the first certain traces of Man occur just after the close of the Glacial Period, when large portions of Europe rose out of the waters of the icy sea. Archæologists have divided the Prehistoric Period of the Stone Age into two great divisions, from the character of the weapons then used by Man. The oldest of these has been called the Palæolithic Age, because at that time Man used only rough stone weapons, which were never ground nor polished ; and the later of the eras has been termed the Neolithic Period, for then Man's stone weapons were carefully ground and polished. Sir J. W. Dawson rejects these terms, because he says that rough stone and polished stone weapons are often found together, and he substitutes Palanthropic for Palæolithic, and Neanthropic for Neolithic. We do not see any reason to discard the use of the old words, for the two periods are marked not merely by a difference in *human weapons*, but by a still more marked difference in the *animals* that then existed. Thus in the Palæolithic Period we find elephants, lions, rhinoceroses, and hippopotamuses, but these all completely disappear when we enter the Neolithic Period. The distinction between the characters of the stone weapons in these two epochs is of little consequence, but difference in the faunas is of the greatest importance. Thus the Palæolithic Era is the Period of the Stone Age, when the great extinct mammalia lived in Europe, and the Neolithic Era is the period in which they no longer existed.

The description which Sir J. W. Dawson gives of the Palæolithic (or as he calls it) the Palanthropic Period of Western Europe, is certainly the most valuable portion of his book. The Palæolithic Age was a time of great mountains, dense forests, and mighty rivers. The land in Western Europe stretched much further west than now, and England was united to France and Denmark. The mammoth, elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus ranged the lowlands ; lions, hyenas, and bears filled the woods ; and reindeer and musk-oxen peopled the uplands. Man existed in considerable numbers, and, it

has been supposed, formed at that time three distinct races. The first is the race of Cannstadt, the men of which were rough, brutal, and savage, and of comparatively short stature; to this race belong the skulls of Eguisheim, Spy, and Neanderthal. It has been thought that this race was the oldest of the three, but there is no proof of this, and the skulls from Engis and Solutré—which belong to the race of Cro-Magnon—are at least as old as any relics of the men of Cannstadt. The skulls belonging to the Cannstadt men are long, with very low retreating foreheads, and with but small cranial capacity, and owing to these features many naturalists have thought that they approximate towards the skulls of apes, and favour the theory of the simian characteristics of the earliest men. But this idea utterly breaks down when we discover that amongst the clever and cultured mound builders in North America, skulls have been found exactly like those of the Cannstadt men in shape, and of even smaller cranial capacity. The second of the Palæolithic races has been termed the Cro-Magnon race, and its remains are abundant in Central France, in Belgium, and in Northern Italy. The men of this race were of great height—often over seven feet—of immense strength, and fine mental power, for their cranial capacity was greater than that of the average modern European. They dressed in skins, painted their faces, domesticated the horse; and used weapons of stone and of polished bone. They were artists also of great skill, for they engraved figures of animals, and even of men, on bits of slate, and on fragments of ivory and of reindeer horn. The dead were carefully buried, the weapons being interred with the deceased, showing that the men of those ancient days, had a belief in immortality, and probably also in the existence of a Supreme Being. Such was the Cro-Magnon race, and the gigantic warriors belonging to it might well be termed “mighty men of renown.” The third of the Palæolithic races, has been called the Truchère Race, but, as it is founded upon one skull only, it is rather early to consider that there was a definite race bearing the characteristics of the skull, and as distinct and well defined as the races of Cannstadt and Cro-Magnon. Having described the men and animals of the Palæolithic, or Palanthropic Age, Dr Dawson passes on to consider the great catastrophe which brought this period to a close. We are here—at the close of the Palæolithic Period—face to face with four striking facts. *First*, the sudden and complete disappearance of the great beasts of the Palæolithic Period, which vanished completely at the close of the earliest stone age, for not a trace of any of them can be found in the period which immediately follows. *Secondly*, the fact that the remains of these animals are heaped together in great masses, young and old, carnivorous and herbivorous being promiscuously mingled. *Thirdly*,

the total disappearance of Palæolithic Man, and the complete gap which exists between him and his immediate successors in the Neolithic Period. *Fourthly*, the existence of enormous beds of sand, clay, and gravel, spread out in vast sheets, which were deposited at the same time, and which indicate the power of tumultuous inundations. From all these facts Sir Henry Howorth, the Duke of Argyll and others have maintained that a tremendous inundation or series of inundations took place at the close of the Palæolithic Period. This gap is as pronounced in America as it is in Europe, for the earliest men in North America disappear at the close of the Palæolithic Age, and all efforts to identify them with the present Eskimo, are perfectly useless. Dr Dawson thoroughly admits the occurrence of this great diluvial catastrophe, which closed the Palæolithic Age, and he declares that it was owing to a general subsidence of the land in Western Europe, which took place less than 6000 years ago.

The Neolithic Period (Neanthropic of our author) followed the Palæolithic Period, but was quite of a different character. In Europe only the fauna known in the historical times existed, the elephant, lion, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus, having quite disappeared. The men of the time were no longer tall, long-headed, and artistic, but were of medium height, round-headed and agricultural, they possessed strong affinities to the Iberians or to the Guanches of the Canary Islands.

We now come to the important question—How are these discoveries to be brought into harmony with the earlier portions of the Book of Genesis? Sir J. W. Dawson sets himself to the task of harmonising those parts of the Sacred Record with the recent results of geology. He first maintains that the Palæolithic Age in Western Europe is the Antediluvian Period in Genesis, and in this he follows Sir Henry Howorth. The three great races of the Palæolithic Period he arranges as follows:—The Cannstadt Race signifies the ancient Cainites, rough, low, and brutal; the Truchère Race, he thinks, belongs to the descendants of Seth, who were only just on the verge of Europe; as to the mighty Cro-Magnon Race, he considers that they were the “giants” of the Book of Genesis, and that they formerly inhabited the lost Atlantis which existed in the Western Ocean, and were driven eastwards as those old lands slowly sank beneath the waves. Of course these identifications are purely hypothetical, especially as the existence of the Truchère Race is so doubtful, but the enormous size and vast strength of the Cro-Magnon people, who are supposed by our author to have been a mixed race, sprung from the union of the Cannstadt and Truchère Races—supports the idea that they were the Giants of the Book of Genesis. The Noachian Deluge is considered by Dr Dawson to be

the great diluvial catastrophe which closed the Palæolithic Period, and which is so strongly evidenced by geological investigations in Europe, America, and in Siberia. The Neolithic Age represents the early portions of the Postdiluvian Period, when the descendants of Noah spread over the earth and became the Neolithic (Neanthropic) tribes. The account given by Dr Dawson of Prehistoric Egypt and Syria is most interesting, and the discoveries in the Lebanon caverns show that, before Noah's Flood, the rhinoceros and reindeer lived in Syria. Egypt was in those days a beautifully-wooded country, while the sea ran up for a long distance between the two bordering ranges of limestone hills which enclose the valley of the Nile.

We have not space to follow Sir J. W. Dawson in his speculations on the situation of the Garden of Eden, and in the outline which he gives of the Postdiluvian dispersion. These topics have been frequently discussed, and belong to the province of Biblical Criticism as well as to that of archæological investigation.

The book is not a large one, and argument consequently is put briefly. But the Bible Student will find much to interest him in it.

D. GATH WHITLEY.

Morality and Religion.

*Being the Kerr Lectures for 1893-4. By Rev. James Kidd, D.D.
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 464. Price, 10s. 6d.*

IN discoursing of the distinction and connection of morality and religion, Mr Kidd has returned to a theme which may be said to have been classic since Kant and Schleiermacher. Certain of his discussions might indeed have been spared or abridged in order to make room for a history of its treatment in the modern schools of philosophy and theology. A German writer would have considered it an elementary duty to furnish such a critico-historical sketch, and would thereby have materially assisted the reader to grasp his own positions and to appreciate their distinctive significance. It was also well worth while, on general grounds, to write this interesting chapter of modern thought—starting with the great triangular conflict at the end of last century, in which, as against the ecclesiastical tradition, rationalism merged religion in morality, while romanticism detached it from both creed and conduct; thence advancing to examine the Hegelian apology for religion as the complement of morality, and its rejection by the English Empiricists as useless or pernicious; and finally going on to judge of the contributions made to the elucidation of the question by the vigorous

modern disciplines of the Philosophy of Religion and Christian Ethics. But while there is reason to complain that the lecturer has not sufficiently filled in the historical background of his argument, it must be heartily acknowledged that he has contributed a thoughtful, able, and useful book on a subject which continues to gain rather than lose in practical importance. For there is again the same need felt which roused Schleiermacher to assert the claims of religion upon "the cultured among the despisers thereof;" and if these lectures lack the eloquence and vehemence which immortalise the "Reden über die Religion," they at least similarly vindicate the sovereign dignity of religion, and expose the shallowness and the peril of an ethical culture which has lost the vision of God.

The determination of the relationship subsisting between religion and morality, announced as the object of the book before us, proceeds on the following lines:—(1) An examination of the nature and implications of morality; (2) a similar analysis of religion; (3) an exposition of their mutual relations; (4) the verification of the results by comparison with the testimony of Christ. The plan is certainly comprehensive; and as worked out it issues in an apologetical treatise, which is at the same time a collection of well-informed and suggestive essays on Moral Philosophy, the Philosophy of Religion, Comparative Religion and the Biblical Theology of the Gospels. That at times the general argument, owing to the independent interest of these branches of Theology, disappears below the horizon, is as easily excused as explained. It would be a serious task to follow the lecturer through this wide region of philosophy and theology, and it will be sufficient to indicate the heads of the various arguments most closely relevant to the main purpose of differentiating and relating the spiritual phenomena under discussion. The essay on Ethics, containing chapters on "Conduct and Motive" and "The Moral Ideal," yields three main propositions bearing on the matter in hand—firstly, that the object of morality is "the action of a rational being as such," more precisely, our self-determined attitudes and activities; secondly, that the moral ideal is the self-realisation of man as a being placed in a sphere of social relations; and thirdly, that the moral ideal, inexplicable and impracticable on the principles of naturalistic ethics, implies God alike as its source and as the condition of its actualisation. The next division furnishes a parallel analysis of religion, prefaced by a chapter on method, and concluding with an incursion into the region of the heathen religions—which, it may be added, are rapidly acquiring the same reputation as statistics. The general conclusions reached in the analysis which occupies itself with religion as exemplified in the perfect type of Christianity, may be summarised in the statements that the essence of religion is "reverence for the

Best and Highest known to us or conceivable by us," and that this sentiment by an inward necessity reveals, bodies itself forth in two characteristic forms—on the one hand in the adoration whose mother-tongue is worship, on the other in aspiration or a self-renouncing endeavour to grow in likeness to, and thus to enjoy and preserve communion with, the object of religious reverence. In the light, now, of these parallel analyses it would appear that very definite affirmations can be made as to the distinction and the connection of the subjects under review. As regards the distinction, morality appears as a manifestation of will, religion as an evolution from a sentiment or feeling; the end of morality is self-realisation, of religion communion with God. As regards the connection, morality has its spring in religion, while religion inevitably issues in morality. Taking first the distinctions, it must be said that Mr Kidd's argumentation undoubtedly connects itself with the theory which has grounded the distinction of religion and morality on a distinction of the faculties primarily associated with each—viz., feeling and will; for although he afterwards tones down the distinction of the inner states and activities with which they are associated to the distinction between self-surrender and self-determination, this is not consistent with the earlier treatment of "the religious sentiment," where reverence is defined as the essence of religion, and as "the spring and animating breath" of ritual and conduct, if not of creed. The temptingly easy hypothesis which Mr Kidd embraces in reality but afterwards renounces in appearance—the hypothesis that morality is in essence an affair of the will, religion of the feelings, is in truth not tenable, and must give way before the sounder psychology which teaches that, in both, thought, feeling and will are found in primitive union. The real distinction is to be sought, as Mr Kidd adds later on, in the difference of the objects or spheres of morality and religion, and of the ends contemplated in each. The solid distinction doubtless is that morality is concerned with our relations to the world, religion with our relations to God, and that the *summum bonum* of the former is of the nature of obedience to law, of the latter akin to friendship. In reference to the ends, it may be doubted, in passing, if the vague conception of self-realisation is the ultimate philosophical formula for the ethical ideal. In the third division mutual relations of morality and religion are drawn out at length on the lines indicated in the earlier analysis. First of all, the distinctions previously dwelt upon are shown to be relative, in fact to merge in a close connection, and in the succeeding discussion the nature of the connection is determined in the sense of the subordination of morality—"a subordination analogous to that between a member and the organism of which it forms a part." In the second chapter of this section we are taken on to

consider the possibility of the spiritual phenomena happily expressed by a recent German writer in his two headings—"Gut aber nicht fromm," "Fromm aber nicht gut"; and the conclusion reached, after an argument of sustained strength and lofty tone, is that in neither case is the isolation possible—that a genuine morality presupposes religion, and that a genuine religion must utter itself in morality. This third section, which deals at close quarters with the leading thesis, is indeed the best part of the book—combining, as it does, with ample evidence of independent speculative power, a mastery of the best thoughts that have been thrown out by recent masters who have laboured in the field. The concluding section is a less important contribution to the discussion, but has very considerable independent merit as a study of the teaching of Jesus, little hampered by the traditions of the discipline. So sound, indeed, is the criticism of the accepted treatment of the subject-matter which subjects it to the category of the Kingdom of God, and so good some of the detail, that it is to be hoped Mr Kidd will return to Biblical Theology in another capacity than that of the raiding apologist.

From this general outline we may now briefly turn to the more distinctive positions of the lectures, which, while not the most valuable portions, are of considerable interest. As such we may fairly regard the fundamental position assigned to reverence, and the conception of the mode in which religion creates a moral dynamic. In reference to the former of these doctrines, it has already been stated that, in Mr Kidd's analysis, reverence appears as the germ which, by the grace of God, unfolds into worship and the other religious phenomena. In it there lies the promise and the potency of the various developments of subjective and objective religion. Now, while reverence is doubtless a sweet and saintly grace, the time seems to have come to protest against the exaggerated honours which are being heaped upon it. Since the publication of Wilhelm Meister, we have so often heard that we almost believe the statement, that reverence is the truth of all the positive religions, which differ only according as they revere what is above us, around us, or beneath us. By modern ministers reverence is commended and extolled before the congregation until an impression is created that it marks the summit of Christian attainment. And now we have Mr. Kidd's argument that it is not only the omega but the alpha of religion—not only "the sea to which it goes" but also "the hills from which it flows." In general it may be observed that the importance recently attached to this grace is unwarranted and pernicious, and in particular that it does not occupy that fundamental position, as "spring and animating breath," which is here assigned to it. Tested by the facts of Christianity, it appears that it is not primary,

but a secondary result of the cardinal, and most truly characteristic religious act, known as faith. Experience shows that reverence is commonly absent, or so weak as to be negligible until, by the sovereign act of faith, the soul passes into a filial relationship with God; and it is only at a later stage, and as a result of the vitality and power of faith, that it comes to play any important part in colouring the character and in moulding conduct. At the very most it could only be conceded that reverence is part of the emotional side of faith, and as such it is by no means the most important part of that whole-souled spiritual act in which man has in all religions cast himself upon his God for protection, help and life.

The second important position which may be referred to is the account given of the special conditions under which religion issues in morality. That a pious man is a good man, that justification is followed by sanctification, is of course axiomatic in theology. As to the conditions, however, under which the root of piety bears the fruits of righteousness, there is room for difference of opinion. It is not sufficient to say that under Christianity the pious man is a good man because he has been born a new creature, and because the Spirit of God dwelleth in him. From Paul downwards it has been seen that the divine influences work in and through definite human springs of conduct; and it is in his conception of the subjective link between piety and righteousness that Mr Kidd has emphasised a comparatively neglected factor. His characteristic contribution to the doctrine of the Christian dynamic is that reverence involves desire of imitation, and that religious reverence necessarily issues in a desire to become like Him who has moved us by His excellence. "Having seen and acknowledged our ideal, we cannot help feeling a desire to rise towards it. . . . On this side, if anywhere, a connection between religion and morality will be discovered." The factor thus emphasised is certainly important. The oldest religious usages, according to a writer quoted with approval by Pfeiderer, were "acts which imitate the doings of the higher powers;" the view further has support in the sayings of Jesus, which propose the example of God to the disciples, and in Paul's exhortation to be imitators of God; and it has moreover been powerfully operative in Christendom. But the desire to become like the object of religious reverence is not to be emphasised as the exclusive, or even the principal, factor in the dynamic furnished by Christianity. Within the sphere of Christian experience the impulse to holiness of life mainly springs, as Paul and Luther saw, from a sense of gratitude for the unmerited blessings bestowed by God upon His unworthy creatures; and this view of the pre-eminent importance of gratitude as the spring of

sanctification is confirmed by the observation that works of Christian beneficence are commonly motivated by the phrase "for Christ's sake." It is less the desire to imitate God than gratitude for what He has done, along with the hope of what through Him shall yet be, that explains how piety has produced its plenteous harvest of integrity and philanthropy.

Reference to what are taken to be distinctive doctrines of the lectures has entailed the disadvantage of so far diverting attention from the great wealth of material which they contain, and the value of the general argument, which is in fact sustained by remarkable analytical power and fulness of thought. The vigour to which the style, sometimes too hurried and diffuse, can attain, may be illustrated by the sentences in which the writer embodies his capital conclusions. "Divorced from morality, religion will become a sickly sentimentalism, or a fitful superstition, from which keen healthy virile natures will turn with contempt as a caricature or a delusion. Divorced from religion, morality will become a calculating prudence whose only principle is self-interest, or a fickle expediency, which will debase instead of elevating men."

W. P. PATERSON.

The Psalter, with a Concordance and other Auxiliary Matter.

London: John Murray, 1895. 32mo, pp. 260. Price 3s. 6d.

THIS dainty booklet challenges attention before the reader has formed acquaintance with its contents or read so much as the title-page. For the lettering on the flexible binding informs him that within is to be found "The Psalter, with Concordance, &c., by W. E. Gladstone." Anything from the pen of that venerable Nestor of British statesmanship has a claim upon our respectful regard not to be set aside. As the seven volumes of his "Gleanings" amply testify, Mr Gladstone has, all through his busy life, found diversion and recreation in widely apart fields of literature, scholarship, and the fine arts. Among these fields the Biblical and Theological are known to have a fascination for his versatile genius not surpassed if even equalled by any others. The author of "The State in its Relations with the Church," whom Lord Macaulay described, when that work appeared in 1839, as "a young man of unblemished character, and of distinguished parliamentary talents, the rising hope of stern and unbending Tories," might have been Primate of the Church of England had not politics claimed him and then rewarded him for his splendid devotion to her service by making him Prime Minister of State.

When, therefore, we find the retired Leader of the House of Commons and of the Liberal party throughout the country devoting a portion of his leisure to editing an edition of the English Psalter and furnishing it with auxiliary matter, we do not think of him as breaking ground in a fresh field, rather do we regard him as falling back upon earlier studies which have never for him parted with their charm. And this view of Mr Gladstone, as he sends forth from Hawarden Castle "a book of private devotion," finds confirmation in the closing paragraph of his briefly worded preface, in which paragraph he states that the Concordance, which is the *adminiculum* of greatest bulk, was executed "nearly half a century ago," executed, that is to say, when Macaulay's young man was "rising to eminence in the House of Commons," and shortly after his appearance as an author, if not an authority, upon Church and State Relations.

The auxiliary matter supplied by Mr Gladstone for this separate issue of the Prayer-book prose version of the Psalms consists of (1) Headings for the several Psalms ; (2) Subjects specially touched in particular passages of the Psalms ; (3) Psalms and Psalm Extracts ; (4) Psalms specially appropriated to ordinary and occasional services ; (5) Alternative Renderings ; (6) A Concordance of 1st, Proper Names ; 2nd, Ordinary Words. Of these six groups of editorial matter nothing but what is favourable falls to be said. Each section is interesting and suggestive, although no one department is exhaustively treated or displays any striking originality of conception or of treatment.

The one desideratum a survey of the contents suggests is some information regarding the Psalter itself, the position it holds among English Versions of Scripture, its literary peculiarities, and its claims to a place of permanence in the literature of our country.

The editor's explanation of the absence of information bearing on these points would probably be that any treatment of them, however brief, would be out of place in a small volume intended for private devotional use. It may, however, be permitted us to supply in a few sentences what is wanting, and what in our judgment would, if furnished, have enhanced the value and interest of a publication which, on editorial grounds alone, will always have attraction for book fanciers and book collectors.

The rendering of the Psalter used in the Church of England Book of Common Prayer, and here reprinted separately, is *not* that of 1611. While by far the greater number of Scripture quotations in the Prayer-book are taken from "the King's Bible," or Authorised Version, the Psalter and the Scripture passages employed in the office of Holy Communion are derived from an older English translation. That translation was, on its first appearance in 1539, called

"The Great Bible," on account of its bulky dimensions and appearance; and when, in 1540, it appeared with a lengthy prologue by Cranmer, it came to be known as "Cranmer's Bible." But this Bible was only a revised version of Coverdale's translation made and published in 1535. Now one peculiarity of Coverdale's translation is that it is not and does not profess to be made from the original Hebrew and Greek. It is only a secondary version, a translation of other translations. On the title-page of the one perfect copy in the Earl of Leicester's library at Holkham it is honestly declared to be—"Biblia—The Bible, that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe. M.D.XXXV." From this it will be seen that, whatever excellences the Prayer-book Psalter may possess, it is wholly destitute of exegetical or critical value. No scholar thinks of referring to Coverdale's Bible in connection with a disputed reading or a doubtful rendering; no exegete seeks to strengthen his interpretation of a knotty passage with a quotation from the Prayer-book prose version.

When it is enquired how it came about that, while other portions of Scripture in the Anglican Book of Common Prayer—with the exception of those in the Communion service—were taken from the Authorised Version of 1611 at the latest Prayer-book revision in 1661, the old Psalter was not altered, but remained as in 1535, the only explanation seems to be that cathedral and parish church choirs had grown accustomed to the older version, the language of which was smoother, and so better adapted for chanting than that of later date.

The retention of this sixteenth century version is, however, attended with drawbacks. For some of the words occurring in it have become obsolete, while others have acquired a significance different from the earlier one. Instances of obsolete words are to be found in "Tush," "knappeth," "good-luck," "vamping," "shawms"; for illustration of a word of changed signification there may be given the use of the vocable "namely" in such a verse as, "Namely, while they say daily unto me, Where is now thy God?" in which verse "namely" has the force of particularly, specially.

Then, as might be expected in the case of a version devoid of scholastic value, the Prayer-book Psalter betrays great weakness and considerable caprice in its rendering of tenses. Thus, the plaintive prayer in the seventh and eighth verses of the fifty-first Psalm is set aside in favour of this weak series of affirmations:—"Thou shalt purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean: thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow. Thou shalt make me hear of joy and gladness: that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice."

Again, some of the renderings in the Psalter translation, although

not positively erroneous, are quaint, grotesque, and not without a suggestion of the ludicrous out of place in a book intended for modern private devotions. It is so in the case of this rendering of the sixth verse of the sixty-eighth Psalm, which we give in the original spelling—"He is the God that maketh men to be of one mynde in a house, and bryngeth the presoners out of captiuitie in due season, but letteth the rennagates continue in scarcenesse;" and also in this of the sixth verse of the seventy-second: "He shall come down like the rain into a fiese of woll, even as the dropes that water the earth."

What is there, then, in this old version of the Psalter to counterbalance such peculiarities and blemishes, and to evoke the loving regard and admiration of its most recent editor? Mr Gladstone himself suggests the answer when, in the course of his preface, he affirms of the Psalter text as it stands in his Prayer-book—"it is of incomparable beauty." This beauty shines forth alike in sentences and in phrases, the felicity and the cadence of which fill the ear and haunt the memory of even illiterate and unmusical souls. Of entire verses, apt and melodious in rendering, two are probably known to most of our readers. One is the rendering of the last verse of Psalm twenty-seven, "O tarry thou the Lord's leisure: be strong, and He shall comfort thine heart; and put thou thy trust in the Lord." Was it the first sentence in this translation that suggested to Toplady two lines in his hymn beginning, "Your harps, ye trembling saints"—lines that form the opening of verse sixth, a verse which, by a singular conspiracy of editorial ineptitude, has been omitted from every Presbyterian hymnal of modern compiling, but which runs thus:—

*"Tarry His leisure then,
Although He seem to stay;
A moment's intercourse with Him,
Thy grief will overpay?"*

The other verse is to be found in the ninety-sixth Psalm, where the tenth verse has for rendering, "Tell it out among the heathen that the Lord is King: and that it is He who hath made the round world so fast that it cannot be moved; and how that he shall judge the people righteously." Here the opening summons has been skilfully appropriated by Miss Havergal in her spirited missionary hymn or anthem, "Tell it out among the heathen that the Lord is King! Tell it out! Tell it out!"

It would be easy to place alongside of these two other verse-renderings in no way inferior to them in beauty. Exhausted space, however, does not admit of our doing more than simply directing attention to Psalms xviii. 30; xix. 7; xxxiii. 19; lxix. 5; lxxi. 18; lxxx. 1; and cvi. 24.

Then Coverdale's Psalter is as rich in phrases of felicity and melody as it is in sentences of rhythmic flow and fulness. The version of 1611 enriched its pages with a large number of these, but over and above what has found a place there the reader of the old Psalter will come upon such felicities of wording as, "The patient abiding of the meek," "the needful time of trouble," "the nethermost hell," "the waters of comfort," "the fair beauty of the Lord," "the sorrowful sighing of the prisoners," "the great water-floods," "a man full of words."

Taking all that has been advanced into account, it may safely be predicted that Coverdale's Psalter will never become wholly obsolete, although it is of no value to the scholar, and contains a considerable amount of antiquated phraseology. Associated with its intrinsic merits as a manual of devotion there will ever after this be the charm of a name which his countrymen will not suffer to die out of grateful remembrance—that of its loving and painstaking elucidator, William Ewart Gladstone.

C. G. M'CRIE.

Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch nach den Idiomen des palästinischen Talmud und Midrasch, des Onkelostargum (Cod. Socini 84) und der jerusalemischen Targume zum Pentateuch.

Von Gustaf Dalman. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. xii. 348. Price, M.12.

ALL who have roamed in the wilderness of Jewish-Aramaic forms, as exhibited in Talmud, Midrash and Targum, will welcome the appearance of Herr Dalman's careful and scientific grammar. As its title indicates, the book is limited to Jewish *Palestinian* Aramaic, leaving out of account meanwhile the *Babylonian* dialect (which belongs not to *Western*, but to *Eastern* Aramaic) employed in the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud, and in other productions of the Babylonian school, such as the decisions of the Doctors (*Geonim*). Within the field of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic there are in the main two dialects to be distinguished—(1) *Judean*, fairly well represented to us (though much affected by Hebrew) (a) in an older stage (third and second centuries B.C.) by the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra, and (b) in a later stage by two Targums, the so-called Onkelos on the Pentateuch and so-called Jonathan on the Prophets, which, though almost certainly first written down at Babylon not earlier than the fifth century A.D., have nevertheless largely conserved the linguistic features they had acquired during centuries of oral use in Palestine.

(2) *Galilean*, the dialect employed by the learned of Tiberias, Caesarea and other Galilean schools from the fourth to the sixth centuries A.D., of which the greatest monument is the Aramaic of the Palestinian Talmud. It is interesting to note that Dalman has shown, by a careful comparison of words and forms (see the list on pp. 34-40), that this Galilean dialect is most nearly akin to the *Christian* Palestinian Aramaic, of which the grammar was written by Nöldeke in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxii. pp. 443-527, and the extant literature has been published by Count Miniscalchi Erizzo, Lagarde, and others (Wright's *Syriac Literature*, p. 17 *f.*). The *Samaritan* dialect, which does not fall within the scope of Dalman's work, occupies a middle place between Judean and Galilean. Lastly, must be mentioned the mixture of the Judean and Galilean dialects that characterises the so-called Jerusalem (really Palestinian) Targums, which, in Dalman's view, are much later than the works above mentioned. It should be observed that, in dealing with the Targums, Babylonian and Palestinian alike, he confines himself in the main to those on the Pentateuch (Onkelos and Yerushalmi), putting aside for convenience sake those on the Prophets and Hagiographa.

The distinguishing merit of Dalman's method is the *separation*, for grammatical purposes, of Jewish works which betray diversity of origin by difference of linguistic features. That this may be done effectively, references are given throughout for all but the most common words to the works in which they occur, and the forms characteristic of the Judean, Galilean and mixed dialects are set side by side. This constitutes a great advance on the treatment of Jewish-Aramaic in the older grammars of Winer, Fürst, and Petermann, and almost rivals in thoroughness the work of Kautzsch within the narrower sphere of Biblical Aramaic. The method, of course, makes the grammar more cumbersome and difficult to read, but the practical gain for research is enormous. One can imagine how useful the book would have been in a recent controversy on the Aramaic original of the Gospels.

Another most important feature is the thoroughly scientific treatment of the vowels. Following the footsteps of Merx in his *Chrestomathia Targumica*, Dalman has recognised the great importance to be attached to the testimony of the supralinear pointing of the Targums as exhibited in South Arabian MSS., and has used this pointing throughout the grammar (except in the paradigms, for a reason stated in the preface). But he has at the same time done justice to the Massoretic sublinear pointing of Biblical Aramaic (which he calls *Tiberian*, from the place of its origin), while he recognises the extent to which this has been affected by Hebraisation (as has also the supralinear, though to a less extent). Most interesting is

his comparison of these two systems on pp. 55-56 and elsewhere. A third guide in the matter of vocalisation he finds in the *matres lectionis*, or vowel-letters, so abundant in the later Hebrew and Aramaic dialects; and a fourth in the transliterations of Jewish-Aramaic words to be found in the LXX. and other Old Testament versions, in the New Testament and Josephus, in Jerome, and in Arabic writings—thus testifying to the pronunciation at four separate periods. These transliterations, which are so interesting and important in regard to the sounds not only of Aramaic but of ancient Hebrew, are made to do excellent service in the pages on pronunciation. With these aids at his command, our author is able to abandon any dependence on the ridiculous vocalisation of the ordinary Jewish MSS. and editions of the Targums—whose absurdity is shown, not only by its violation of the rules of Aramaic grammar, but by its continual inconsistency with itself.

Besides its thorough treatment of grammar, the book of course contains large contributions to our knowledge of the vocabulary of the Judean and Galilean dialects, in those respects in which they stand contrasted with one another. The general conclusion that one forms from the survey of grammar and vocabulary is that the Judean dialect is nearer Hebrew; while the Galilean—closely akin, as has been said, to the *Christian* Aramaic of Palestine—is nearer Syriac, whilst containing a number of words and some grammatical features peculiar to itself.

Of course important points still remain unsettled, such as the extent to which Hebrew grammar and vocabulary have affected the grammar and vocabulary of the Targums, making them unlike those of any spoken dialect. And in general we must remember that in most of the extant Jewish-Aramaic literature the dialect employed is a largely artificial "speech of the learned," not the normal language spoken by the people. On another subject—which bears on the history not merely of the language but of the exegesis and theology of the later Jews—the relative dates of the different Targums, the last word has not been said. Dalman is in favour of putting the literal and methodical Targum Onkelos much earlier than the somewhat irregular and uneven Jerusalem Targums on the Pentateuch, which he relegates to the seventh century A.D. But he does not seem to have disposed of the arguments adduced by Nöldeke (*Alttestamentliche Litteratur*, p. 256 f.), and especially by Buhl (*Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, Eng. trans., p. 173 f.), to show that the Jerusalem Targums contain at least some strata of an older period, whereas the Targum Onkelos "is rather a learned, and therefore a secondary work" (Buhl, *l.c.*). But on this very obscure subject our best hope of a solution lies in such careful scientific inquiry as Dalman carries out.

There is no language or dialect, not even ancient Hebrew or Greek, that has greater claims on Christian scholars than the Aramaic spoken by the Jews of Palestine at the opening of the Christian era. Hence our gratitude should be the greater to the author of this grammar, who has accumulated so much helpful material and cleared away so many difficulties.

NORMAN M'LEAN.

A Critical Account of the Philosophy of Lotze : the Doctrine of Thought.

By Henry Jones, M.A., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 8vo, pp. xiv. 375. Price 6s. net.

THE appearance of Professor Jones's volume on the Philosophy of Lotze fulfils a natural expectation of those who have followed the course of recent philosophical discussion in this country. Lotze is in many respects the most serious of the critics of modern Idealism ; and his growing influence has made a "critical account" of his philosophy very desirable. His work demands the attention of idealists, not only because his philosophical attitude is one of deliberate antagonism to Hegelian idealism, but also because he has been deeply, though on the whole negatively, influenced by modern scientific points of view, and especially because he has played a vigorous, if somewhat critical, part in the development of scientific psychology.

Lotze's special importance, however, as a critic of Idealism, consists in the fact that he is not by any means a conventional Empiricist. He takes up an independent position, and joins himself to neither of the regular camps ; and, while he is thus independent of philosophical parties, he often appears to be no less independent of the human prejudice in favour of definite conclusions. He is thus a formidable, because an inaccessible assailant ; for, as Mr Jones says, "no camp can be overthrown till it is pitched somewhere, and no opponent can be overthrown till he takes up some position of his own" : it is certainly not easy to criticise a philosopher who actually glories, as Lotze seems to do, in the discovery and advertisement of a *cul de sac*.

His ponderous inconclusiveness is no doubt a weakness as well as a strength to Lotze. It gives an impression of intellectual paralysis, which must often alienate rather than convince serious students of philosophy. Lotze's work has neither the sweep and

unity which give charm to Hegel's thought, nor the deliberate and progressive, if somewhat parenthetic, accuracy of Kant's construction. Still it is probably the supremely critical quality of Lotze's writings which is chiefly responsible for their influence—an influence out of all proportion to the number of those who would regard themselves as his disciples. His very detachment from the movements of contemporary thought, and his almost cynical frankness about ultimate speculative solutions, give weight to that conservative tendency which, as Mr Jones suggests, has probably a good deal to do with Lotze's popularity.

This conservative or "orthodox" tendency of Lotze's work is not an aspect of it which Mr Jones desires to criticise or to traverse. He regards it as "a positive achievement for a philosopher to be 'orthodox,' provided his orthodoxy is philosophical. For he has not to invent the world of art, or morality, or religion, but to understand it." On the other hand, however, Mr Jones insists that philosophy must hold the common convictions of mankind "in a manner fundamentally different from the ordinary consciousness;" common sense, that is to say, and experience must be re-thought into a synthesis more complete than their own; and it is here that Lotze is found wanting; "for the mere critic is always dominated by an unconscious conservatism which only makes a show of passing its convictions through the crucible of doubt." This introduces the fundamental question for the critic of Lotze—the question whether his work is a real development of philosophy or a departure from its main tradition, and a sacrifice of its real function and only justification; and this is a question which it is all the more necessary to ask in Lotze's case, because his influence affects scientific even more than popular thought: all recent metaphysical discussion is affected, and some of it is considerably leavened by his teaching. While, however, his logical and metaphysical theories have been more or less explicitly canvassed in detail, yet, for the last ten years (with the exception of two suggestive articles in *Mind* by Mr Eastwood) little has been done in English in the way of criticising Lotze's fundamental positions and the grounds of his divergence from the idealist tradition.

Mr Jones's book, therefore, which has this for its main purpose, is most timely; and his discussion is as excellent as it is opportune. The book is meant for special students rather than for general readers; and only those who have a robust appetite for logical problems will be able to read, without flagging, the chapters on "The Theory of Judgment" and "Lotze's Doctrine of Inference and the Systematic Forms of Thought." To the serious student, however, the whole book cannot fail to be interesting. It is brilliantly and powerfully written; and, in Mr Jones's hands, Lotze himself forgets

to be dull ; while that very concentration of the argument upon certain main issues, which may limit the number of those to whom the book will appeal, is likely to seem one of the chief of its many merits to those who are interested in the problems which it discusses.

Mr Jones finds "the main watershed in modern philosophical theory" in the question whether thought is "receptive" or "constructive"; and the present volume is mainly a criticism of Lotze's relation to this question. Lotze's aim was "to strike a middle path between the Scepticism which severs knowledge and reality, and the Idealism which seemed to him to identify them"; and Mr Jones's criticism indicates that, in his search for this *via media*, Lotze oscillates between the view that thought "is formal and receptive, and its only work is that of reflection," and the view that it "is essentially constructive, the cause on account of which alone there can be either ideas or objects, or connections between them." This oscillation or transition from one view of thought to the other is traced by Mr Jones in Lotze's account of Conception and of Judgment, and in his passage from Subsumption to Substitution. In each of these cases Lotze is compelled, in the course of his attempt to explain knowledge, to advance from the formal conception of thought, with which he begins, to a recognition of its concrete, synthetic, or constructive character.

Lotze starts from "the assumption that the first datum of knowledge is the subjective state"; but he finds this everywhere inadequate as an hypothesis for the explanation of knowledge; and he is compelled to adopt various expedients in order to evade the difficulties which are created by this original assumption. He exalts the function of feeling and volition in relation to knowledge; he finds in sense the whole content of experience, and contrasts its concreteness with the abstraction of thought; and he makes the validity of knowledge depend ultimately upon an intuition which is itself resolvable into feeling. In pointing out the character and tendency of these expedients, Mr Jones develops a criticism of Lotze, which is chiefly an account of the way in which Lotze's pre-conceptions are modified by his attempt to explain knowledge. But this, which is a most satisfactory and objective method of criticism, is also determined throughout by a constructive system of philosophy, from which the criticism derives its chief interest. Mr Jones maintains that thought knows reality directly and at first hand. "The genuine object of thought . . . is *reality*, and reality, *pari passu*, with our knowledge of it, shows itself as ideal." Lotze's contrast between the concreteness of reality and the abstraction of thought represents a misleading conception of what thought is; for real thought is essentially concrete; and "the emptier a thought is . . . the less it is a *thought*." Abstraction is a departure from

real thought just as truly as from real things. The concreteness of reality is thus no ground for asserting its inaccessibility to thought; and, against all Lotze's attempts to explain our knowledge of reality independently of thought, Mr Jones insists that thought is involved in every stage of knowledge, and that the only reality of which we can say anything is reality understood as the object of thought. He shows that thought is essential both to the cognitive value of that Feeling, in which Lotze finds the beginning of knowledge, and to the existence of those Judgments of Value which reveal, for Lotze, the ultimate ground of truth and reality. Thus "neither thought nor feeling nor intuition can correct the error of Lotze's original assumption, namely, that knowledge begins with an inner world of subjective states, and then strives to find a way outwards." It is impossible, in fact, to supplement the cognitive work of thought, regarded as purely subjective, by referring to elements in conscious experience which are not thoughts; for these can give no information, and are quite irrelevant. If thought be limited to subjective states, then no way can ever be found of explaining how reality is known; and if thought be not thus confined, then sense, and reasoning, and judgments of worth are all functions of thought, or stages in the development of its constructive work. If the system of reality were not present in knowledge from the beginning, it could never be found in it in the end.

Mr Jones, then, finds Lotze's chief service to philosophy in his having deepened "that Idealism which he sought to overthrow," by showing indirectly "that thought and its data cannot . . . be set in direct antagonism to each other if knowledge is to be the issue of their interaction," and "that the only way to reach reality at the end of the process of thought is to take our departure from it."

The determination of thought by reality is the thesis of the concluding pages; and the prominence of this idea, which gives its "feeling" to his whole work, is one of the most interesting features of the constructive aspect of Mr Jones's criticism. He points out that Kant's criticism of experience leads to a conception of nature according to which "the conformity of cognition to objects is its conformity to objects which are themselves conceived as manifestations of an intelligent or spiritual principle," and that "from this point of view the Idealist may, not less than the Materialist, regard man as a natural product, and not less than the Associationist, regard mind as the recipient of truth, and its activities as governed by facts."

This determination of thought by reality is an aspect of idealistic doctrine which is not generally made prominent. There is indeed more than a suggestion of it in Mr Caird's writings; but it is seldom emphasised or stated so clearly as Mr Jones states it here. Its prominence is a most interesting feature of the present volume,

not only because it shows that Mr Jones is keenly alive to the perilous and unsatisfactory character of all "subjective" Idealism, but still more because it contains the promise of a fresh and vigorous development of philosophy. It must be admitted, indeed, that there is more of promise than of completed work in Mr Jones's trenchant proclamation of a "frankly realistic" Idealism. No doubt, to commit oneself to a rational system is "to commit reason to the charge of reason"; but it needs to be explained how thought, which is "the cause, on account of which alone there can be either ideas or objects, or connections between them," is at the same time "determined" by reality. Perhaps it may be suggested that the category of cause and effect is an inadequate clue to the relation of thought to reality. Such points of view must be left behind, if we are to understand "that knowledge is the self-revelation of reality in thought." But the elucidation of what he here only suggests is no doubt part of the further task which Mr Jones proposes to himself in his promise of "another volume dealing with Lotze's metaphysical doctrines." Readers of his present work will look forward with interest to the appearance of this second instalment of his criticism of Lotze; for it is not the least attractive feature of the volume now before us that it gives the impression that its author has a great deal more to say. Meantime, it will be generally recognised that Mr Jones has produced a criticism of Lotze's doctrine of thought which is conspicuous for speculative insight no less than for mastery of detail and vigorous workmanship.

Where there is so much to admire and praise, it is a thankless task to find fault; but it is impossible to abstain from suggesting that Mr Jones does injustice to his work by furnishing no clue to its contents. The volume contains neither an index, an adequate table of contents, nor headings for the individual pages. Perhaps Mr Jones desires that his criticism should be read altogether or not at all. But even those who have read it most carefully would have found it more accessible and useful if the author had taken the trouble to furnish them with the usual guidance.

CHARLES DOUGLAS.

Isaiah One, and his Book One : An Essay and an Exposition.

By George C. M. Douglas, D.D., Principal and formerly Professor of Hebrew in the Free Church College, Glasgow. London : James Nisbet & Co., 1895. 8vo, pp. xvii. 417. Price, 10s. 6d.

THE opinion now generally current among Biblical critics regarding the collection of prophecies in the Old Testament attributed to

Isaiah is well known to be against unity of authorship. So strongly indeed has the tide been flowing in this direction that even some highly conservative scholars have been affected by its influence ; among these may be named Franz Delitzsch, who felt constrained to modify his early views on this as on other points. Many who have never carefully examined this subject for themselves, but merely observed the present tendency, may have tacitly assumed that nothing of weight and force can be pleaded on the other side ; a distinct service is therefore rendered through the appearance of this work from the pen of an accomplished Hebraist of long experience and sober judgment, who here recalls attention to what has been allowed to fall out of sight, and who, further, most effectively adduces the results of recent investigations in many fields.

As the learned Principal opposes current opinion, his book is necessarily argumentative, and even controversial ; but let us at once assure the reader that the bitter spirit which unfortunately so often pervades the writings of men earnestly contending for what they regard as the truth is wholly absent here ; and one need not read many pages to discover that the author, while fully and frankly stating his own conviction regarding the nature and tendency of the opposite view, is singularly free from everything like personal animosity towards those ranged on the other side. To him it is indeed a pain to differ from others, but he does not allow this pain to affect his relationship with friends to whose opinions he is opposed. To Dr Driver, for instance, he frequently refers, but mainly for the purpose of showing distinctly, by way of contrast, the difference between the two sides of a common subject ; while another reason for singling out the Canon for mention is the fact that the latter may well be regarded as a distinguished and able representative on the other side, whose writings are well known, perspicuous in style, and easily accessible. Mention is likewise made of other critics belonging to this country, as well as writers in other lands, but allusion to these, after all, is merely occasional ; yet we are by no means warranted in assuming that others unnamed are ignored.

This leads us further to observe that the present work is largely popular in its treatment ; it is obviously designed not so much for Hebrew scholars as rather and mainly for educated Christians who can only use the English Bible. In pursuance of this design, remarks on the language of the original, as well as more recondite discussions of debated questions, are wisely relegated to foot-notes, where valuable material is often found in brief but sufficient form. The note on the historical section in Isaiah (chapters xxxvi-xxxix.) forms a good example of this character.

The matter in the first portion of the book is naturally intro-

ductory. But this part can scarcely be called "Introduction" in the technical acceptation of the term; the preliminary essay, which occupies fully one-fourth of the whole, is necessarily of an apologetic nature, and may be regarded as the most distinctive feature of the volume; it contains a full and pointed discussion of what is obviously the kernel of the subject, viz.—the true nature of prophecy. Wisely, the author refrains from adducing merely external evidence in support of his position; and, confining himself to internal evidence, he contends against those who, denying or even minimising the supernatural, degrade the prophets from their true place of honour, and especially refuse to acknowledge the predictive element in prophecy. Material for illustration is obviously abundant in the book of Scripture which forms the subject of this work. The latter portion of the volume forms an effective exposition of the prophecies.

A reverent spirit breathes through every page. Careful himself in forming conclusions, the author may consistently condemn the contrary course pursued by others, as when he writes on page 135, "It is well to be cautious on a subject of which we know next to nothing"; or again, on page 308, "It is idle to speak of the inaccuracy and ignorance of the late writers of these portions of the books of Kings and Isaiah. It would show better taste, as well as sounder judgment, to study their modes of thought and writing; and also to confess, from time to time, that we really do not know, and therefore suspend decision upon certain points." We venture to think that hesitation has sometimes been shown when positive results might simply and safely have been reached; on the other hand, we feel greater confidence in accepting the positive conclusions of a writer who is anything but rash.

JAMES KENNEDY.

Livet efter Döden og Gudsrigets Fremtid.

Af Pastor L. Dahle. Stavanger: forlagt af L. C. Kielland. 8vo, pp. 454. Price, 4 kroner. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate.

THIS admirable book, *Livet efter Döden og Gudsrigets Fremtid*, makes us confess that if Norway possesses other theologians as widely read, as logical, fair, cautious, and perspicuous as Pastor Dahle, the sooner we are introduced to them the better. Dahle's subject is a very wide one: The life hereafter and the future of God's kingdom on the earth—but the several sections are well balanced, and one soon realises that he is in safe hands even when questions arise that are shrouded in obscurity and beset with difficulty. Kliefoth's *Eschatologie* is a larger and more pretentious

work, but it is not nearly so closely reasoned and conclusive as Dahle's book, and too frequently it comes to positive conclusions on insufficient data. It is quite true that the Norwegian author does not solve all the problems that occur to the mind; but the arguments from Scripture or elsewhere that he adduces as valid and sufficient generally lead one to accept his conclusions, and he does honestly try to meet all the objections to his opinions of which he has heard or read. Also, he altogether refuses to meddle with calculations as to times and seasons, or even to discuss purely fanciful theories about the future of the soul or the minute details of the Second Advent that have led many to look with suspicion on almost any book that treats of 'the last things.'

Starting with the definition that "life is that force in an organism which places all the other forces working in it in a serviceable relation to its growth and preservation," he shows that death enters as soon as that life-force ceases to operate. God made man his viceroy on earth, and so long as God's Spirit dwelt in man there was no room for death, but when man's spirit rebelled this position of supremacy was lost. Death is the result and the punishment of sin, but it is also a blessing, for it brings for the soul freedom from the trials of life and the trammels of the dust, and deliverance from sin. Dahle likens the soul to a citadel beleagued by enemies. The fortress or soul is safely defended by God, but the enemy has obtained a footing in and possession of the town or body. If the siege is to be raised the town must be burned down and then the enemy will no longer be able to harass the defenders or attack the citadel. Death is the conflagration that frees the citadel of the soul from the enemy that harbours in the town of the body. An interesting account of the different notions of heathen races on the question of the immortality of the soul is given; and the doctrine of immortality is proved both apart from Scripture and from the Word of God. Dahle arrives at the conclusion that between death and doomsday there is an intermediate state for the soul; and he discusses, on the whole satisfactorily, such questions as the disembodied soul's relation to itself (its self-consciousness), to God, to the body, to other souls, to the past, its conceptions of time and space, and the possibility of changes in its condition. He agrees, however, that the souls of believers go straight to heaven at death, yet they do not immediately attain absolute bliss, for they must await the resurrection morn before they get their glorified bodies, and as the body is the instrument by which work is done, the soul cannot engage in the active service of the Lord until the Judgment Day. Hades is the place to which all who die unsaved proceed. It is not a place of punishment, and there is a possibility of those who received no Gospel call on earth getting an opportunity of accepting

or rejecting Christ and removing from Hades to Heaven. He does not quite reject prayer for the dead, at least in the case of those who died without hearing the gospel. Prayer, however, is not permissible for those who have heard but rejected the gospel, and it is superfluous for those who died in faith. He thinks it possible that our sainted dead pray for us. His Lutheranism, with its baptismal regeneration, prevents him from following Calvin in holding the merciful view that unbaptised children will ultimately be saved; but he adds that God's extraordinary grace may work wonders, and, at any rate, such children will be treated like those who did not receive the Saviour's call in life and at some time or other will have the opportunity of rejecting or accepting that gracious call. The questions of purgatory, preaching to the spirits in prison, &c., are fully entered into; whilst such subjects as the entrance of the heathen into the kingdom of God, the conversion of the Jews, Anti-Christ, the millennial kingdom, the last conflict, and the great judgment are carefully discussed.

The book gives a useful survey of all that pertains to the future of the individual and of the kingdom of God; but it must not be supposed that we can agree with all Pastor Dahle's views and conclusions. Nor is the book without blemishes which might easily have been avoided. It lacks a thorough division into chapters, with suitable headings; it lacks also an adequate index. There is too frequent reference to what has been said or is to be said without sufficient guidance to enable the careful reader to follow up the reference. Pastor Dahle's Lutheranism and his State-Churchism also occasionally assert themselves and sometimes lead him to do less than justice to Calvinism and the Sects. But the book is a scholarly production, worthy of the circulation of 4000 it has already secured among the Scandinavian peoples. A German translation has now been published, and by means of it our German-reading theologians may become better acquainted with a book and a writer that deserve to become well known in our land.

JNO. BEVERIDGE.

Petrusevangelium oder Aegyptenevangelium? Eine Frage bezüglich des neuentdeckten Evangelienfragments.

By Daniel Völter, Prof. of Theol. in Amsterdam. Tüb.: Heckenhauer'sche Buchhandlung. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 46. Price, M.1.20.

Das Evangelium des Petrus.

By Dr Theodor Zahn, Prof. in Erlangen. Erlangen and Leipzig: Deichert. Pp. 80. Price, M.1.40. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate.

Das Petrus-evangelium und die canonischen Evangelien.

By Von Soden, in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, III. 1,
pp. 52-92.

The Gospel according to Peter : A Study.

By the author of "*Supernatural Religion*." London : Longmans.
Pp. 139. Price, 6s.

The little treatise of Professor Völter is an interesting specimen of remarkably acute criticism expressed in a singularly fresh and straightforward way. Parts I. and II. consist respectively of a translation and a discussion of the unity of the present text. Völter regards our present text as interpolated, and in his translation he marks the interpolations by italics. About 50 lines out of 160 are assigned to the interpolator. He shows very plausible grounds for his theory, as all the passages so marked certainly do interfere with the progress of the narrative, and also because in several cases the removal of them relieves the document of self-contradictory statements. The passages thus removed are, according to the prevailing verse distribution, vv. 3-5a, 11-13, 21-24, 36, 37b, 39-42, 52-54, 56b. This relieves the document of the story of Joseph's begging the body of Jesus before the crucifixion takes place, the strange episode of the refusal to break the legs of the malefactor in order that he might suffer torture, that of the earthquake resulting from the laying of the dead body of the crucified upon the earth. It also reduces the appearances of heavenly men at the sepulchre from two to one, and does away with the legendary story of the three men of whom two reached in height to heaven and the other above the heavens, and the speaking cross that followed them.

With regard to the original text as thus purified, Völter thinks that the two main tendencies of the writer are to cast the whole blame of the death of Jesus on the Jews, and to represent Jesus as the Son of God. This latter tendency at least the writer surely shares with the canonical gospels, and all the essential points in his representation seem quite easy of explanation as suggested by these writings ; but Völter can only see the influence of *Wisdom* ii. 10-20, *Is.* lviii., and other Old Testament and Apocryphal passages. He does indeed point out the resemblance between the cry, *My strength, My strength, thou hast forsaken Me*, and that reported in Matthew and Mark, but only to contend that the *δύναμις μου* of Peter can answer to the *ἡλεὶ* of our gospels, only if we understand the latter of the Divine Spirit, the Holy Spirit, and not the spirit of the personal life of Jesus. One of the most unsatisfactory features of the work is the way in

which the author seeks to exaggerate the Doketic tendency of Peter by understanding "the taking up" (*ἀνελήφθη*) as the withdrawal of the divine Being before the death by crucifixion. It is quite evident that this is not the idea set forth in the fragment. Zahn has clearly shown, p. 72, what all students of Irenæus ought to have no doubt about (see especially, *Haer.* l. 7, 2; 26, 1; iii. 11, 3; 16, 1), that the idea of the departure of the Spirit as the divine nature of Christ, not at, but before death, was a tenet of Western Valentinianism, not of the Eastern school, with which alone the author of Peter's gospel can even plausibly be supposed to be connected. The passage is quite parallel to, or rather an echo of Matt. xxvii. 50, and undoubtedly is intended to relate the death of the Lord, "the Son of God," upon the cross. It was evidently thus understood in early times. Serapion, about A.D. 200, who had first given his approval, though upon a more careful and critical examination of it he thought that he had discovered Doketic tendencies in it, yet even then found it generally sound and orthodox, which certainly could not have been a fair description of the book, if such full-blown Doketism as this implies had been found in it. The use of the term *δύναμις* might easily be understood by Serapion as perhaps a somewhat suspicious mode of expression, but yet quite capable of being taken as an equivalent for the "God" of canonical scripture; but the idea of a withdrawal of the divine nature of Christ into heaven before the death of the body, or the semblance of a body, on the cross would have called forth a much more sweeping condemnation.

The latter half of Völter's pamphlet is occupied with a discussion as to the possible origin or source of our fragment. He thinks that it could not have originated with the Doketics of Antioch. Its Doketism is not of the gross kind of Saturninus, but is more closely allied to the moderate and refined gnosticism of Valentinus. It did not, however, originate with the Valentinians, but was rather used by them, and ranked among them as a gospel along with others. Its origin is not to be sought for among heretics, but at a period and in a community where the Doketic tendency was in the air. The region in which it made its appearance was not Syria, otherwise it would have been better known by Serapion of Antioch, but probably Alexandria, whose first bishop, Marcus, was the disciple of Peter, and where the writings of Peter were in highest esteem. In support of this hypothesis Völter traces resemblances between Peter and the Epistle of Barnabas, which certainly had its home in Egypt, and he thinks that he can even show a good case for the supposition that the author of the later added portions of the Epistle of Barnabas was acquainted with the Gospel of Peter in the form represented by our fragment. Also the so-called Second Epistle of Clement has used our Gospel and none of the canonical gospels as its source. So,

too, in agreement with Harnack, he holds that our Gospel is the source of the Didascalia. Finally, the presence, as Völter supposes, of monarchian modalistic tendencies in our Gospel supplies the cue which associates it with the "Gospel of the Egyptians." The reasoning in the latter part of the tract seems utterly inconclusive. Starting from Zahn's conjecture that Peter may have been the source of a report of a conversation between Jesus and Salome, not found in the canonical gospels, but in a writing of Cassian, the founder of the Doketics, as quoted by Clement of Alexandria, and in the so-called Second Epistle of Clement, and said to be derived from the Gospel of the Egyptians, and from the fact that Clement of Alexandria refers to the Apocalypse and Preaching, but never to the Gospel of Peter, he leaps to the conclusion that the Gospel of the Egyptians (which he does name along with the Gospel of the Hebrews) and Gospel of Peter are identical. Also Origen, in his history of Apocryphal Gospels, mentions the Gospel of the Egyptians, saying that some gave it that name, implying that it had another, but not the Gospel of Peter, of which he speaks elsewhere. The concluding conjecture is that the purified text represents the Gospel of Peter, and the interpolated text, as we have it, the Gospel of the Egyptians.

In the little treatise of Zahn we have the text and translation of the fragment followed by a careful discussion of the spirit and style of the work. The position which he maintains in regard to the origin and source of the Gospel of Peter is sufficiently indicated by what he says on p. 47: "The only sources from which the Gospel of Peter has drawn its materials are our four gospels, and those too in a text which has already necessarily had for its development some time since the origin of these gospels. In this lies the great significance of the Gospel of Peter." In opposition to Harnack, he thinks that the fact of Peter being so often in direct contradiction to the four, instead of being a proof that the canonical gospels were not before the writer of the new gospel, affords rather a presumption in favour of that view, for his undertaking of his task is evidence of his dissatisfaction with what they had said on certain important points. There is *ex hypothesi* on the part of the author no pious reverential regard for the earlier gospels such as could make him careful to follow them closely; yet he will freely use them for his own ends. In detail Zahn shows (pp. 49-56) how closely Peter follows John, Mark, Matthew, and Luke in expression and in substance.

Zahn looks to Antioch, rather than to Alexandria, as its home. In the fourth century it was used by a heretical party in Syria, though certainly not by the Nazareans, as Theodoret absurdly supposes. In A.D. 1099 Crusaders found a Christian sect in the neigh-

bourhood of Antioch in possession of a Gospel of St Peter. The Antiochean origin of the gospel accounts for the author's special knowledge of the historical Petronius, and also the philological knowledge implied in the rendering of the words uttered on the cross. As to its date, Zahn points to what he regards as the undoubted fact of this writer's use of our four gospels. This makes the beginning of the second century the earliest limit. But the use of the canonical gospels by our author implies that they had a history behind them, and were already in possession of an established reputation, and that around them glosses and misinterpretations had gathered. This brings us down to the middle of the second century, not earlier than A.D. 130. There is no trace of independent traditions such as we would have had in a document written in the beginning of the century. Again, Serapion's reference to it does not admit of our assigning to it a later date than A.D. 170. It was among the Oriental Valentinians what the *evangelium veritatis* was among the Western. Zahn concludes by saying that the great significance of the Gospel of Peter consists in this, that it witnesses to the supremacy of our four gospels as we now possess them, about A.D. 150; and especially, that more distinctly than other witnesses it attests the truth of the 21st chapter joined to the Gospel of John, and the narrative broken off at the 8th verse of the 16th chapter of Mark.

The paper by the distinguished Berlin exegete and New Testament critic, von Soden, in the Ritschlian organ *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, attaches itself closely to the work of Harnack on the Gospel of Peter, and may be described generally as a justification of that work by the production in detail of the evidence required to warrant the conclusions that had been there laid down. He is quite prepared at the outset to assume that Harnack has proved the use of Peter by Justin as well as by the compiler of the Didascalia, Clement of Alexandria, &c., possibly even by Ignatius and Papias, while he accepts the suggestion that Tatian was acquainted with it, though he declined to use it in the composition of his Diatessaron. He does indeed feel the difficulty of reconciling Serapion's ignorance of it, except in connection with the small community at Rhossus in Cilicia, and this widespread use of it by the best known teachers of that age and earlier ages. But this really is only one of many objections which those who argue in favour of this Gospel's early date and use by the most ancient writers have altogether failed to meet.

The fragment falls into two parts, which give respectively the story of the trial and crucifixion, vv. 1-24, and that of the resurrection, vv. 25-60. Von Soden deals with the latter first, distinguished

from the earlier portion by its more complicated construction and greater freedom and originality of treatment on the part of the writer. We have, pp. 59-68, a careful detailed comparison in respect of form and contents between Peter and our gospels, Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John. His conclusion is that our author used a source identical with, or somewhat shorter than, Mark xvi. 1-8; that the other three canonical gospels were unknown, any similarities being explained by the use of some common sources; that Peter has made use of a series of traditions peculiar to himself, which must be judged of on their own merits; and that common elements can be traced in this and in other primitive Christian documents. The first part of the fragment is subjected to a similar scrutiny, pp. 68-79, and then, the relation of the whole fragment to our canonical gospels is considered, pp. 79-87.

The home of the gospel was Syria or South-Eastern Asia Minor, close on the borders of Syria, where it became known to Serapion in the end of the second century, it having been already driven out of other places in consequence of the Roman canonization of the four gospels. It had been the Syrian gospel just as Mark and Matthew were specially connected with Rome, and Luke and John with Asia Minor. As resting on traditions current in those regions in which Peter, according to 1 Peter i. 1, must have spent part of his later ministry, it may have some rightful claim to the designation which it has assumed. Finally, as to the date of our gospel, Von Soden, being firmly convinced of its use by Justin, and evidently strongly inclined to accept Harnack's view that it lay before Papias, Ignatius, and the author of the *Didache*, concludes that it is certainly not later than our canonical gospels, but that it originated in the same period and under a similar inspiration as these, just missing what they obtained by the arbitrary action of the Church in its rigid determination of the contents of the Scripture Canon. In this respect his conclusion is quite the same as that of "the author of *Supernatural Religion*."

It may be useful to compare Völter, Zahn, and Von Soden with the author of "*Supernatural Religion*" in these discussions. The work of the anonymous writer has now been a sufficient length of time before the public to make it possible to form a just and sober judgment of it. The character of the so-called study will be best seen from the summary statement of results which the author gives us in his closing page. "In so far as the Gospel according to Peter is concerned, the impartial verdict must be: It is neither better nor worse than the more fortunate works which have found a safe resting-place within the Canon of the Church. It is almost impossible now to judge of

these works as we judge the fragment. . . . There is no canonical glamour to veil its shortcomings. . . . Then, the canonical gospels, in their greater circulation and in the process of reception by the Church, secured a gradual revision which might have smoothed away any roughness from the Gospel of Peter had it been equally fortunate. . . . It is the merit of the fragment that it presents considerable variation in the original sources, and shows us the fluidity of the early reports of that which was supposed to take place during the period which it embraces. We have in it a primitive and less crystallised form of the Christian tradition." This might really have been stated at the outset as the thesis to be maintained and established. The whole treatise is essentially polemical in tone, and certainly gives the impression to the reader which "*Supernatural Religion*" did to Bishop Lightfoot, that the author was determined to prefer the least feasible and most unlikely alternative if only it seemed to favour his main contention. He speaks often sneeringly of apologists, meaning those who, whether conscientiously or doggedly, argue in favour of the view which he seeks to discredit. In regard to critical investigations only those should be called apologists who, like the author of "*Supernatural Religion*," pass over what does not help their advocacy of a particular theory, and adopt improbable hypotheses in order to make good a foregone conclusion.

The writer gives us an interesting account of the finding of the fragment, followed by a good literal translation. We have then a full statement of the action taken by Serapion of Antioch, with reference to our Gospel, and a critical investigation as to what precisely is implied in what he says. The chapters that follow on Justin Martyr, the Epistle of Barnabas, and Tatian's Diatessaron, contain much that seems familiar to every one who remembers the author's earlier work. For this reason, and also because what can be said on these subjects from this point of view is better said by Harnack, we may pass these chapters by without remark.

The most interesting, and by far the most important, part of the work is chapter viii. pp. 47-106, on "*The Fragment and the Canonical Gospels*." This chapter is practically a review of the whole contents of the fragment compared with our Gospels in respect of variation, addition, or omission. Attention is called first of all to what seems a very marked divergence from the canonical narrative in Peter's gospel in the part assigned to Pilate in the trial of Jesus. The statement in the first verse of our fragment that "*Pilate rose*," seems to indicate the end of his interference in the trial. In connection with this there are two points which our author thinks he has very successfully made against the "*apologists*," and also against our canonical gospels, which latter are equally objectionable and equally inclined to apology. On the one hand, the references to

Pilate in Peter are much more feasible than the representation of his feebleness and submissiveness given in the four gospels. On the other hand, the omission of the picturesque episode of Barabbas, related by all our Evangelists, is evidence that Peter, who is supposed to write under a sort of animus against the Jews, did not know these documents in which he would have found a story so helpful in giving point and strength to his charge. Now, the writer who can argue thus must be strangely oblivious to the peculiar character of the document with which he deals. He seems to have forgotten that it is a fragment, and that the only reference in it to the part which Pilate took in the trial is in the hand-washing scene, which he himself recognises as the close of Pilate's action in the case, and that this occurs in the broken verse with which the fragment opens. It is evident that all that was to be said of Pilate's part in the trial must have been said in the earlier part of the gospel not now extant. Does our author forget that the release of Barabbas is represented by our Evangelists as the act of Pilate? In Matthew's gospel it is related immediately before the story of the washing of the hands. Before the beginning of our fragment, and not in it, would be the place for the story of Barabbas. As to the description of Pilate's conduct given in our gospels, it is psychologically and historically probable, in view of the character of the Roman Procurator, as given by Josephus and Philo (see Schürer, *Hist. of Jewish People*, I. ii. 83). But even apart from this, how can our author say that Peter's narrative has the merit of not representing the Roman Governor as acting in this feeble way? How does he know in what way Peter represented Pilate, seeing that all that he has said about him, but that he washed his hands and rose and went out, is no longer extant? This only we see, that Peter represents Pilate as withdrawing from the trial; and this, in any case, we might very naturally suppose to imply weakness on his part.

A very reasonable view is taken of the passages usually advanced as favouring a Doketic view of Christ's person. It is regarded as doubtful whether any trace of heretical leanings in that direction are to be found in the fragment. But in the immediately following pages our author reverts to his usual practice of carping criticism; the earthquake of Matthew is at the moment of Jesus' death; in Peter when the body is laid on the ground and the nails removed. Luke represents the risen Lord as showing hands *and feet*, Peter speaks only of nails in the hands; Peter speaks of great fire falling upon the people because of the earthquake, while Matthew only notes its occurrence. It surely is not necessary, even on the theory of Peter's use of the canonical gospel, to suppose that he must reproduce every phrase and each incident found in them. On the other hand, our author makes a point against Zahn and others who

understand the support given to the Risen Lord as implying on his part the extremest weakness. His protest against this view, and his explanation of the support as an act of homage and honour yielded by his glorified companions, afford a welcome aid to the understanding of the fragment.

The main contention of our author is that there is no dogmatic purpose of a Doketic or Anti-Jewish kind to account for Peter's divergences from the lines of the canonical gospels if these had been before him. "That a writer who had our canonical gospels before him should so depart from their lines, alter every representation without dogmatic purpose, insert contradictory statements, and omit episodes of absorbing interest and passages which would have enriched his narrative, is a theory which cannot be established." If we could take this summary as an accurate account of the contents of Peter's Gospel, we would readily admit the justice of his conclusion. But this seems quite in conflict with any fair and calm comparison of the fragment with our Gospels, with which it very largely agrees, its differences being largely of such a kind as to imply some doctrinal or ecclesiastical motive.

Our author's attempt to turn aside the attack of Professor Rendel Harris by showing that the prophetic gnosis so observable in Peter, and regarded by him as evidence of the post-canonical date of our Gospel, is no less manifest in our Gospels and in other parts of the New Testament, cannot be described as very successful. None of the canonical references to fulfilments of scripture prophecies are of the sort which Professor Harris very plausibly endeavours to prove against Peter—the use of a form of gnosis developed beyond anything that we find in the four gospels. Mr Harris may go too far, but our author fails to show that such a gnostic tendency operating on canonical materials may not account for all the peculiarities of the Gospel of Peter.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.

Das Buch Daniel übersetzt und erklärt von Georg Behrmann. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. lii. 84. Price, M.2.80.

THIS addition to the Handkommentar is worthy of the series. It is a scholarly and strictly grammatical commentary. While the want of the padding and prophesying so common in older commentaries on Daniel is an advantage, the reader at times desiderates a little more exegesis. The introduction, which occupies more than a third of the whole thin volume, is especially valuable. The position the

author takes up is the ordinary critical one, that the date of Daniel is to be placed during the Maccabean struggle. At the same time, he is not extreme, and is greatly more independent of his predecessors than most of those who agree with him. This independence does not mean neglect of his predecessors—indeed, unlike Germans in general, he acknowledges that valuable works have been written in English. Professor Bevan he honours by placing, not only among his authorities, but among those so frequently used that he is quoted by a contraction “B.” Dr Behrmann has certainly made full use of the German practice of reference by contraction. While these contractions are useful as saving space, and not infrequently do suggest what they stand for without necessitating a peep at the table of *Abkürzungen*, yet K.A.T. for Schrader's *Keilinschriften*, R.E. for Herzog's *Realencyclopaedie*, K. for Kautzsch's *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, are somewhat violent. It is, however, an advantage to have the table, an advantage which some commentators do not give their readers. In his introduction his study of the linguistic question is, though very careful, not quite so satisfactory in regard to the Hebrew as with regard to the Aramaic. His conclusion as to the Hebrew is that it is not only later than that of Ezekiel, but also later than that of Chronicles. Unfortunately he has not directed his attention to the fragments of Ben Sira that have been preserved to us by the Talmudists. Had he studied them he would have found that the Hebrew of, at latest, 180 B.C. was very much more recent than that of Daniel. Although he has made considerable use of the Septuagint, he does not seem to have drawn the logical conclusion from the phenomena of that version that the Hebrew text has suffered from modernising recension. In regard to the Aramaic, he comes to the conclusion that it is a Western dialect that is used. Here, too, he does not give full attention to the effects of recension in not only modernising, but also occidentalising. He observes the use of the 𐤀 preformative of the *Aphel*, instead of 𐤁; though he does not dismiss it, like Professor Bevan, as “merely a matter of spelling,” yet he does not notice this as a peculiarity which Biblical Aramaic shares with the Aramaic of the Sindschirli inscriptions (see Müller *Altsem. Inschrift. von Sindschirli*, p. 49). He notices with approval, in the text, Bevan's suggestion as to the Mandaean form of the third person singular and plural of the imperfect of ܐܬܝܢ, which appears so regularly in Biblical Aramaic, but does not refer to it in the introduction. The preformative in Western Aramaic in these cases is ܐ, whereas in Eastern Aramaic it is ܢ or ܠ—the latter practically restricted to the Mandaean. In Biblical Aramaic we have always ܐܬܝܢ and ܠܬܝܢ, never ܝܬܝܢ or ܠܝܬܝܢ, and Bevan regards this as due to a

reverential shrinking from writing a word that is like the Divine name. Unfortunately for this theory the Targums manifest no such reverence—*e.g.*, Genesis xviii. 18 (Onkelos). The natural explanation is, that we have here a survival of the original more Eastern form through a Western recension. It is to be observed that in the Sindschirli Inscriptions we have the ' performative (*e.g.*, יִבְחַ, Hadad Inscription, line 15); it is thus possible that to some extent נ and ל are comparatively recent peculiarities, even in Eastern Aramaic. Behrmann further fails to observe the rare use of ת, the sign of the accusative in Biblical Aramaic, compared with its frequency in the Targums; it is only used once in Daniel as a support to a prenominal suffix, precisely as the equivalent ת occurs in the Sindschirli inscription.

While we have commended the general independence of Behrmann, we have to acknowledge that he follows others of his school in making assertions on authority that they ought to state to be doubtful. He quotes Jeremiah xxv. 1, in order to prove Daniel i. 1 an anachronism, but does not inform his readers that the clause in Jeremiah which appears to contradict Daniel is omitted from the Septuagint. He refers to the murder of Onias III. by Andonicus as if it were an indubitable fact, although the whole transaction rests on the valueless authority of 2 Maccabees, in a narrative full of internal improbabilities, and which is contradicted by Josephus. He also assumes that the author of Daniel must have imagined that Belshazzar was the son and immediate successor of Nebuchadnezzar, because Nebuchadnezzar is repeatedly called his father—forgetful of the fact that in the inscriptions of Shalmanazar II., Jehu (*Yahua*) is called the *son* of Omri, forgetful also of the evident familiarity of the author of Daniel with Jeremiah and his consequent knowledge of the fact that Evil Merodach, not Belshazzar, succeeded Nebuchadnezzar, and that he showed kindness, if not to the Jews as a nation, at least to their captive king. On the other hand he abandons the paralleling of Nebuchadnezzar with Epiphanes. In consequence he avoids the blunder into which Professor Cornill has fallen, of imagining that Nebuchadnezzar is equivalent to Antiochus Epiphanes by Gematria. He points out a blunder in the spelling of Epiphanes which is involved in the Gematria. He does not observe that ב, which occurs twice, is estimated at seventy instead of eighty. The blunder which Behrmann avoids Dean Farrar falls into in his book on Daniel. Although Behrmann quotes Polybius as if he had asserted that Epiphanes received commonly the punning nickname of Epimanes, not recognising that this rests on the authority of Athenaeus, who says that Polybius himself gives him that nickname. He also abandons the assertion on which Driver to a great extent rests his proof of the late date of Daniel that *συμφωνία* means a musical

instrument, and admits it means a chorus *Koncert*. Yet he seems to think *κεράτιον* means a musical instrument in the frequently quoted passage in Polybius xxvi. 10, 5—a thing that is very doubtful. He thinks, as it appears correctly, that the older form is *σιφώνια*, and that *συμφωνία* is due to the error of copyists. He does not note the fact that the word is evidently equivalent to the Syriac *ܣܝܦܝܢܐ*. From Strack we know that this could not be derived from *σίφων*, but if from a Greek source it would have to be some form like *σιτίφων*. This Syriac form suggests *ܣܝܦܝܢܐ* as the root. Altogether, however one may differ from some of Dr Behrmann's conclusions, no one can deny that his Commentary is a valuable addition to our literature on Daniel.

We cannot avoid making a comparison between the latest German and the latest English commentary on Daniel—that by Dean Farrar. Unlike the calm, moderate tone of Behrmann is the rhetorical tone of Farrar, but still greater is the difference in matters of accuracy. Behrmann never blunders. At least, after a careful study we have never found him do so; when he is wrong it is in following other critics without due examination, whereas Farrar is full of perfectly original blunders. To show that we are not speaking without reason, we shall give a couple of examples out of many. In connection with the name of the Chief of the Eunuchs, in page 47 we have this statement in the text—"Ashpenaz, whom in *one* manuscript the LXX. call Abiesdri" (the italics are ours). This sentence implies that there are extant several manuscripts of the Septuagint of Daniel, whereas every scholar knows there is only the Codex Chisianus. We prefer to make this due to a blunder of ignorance to accusing such a man as Dean Farrar of conscious dishonesty. The note to this, however, is simply wonderful. "Lenormant, p. 182, regards it as a corruption of Ashbenazar, 'the goddess has pruned the seed' (?), but assumed corruptions of the text are an uncertain expedient." We will not press the fact that it is on p. 183 of the "La Divination," that the passage to which he refers occurs; but we may, we think, press the fact that Lenormant does not read the name *Ashbenazar* but *Assa-ibni-zir*. The crowning marvel is the Dean's rendering of Lenormant's translation of this name. We do not wonder that he followed it with double marks of interrogation; the French is "*la Dame (Istar de Ninive) a formé le germe*," a perfectly simple piece of French. There is nothing in it whatever about "pruning seed." He is, however, not done either with Abiesdri or with Lenormant; in p. 126, note to Ashpenaz, we have "LXX. 'Αβιεσδρί. The name is of quite uncertain derivation. Lenormant connects it with *Abai-Istar*, 'Astronomer of the goddess Istar' (La Divination, p. 182)." In "La Divination" at that page there is no statement of the sort, at least in the edition we have

made use of. The last sentence of this note has also noticeable blunders. "Dr Joel (*Notizen zum Buche Daniel*, p. 17), says that since the Vulgate reads *Abriesri ob nicht der Wort von rechts zu links gelesen müsste?*" We do not possess Dr Joel's work, but we are confident he never wrote such ungrammatical German. We are afraid we must put the credit of making *Wort* masculine to the Dean. Further, Dean Farrar intends us to read the English and the German as one sentence; then even if we put his German right "we have," Dr Joel says, "'whether one must not read the work from right to left,'" a sentence either incomplete or incorrect. That is not all that is wrong here. *Abriesri* is not the reading of the Vulgate in the sense the term is used now. The origin of this blunder is to be found in Jerome's Commentary on Daniel; commenting on Daniel i. 3, he says: "*pro Ashphanez in edit. Vulgata αβριεσδρι scriptum reperi*"; the edition Jerome here refers to is, if not the LXX., possibly the Latin used by Tertullian; his quotations from Daniel coincide in most places with the Septuagint text—it is also the reading of the Codex Corbeiensis. Again, on p. 124, we have this statement—"Nor did Nebuchadnezzar advance against the Holy City even after the battle of Carchemish, but dashed home across the desert to secure the crown of Babylon on hearing the news of his father's death." Whatever the site of Carchemish, it is abundantly proved both from Egyptian and Assyrian sources to have been near the Euphrates. Babylon was also on the Euphrates. To have crossed the desert on his way to Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar must have made a detour of something about a hundred miles.

J. E. H. THOMSON.

Notices.

*Persecution and Tolerance*¹ is the title of the Hulsean Lectures which were delivered by Dr Mandell Creighton, Bishop of Peterborough, in 1893-94. The bishop treats the subject in an ingenious and original way, which gives all the interest of novelty to the volume. He aims at reading the history of the rise of the policy of persecution, the motives in which it originated, and the place which it has occupied in the career of Churches and nations. He has an easy task in showing that no Church can claim to have kept free of it. But the interest of his survey lies in the fact that he does not regard persecution as due simply to the absoluteness of the claims of Christianity, but explains it as a thing taken over by the Church from the State, when the maintenance of social order came upon the Church. It was adopted, he thinks, for political rather than religious

¹ London: Longmans. 8vo, pp. 144. Price, 4s. 6d.

ends, and was never approved by the Church conscience as such. It was accepted and persevered in so long as it seemed that religious or theological beliefs were the only basis for social order, and it began to be given up only when men came to think differently of the foundations of society. Bishop Creighton says some wise and weighty things on the difference between tolerance and indifferentism. The book is a very able one, shedding much light on important passages in the history of thought and policy in Church and State. It stimulates enquiry, and gives a new aspect to old questions.

Professor Oskar Holtzmann's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*¹ forms the eighth section of the *Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften*. It gives a brief, pointed, and useful summary. After the usual introduction on the nature and plan of the study in question, and on the history of the Jews both in its political and its domestic aspects, the book states in three main divisions the facts of most interest and importance with respect to the historical soil of the New Testament literature, the conditions of the popular life of the Jewish people at the time when the literature arose, and the religious views of the Jews in their relation to the New Testament writings. There are good sketches of the history of Palestine from Alexander to the fall of the Jewish State; the political geography of Palestine (including a careful statement of the chief points regarding the Roman Provinces); the chronology of the New Testament; Jewish weights and measures; the services in temple and synagogue; the party divisions of the Jews; the Sanhedrim, &c. The most interesting part is perhaps the last, in which the religious beliefs of the Jews are considered,—their views of the law, angels and spirits, and the influence which Hellenism and Greek associations had upon Jewish thought and Jewish faith. Much as is contained in the concise and compact statements of the book, we could wish greater fulness, especially in the last section. But the limits of the series preclude detail, and the author has done his best under the circumstances. The book will be of great service to students of the New Testament.

We are glad to receive another section of the important series of *Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature*² which are being issued under the able editorship of Professor J. Armitage Robinson, of Cambridge. What is now to hand makes the first part of the third volume of the series. It is occupied with the *Rules of Tyconius*. It will be of great interest to all students of Her-

¹ Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 260. Price, 5s. 6d. Cloth.

² *Texts and Studies*. Vol. III. No. 1. Cambridge University Press. 8vo, pp. cxx. 114. Price, 5s. net.

meneutics, these *Rules* having so remarkable a place in the history of Biblical Interpretation. All that can well be done in exhibiting the methods of Tyconius, the ideas of Scripture which they illustrate, the influence which they had on Augustine and his followers, and the importance which belongs to them in the history of Exegesis, has been done in this volume. It could have been committed to no better hand than that of Mr F. C. Burkitt.

The translation of Bishop Hefele's *History of the Councils of the Church*¹ has now reached the fourth volume. The translator and editor, Professor William R. Clark, of Trinity College, Toronto, has done his work in an entirely satisfactory manner. English students owe him much for placing at their disposal a volume of such value. All Hefele's work was of the first order, the result of genuine research and scientific investigation of the original authorities, and his account of the great ecclesiastical councils is one of the best contributions made in our time to the study of Church History. The present volume of the English translation, which corresponds to Books XII.-XV. of the original, covers the period between A.D. 451 and A.D. 680. It deals with a large number of ecclesiastical conventions, Irish, French, Spanish, Roman, Persian, British, and others. Some of these are of considerable interest. Among them are those at Arles which were occupied with the Doctrine of Grace, the two Roman Synods under Gelasius, the two British Synods of A.D. 512 and A.D. 516 and others which dealt with the outbreak of the controversy of the Three Chapters, and the fifth Œcumenical Synod. The last section of the volume covers the period between the fifth and sixth Œcumenical Councils, and carries the history on to the beginning of the Monothelite controversy. The book is one which no student of Church History can afford to dispense with.

Dr Wildeboer's contributions to the study of the Canon of the Old Testament have deservedly attracted attention. This translation of his volume on the Origin of the Canon, which is by the hand of Dr Benjamin Wisner Bacon, will be welcome to many English readers.² The book begins with some statements on the parts of the Old Testament, the three-fold division, and other matters of an introductory nature. It then collects and examines all the historical evidence relating to the Old Testament Canon which can be

¹ A History of the Councils of the Church, from the Original Documents, by the Right Rev. Charles Joseph Hefele, D.D., late Bishop of Rottenburg, formerly Professor in Theology in the University of Tübingen. Vol. IV. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. x. 498. Price, 12s.

² The Origin of the Canon of the Old Testament. A Historico-Critical Inquiry. By Dr. G. Wildeboer, Professor at Groningen. London: Luzac & Co. 8vo, pp. xii. 179. Price, 7s. 6d.

gathered from the Hebrew Scriptures themselves, the New Testament, the Jewish-Greek literature, the Palestinian-Jewish writings, and the works of the Christian Fathers. This is followed by an investigation of the process by which the books came to form a collection ; in connection with which the canonisation of the Law, the canonisation of the Prophets, and the canonisation of the Writings are considered in succession. Dr Wildeboer has a good style, and the gift of putting things clearly. His inquiry is consistently conducted in accordance with the methods of historical and critical investigation. There is also a Preface by Professor George F. Moore, which adds to the value of what will be found to be a very useful book.

Dr H. A. A. Kennedy produces a piece of sound and thorough investigation in his *Sources of New Testament Greek*.¹ It is the work of a young scholar, who wisely addresses himself to a particular and definite department of study in which it is quite possible yet to break fresh ground. Much as the great grammarians Winer, Buttman, and others have done for New Testament Greek, there is not a little still to be done, especially as regards the composition, sources, and general complexion of the language in which the words of our Lord and His apostles are enshrined. Dr Kennedy lays a broad foundation for his results. He reviews, first of all, the conditions and circumstances of the Greek language as it appears in the literature of the third century B.C. The nature and formative elements of the Attic Greek of Xenophon, the peculiarities of the Macedonian dialect, the transitional stage seen in Aristotle, the effects of Alexander's marches, the genius of the literary dialect, are all examined with much care. The enquiry then passes on to the Septuagint, its environment, its vocabulary, and the various influences—Ionic and others—which made it what it was. Then comes a survey of the chief facts in the history and the vocabulary of the Greek literature belonging to the period between the completion of the Septuagint and the close of the first Christian century. This is followed by a detailed and instructive exhibition of the different elements in the Greek of the New Testament itself, a comparison between the vocabulary of the Septuagint and that of the New Testament, and a statement of the influence of the Septuagint on the theological and religious terms of the New Testament.

The enquiry, on the whole, is conducted with good sense and scientific propriety. It is fruitful and instructive at several points. It does not cover the entire field. A larger place should be given,

¹ Sources of New Testament Greek ; or, The Influence of the Septuagint on the Vocabulary of the New Testament. By the Rev. H. A. A. Kennedy, M.A., D.Sc. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. x. 172. Price, 5s.

for example, to the creative influence of the new Christian ideas, their effect in modifying old Greek words and usages and in forming new ones. More use might also be made, to the general improvement of the study, of the scientific work of Alexander Buttmann on the grammar of the New Testament. But the book is in most respects so excellent that we look for further and larger studies from the same author. His general results also are well sustained by the facts he has brought out. He makes it clear that the Greek of the Septuagint, while there is in it a large infusion of the Semitic element, has a good deal in common with the writers of the *κοινή διάλεκτος*, and so much of the people's speech as to entitle us to speak of it as "often a transcript of the vernacular." The influence of the Septuagint upon the New Testament, according to Dr Kennedy, while it is undoubtedly great, is easily exaggerated. What sets the Septuagint and the New Testament in a class by themselves is, he concludes, the colloquial language which is distinctive of both.

Dr Weymouth deals, in an acute and careful way, with the force of the Greek Aorist and Perfect and their relation to the English Preterites.¹ His pamphlet will repay attentive study as regards the use of these tenses. There are also good remarks on the employment of *γάρ* and *οὖν* in the New Testament.

The completion of Brockelmann's *Lexicon*² is an event of much importance to the increasing band of scholars who are giving themselves to the study of the Syriac language and literature. It is needless to commend the book. Its merits are well understood. It is admirably printed, and it appears in a remarkably handsome form. An excellent *Index Compendiorum*, which is given both at the end and as a separate card, adds to its usefulness. Author, publishers, and printers have all done their best for the book. It is likely to remain long the most serviceable book of its kind for the Syriac student.

We have the pleasure of noticing a second and revised edition of Mr Marson's very useful volume illustrative of the Psalms.³

The Rev. George Milligan, B.D.,⁴ contributes another volume to

¹ On the Rendering into English of the Greek Aorist and Perfect, &c. By Richard Francis Weymouth, D.Lit. London: Nutt. 8vo, pp. 55. Price, 1s.

² *Lexicon Syriacum*, Auctore Carolo Brockelmann. Prefatus est Th. Nöldeke. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; Berlin: Reuther u. Reichard. Pp. viii. 510. Price, 30s. net.

³ The Psalms at Work, being the English Church Psalter, with a few short Notes on the use of the Psalms gathered together. By Charles L. Marson, Curate of St Mary's, Somers Town. London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 236. Price 6s.

⁴ The Lord's Prayer. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Post 8vo, pp. 158. Price, 1s. 6d.

the *Golden Nails* series, consisting of a series of simple sermons or addresses on the Lord's Prayer, admirably adapted to children.

Under the title of *The Message of Man*¹ we have a collection of passages, drawn from all kinds of writers, ancient and modern, secular and sacred, bearing upon certain matters of duty and prudential conduct. The passages are arranged under such headings as these: "Be not led into temptation"; "We see not our own hearts aright"; "We have no life apart from others"; "Be good and thou wilt do good." The arrangement is sometimes rather artificial, but the compilation is good, and the book may be used to profit.

In his *Social Science and Social Schemes*,² Mr James M'Clelland gives his views on such subjects as Combinations, Labour, Capital, Equality, the Land and the People, Progress and Poverty. He writes sensibly, and without pretension or parade. What he says under the topics of *Dreamlands* and *Looking Forward* deserves attention.

In his *Darwinism and Race Progress*³ the Professor of Physiology in University College, Cardiff, gives the results of his studies on the question whether the brain and muscle of a race must inevitably decay. He gives interesting statements on Racial Degeneration in Spain, on the Causes and Signs of Physical Deterioration, and kindred topics. Students of Darwinism will find something to interest them in Dr Haycraft's book.

The anonymous author of *The Four Gospels as Historical Records*⁴ writes in opposition to popular English ideas on Miracle, Prediction, the Resurrection of Christ, and other subjects of the highest moment. He thinks these ideas are purely traditional, "depending largely, if not wholly, on statements which are not true, but which are held to be beyond doubt or question." This indicates his standpoint and his object. There is the evidence of much laborious study in the book. But the labour is often ill directed, and the conclusions are reached by methods which, if applied to other historical records, even of comparatively recent date, would make short work of the best of them.

Mr Jacobs appropriately dedicates his *Studies in Biblical Archaeology*⁵ to Mr S. Schechter, the esteemed Reader in Talmudic

¹ *The Message of Man*. A book of ethical Scriptures gathered from many sources, and arranged. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 323. Price, 4s. 6d.

² London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 213.

³ By John Berry Haycraft, M.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.E. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 180. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁴ Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xxxiii. 539. Price 15s.

⁵ By Joseph Jacobs, Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of History, Madrid. London: D. Nutt. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiv. 148.

Hebrew in the University of Cambridge. The volume consists of a series of articles contributed to the *Archæological Review*, *Folk-Lore*, the *Athenæum*, and the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*. They deal with recent researches in Archæology and Comparative Religion. They are well written, and of considerable value. Among the most interesting are those on *Junior Right in Genesis*, on the *Nethinim*, and on the question whether there are *Totem-clans in the Old Testament*. Others seem less successful, especially that on the *Indian Origin of Proverbs*.

Dr Curtis gives us a volume of mixed value on the connection between the Old Testament and the New.¹ It is very fairly described as "leisurely rambles in the Old Testament with some of its friends and admirers." There are some rapid but lively dissertations of certain Old Testament scholars, Renan, Toy, Cheyne, Driver, and others. Perhaps the best part of the book is that in which the author writes of the wisdom of going back to the Old Testament for Sociology.

Mr Arthur Lillie's volume on *Madame Blavatsky and her Theosophy*² is an acute study and convincing exposure. The marvel is that this clever Theosophist and her amazing system should ever have secured such attention as to make a deliberate examination of her pretensions in any degree necessary.

*The Purpose of God*³ is an attempt to give an orderly account of the main theological positions of the Universalist Church. Its secondary title is "That God may be all in all." Its main value is the view which it gives of the history of opinion in the Universalist Church for the last hundred years on God and Man, their relation to each other, and the final issues.

In his *Religious Doubt*⁴ Mr Diggle has a subject in which many have an acute, personal interest in these days. It is a subject with many elements in it requiring wide knowledge and sympathetic treatment. It cannot be said that Mr Diggle has all the qualifications for handling it with success. The portion of his book

¹ Back to the Old Testament: An Effort to connect more closely the Testaments; to which is added a series of papers on various Old Testament Books and Subjects. By Anson Bartie Curtis, B.D., Ph.D., Instructor in Hebrew in Tufts College Divinity School. Boston: Universalist Publishing House. Cr. 8vo, pp. 325.

² London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 228. Price, 6s.

³ By Joseph Smith Dodge, A.M., M.D., D.D. Boston: Universalist Publishing House. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 257.

⁴ Religious Doubt, its [Nature, Treatment, Causes, Difficulties, Consequences, and Dissolution. By the Rev. John W. Diggle, M.A., Vicar of Mossley Hill, Hon. Canon of Liverpool, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle. London: Longmans. 8vo, pp. xii. 371. Price, 7s. 6d.

which we find least satisfactory is that in which he deals with the cure for doubt. There is a certain remoteness or lack of "grip" in counsels which recommend jealousy of will, right distribution of energy, spiritual culture, methodising of religion, and the like, as the way to victory over doubt. There is much that is better said on the causes of doubt, on its consequences, and on its treatment. The spirit is good throughout, and there are many just and wise observations. The whole is written in a way to interest and help a large class of readers.

*Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland*¹ is the very appropriate title given to the last series of Chalmers Lectures, now published in a remarkably handsome volume. The author, Dr Norman L. Walker, deals with a large and difficult subject, and has done so with marked success. The circumstances which led to the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, the meeting of the first Free Church General Assembly, the reconstruction of the Finances, the growth of the Church, her exertions in founding Schools and Colleges, the various developments of her enterprise in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, in the Foreign Mission field, in the Colonies, on the Continent, among the Jews, in the Sabbath Schools, Welfare of Youth work, and other agencies instituted in the interest of the religious instruction of her young people, all come within the author's plan. The Early Lights and Shadows in the history of the Church, the questions raised by the Cardross case, the movements for Union with the United Presbyterian and other Churches, the rise of the Critical Movement, and other subjects are also reviewed. In the course of so large and varied a story it is inevitable that there will be many points that may be regarded differently by different parties, especially the accounts given of the Critical Movement and the action of the Free Church on questions of Church and State. But Dr Walker has studied fairness and moderation, and has succeeded in avoiding what is calculated to offend. The enumeration which he gives of the contributions made to literature by the Free Church will be a revelation to many, not only of the literary power and productiveness of the Church, but of the industry which has made it possible for so many of its busy ministers to continue their studies and accomplish so much in the way of publication. Dr Walker has had a noble and attractive story to tell. He has told it interestingly, worthily, and with remarkable fairness.

A volume of *Studies in Biblical and Ecclesiastical Subjects*² by the late Dean of Dromore, comes to us edited by his son. It shows

¹ Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 8vo, pp. 364. Price, 7s. 6d.

² By the late Very Rev. Theophilus Campbell, D.D., Dean of Dromore. London: Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. 275. Price, 6s.

that the author was well read in a wide range of subjects. It contains papers on dogmatic questions such as Inspiration, the Obligation of the Lord's Day, Universalism, the Nature of the Church, Baptism, &c.; historical papers on such topics as St Patrick and the Early Irish Church; and papers on Biblical questions such as the Transfiguration, Hades, "By the hand of a Mediator," "We have an Altar," &c. There is a discussion of the "Spirits in prison," in which the view is taken that by that term we are to understand, not the disembodied souls of wicked men, but the angels referred to in second Peter and Jude as in Tartarus.

Mr Alcée Fortier, Professor of the Romance Languages in the Tulane University of Louisiana, has prepared a volume of very curious interest on *Louisiana Folk-Lore*.¹ The book is published for the American Folk-Lore Society. The tales are given both in the French dialect and in an English rendering. Their nature may be guessed from their titles—Elephant and Whale, Irishmen and Frogs, Mr Monkey, King Peacock, The Singing Bones, The Men who became Birds, John Green Peas, &c.

Dr Edward G. King, of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, issues *A Letter to Old Testament Critics*.² His object is not to challenge the results of Old Testament criticism, but to call attention to "certain neglected qualities" which may have a modifying influence on the solution of the great problems. The aim of the writer is a just and proper one, and the Letter itself is carefully written. The instances which it gives, however, of these neglected elements require more consideration. They turn mainly on questions of numbers. Dr King thinks, for example, that the extent to which P in Genesis is constructed on the number *ten* has not been sufficiently noticed. He makes much, too, of a numerical basis for the prophetic documents, which he takes to be *six* for J and E, and *seven* for J₂.

We have to mention also a study of *St Paul's Vocabulary*,³ by the Rev. Migron Winslow Adams, M.A., which consists of two theses, dealing in a useful way with St Paul as a former of words; and a new and revised edition of the *Bible Readers' Manual*,⁴ issued by the Messrs Collins. The latter contains excellent papers by the late

¹ Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 8vo, pp. viii. 122. Price, \$2.

² Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Pp. 26. Price, 1s.

³ Hartford Seminary Press, Conn. Pp. 55.

⁴ The Bible Readers' Manual, or Aids to Biblical Study, for Students of the Holy Scriptures. Edited by the Rev. C. H. H. Wright, D.D., Trinity College, Dublin. London and Glasgow: William Collins' Sons & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 204 and 212.

Dr Schaff, Professor Harper of Chicago, Mr Spurrell, Mr Pinches, Dr Plummer, Principal Whitehouse, and other competent scholars. It has been prepared under the efficient editorial supervision of Dr Wright. Barring its very small type, it makes a very useful companion for the Bible student.

*Genesis and Semitic Tradition*¹ is the title given to a collection of papers on the Creation of the Universe; the Sabbath; the Creation of Man; the Help-meet for Man; the Site of the Garden of Eden; the Temptation of Man; the Serpent of the Temptation; the Cherubim; Cain and Abel; Cainites and Sethites; the Sons of God; the Deluge; the Mighty Hunter; the Tower of Babel. The author gives a brief but interesting statement on the cuneiform documents bearing upon these subjects, and acknowledges the large amount of "valuable material which has been obtained from these records of the past." He points out at the same time that much that is either worthless or positively misleading has been published in connection with these Babylonian-Assyrian discoveries, mistranslations, false conclusions, partial and mistaken quotations. Much of this is due, he thinks, to haste and prepossession as well as to faults which easily occur in the infancy of any branch of knowledge. His object, therefore, is "to attempt the removal of the accumulated mass of rubbish and expose the true material; and, when the work has been accomplished as thoroughly as possible, to subject the genuine materials to careful investigation." Professor Davis is certainly right in what he says of the precipitancy of some of our Assyriologists, and the way in which their work has been prejudiced by their anxiety to get more out of the inscriptions than can be made scientifically good. There is a wide difference, however, between the extremes of certain archaeologists and the idea that the Semitic narratives in Genesis must be quite original. Professor Davis overstates his position at times in arguing that the Hebrew narratives owe nothing to the Babylonian. He shows very clearly and pointedly, however, the remarkable differences between the two series, although he fails to make sufficient allowance perhaps for the spread of ideas and the possibilities of contact between Assyro-Babylonian beliefs and Hebrew thought. He makes out a strong case, however, for the general independence of the Hebrew narratives alongside their community in origin with the Babylonian. His book is ably and carefully written, and is helpful in various ways.

The *Paddock Lectures* for 1894 have for their subject the *Permanent Value of the Book of Genesis as an integral part of the*

¹ By John D. Davis, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Philology and Old Testament History in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N.J. London: David Nutt. Crown 8vo, pp. 150. Price, 4s. 6d.

*Christian Revelation.*¹ They deal, in the first place, with the critical problem in Genesis, on which they take up the reasonable position that the "literary question may be considered on its own merits," and that the "historical questions involved may be considered separately." They pass on to review the literary analyses critically and historically. Then follows a careful examination of the narratives of the Creation, the Fall, the Deluge, and the Patriarchal Period. The general conclusion to which the writer comes is that the critical analysis requires to be looked at again on broader and deeper grounds, and that the Wellhausen theory cannot stand. The book is written in an excellent spirit. It cannot be said to succeed in many of the points of question or refutation which it attempts to make against the critical explanation of the early Hebrew records; neither does it show a complete grasp of Wellhausen's work. It calls attention, however, to considerations of a larger kind to which regard ought to be paid, and it asserts in a just and proper way the value which in any circumstances belongs to the Book of Genesis as a religious record and a section of revelation.

*The Sweet Singer of Israel*² is the title given to a volume on Old Testament subjects which Dr Benjamin Gregory contributes to the *Books for Bible Students* series. The book contains chapters on the Old Testament doctrine of the Future Life, and the New Testament comment on the eighth Psalm. There is also an appendix on "The Greatness of Human Nature as revealed in Scripture." But the main subject is a study of certain select Psalms (Pss. v., vi., vii., viii., ix., xi., xiii., and xviii.). On these Dr Gregory gives us a series of chapters well suited for edification.

Dr Whyte, carrying on the studies which he has made so much his own, and which have been so much appreciated, publishes the *Third Series* of his Lectures on *Bunyan Characters*.³ The subject this time is the *Holy War*. The book itself is described and estimated, and the pictures and characters which have made it famous are dealt with in Dr Whyte's pointed style. The city of Mansoul and its Cinque Ports, Emmanuel's Land, Mansoul's Magna Charta, and similar topics form a rich field for the exercise of Dr Whyte's gifts. Still more is this the case with My Lord Willbewill, Old Mr Prejudice, Captain Anything, Clip-Promise, Stiff Mr Loth-to-Stoop, the Varlet Ill-Pause, and the other characters

¹ By C. W. E. Body, M.A., D.C.L., Professor of Old Testament Literature and Interpretation in the General Theological Seminary, New York. London: Longmans & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. xxi. 230. Price, 5s.

² London: Charles Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 274. Price, 2s. 6d.

³ Lectures delivered in St George's Free Church, Edinburgh, by Alexander Whyte, D.D. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Post 8vo, pp. 301. Price, 2s. 6d.

created by Bunyan's genius. Dr Whyte discourses of these like one who is at home with them. He helps us to see what was in the great dreamer's mind, and turns all that is in the book to practical purpose.

We owe very cordial thanks to the Trustees of the Lightfoot Fund for publishing a collection of *Notes on the Epistles of St Paul*,¹ gathered from unpublished commentaries at which the late Bishop of Durham had been working. The volume gives the analysis and interpretation of the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, the first seven chapters of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, the first seven chapters also of the Epistle to the Romans, and the first fourteen verses of the Epistle to the Ephesians. There are also valuable indices. Except in the case of the short section of the Epistle to the Ephesians, nothing seems to have been finally prepared by the author himself with a view to publication. For all else the editor had only rough notes left by the Bishop, eked out by what could be got from the note-books of students. The editor's task therefore, was difficult, but it has been well done. The Bishop's own work, fragmentary as it is and unfinished, is of great value. A special feature of it is the attention given to particular terms, βίος, ζωή, ὁψώνια, μετασχηματίζω, ἰλαστήριον, and many more. One of the most interesting discussions is on the ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι of Eph. i. 10, where some weighty considerations are adduced in favour of the simple sense of *summing up* rather than that of *summing up again*.

The second volume of Professor Kirkpatrick's *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*² has all the excellent qualities which characterised the first. It is moderate in all that concerns the questions of the Higher Criticism, while it does not shrink from putting the most important of them fairly before the readers. It gives what is best in the philology of the subject. Its notes furnish what is most needed and most useful. Its literary style is attractive. It furnishes all that is of real value in the form of introduction, and it has a studious regard for the devout as well as intelligent understanding of the Psalms. This part embraces the second and third books of the Psalter. The expositions of the best known Psalms are excellent in every way. There are many points of interest in Professor Kirkpatrick's interpretation on which it is impossible to touch at present. The volume is quite up to the high standard of its predecessor. It is one of the most careful and satisfactory contributions which have been made to the very useful series to which it belongs. We look forward with expectation to the speedy

¹ London : Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. ix. 336. Price, 12s.

² The Psalms. Books II., III. Edited by A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D. Cambridge University Press. Extra fcap. 8vo, pp. lxxix. 556. Price, 3s. 6d.

completion of the work. An extended notice of Professor Kirkpatrick's exposition of the Book of Psalms must be reserved till then.

We welcome also another section of Professor Staehelin's *Life of Zwingli*.¹ The author has qualified himself as few men have by previous studies for dealing with a subject like this. The present volume brings the history down to the Reformer's conflicts with the Anabaptists. The story of Zwingli's youth, of the beginnings and progress of the Reformation at Zurich, and the difficulties which originated with the sectaries and the peasants, are told with great fullness and power. We look forward with great interest to the author's study of the theological system of Zwingli and to the completion of this most able and informing history.

The Didaché, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.

Restored to its Original State from Various Sources, with an Introduction, Translation, and Notes by C. H. Hoole, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford. London: D. Nutt, 1894. 4to, pp. xlii. 90. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

IT is hard to take Mr Hoole's new theory of the *Didaché* quite seriously. The mortar holding it together is far too untempered. It is well-nigh impossible even to conceive the details of the theory with any clearness. Its own author has not succeeded in so doing; for, apart from general vagueness of statement, his versions of the matter in two separate places are at variance, owing to his not having made up his mind as to the relative priority of the "Apostolic Constitutions" and the document styled indifferently "Epitome of the Holy Apostles" (*Kirchenordnung*), "Duæ Viæ," or "Judicium Petri." This being so, we need wonder the less at the theory itself, reactionary and arbitrary as it is. In brief, it amounts to this, that our *Didaché* is an abridgment of a compilation based upon Barnabas, Hermas, and the "Epitome," if not the "Apostolic Constitutions" likewise. But as to the object of the comparatively late author in thus *simplifying* the tradition, including the *omission* of the Apostles' names, we are not enlightened.

VERNON BARTLET.

¹ Huldreich Zwingli: Sein Leben und Wirken, nach den Quellen dargestellt von Dr Rudolf Staehelin, ord. Prof. der Theologie zu Basel. Zweiter Halbband. Basel: Schwabe. Pp. 257-535. Price, M.4.80.

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The International Critical Commentary.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy, by the Rev. S. R. Driver, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895. Post 8vo, pp. xcvi. 434. Price, 12s.

THE prospectus of this great undertaking is proof of how immense a progress has taken place in Britain and America in the temper and ambition of Biblical criticism since the last great effort of the kind. The latter was denominational, was not abreast even of the English scholarship of the time, and was further left behind by the large advances in historical research and critical method which have distinguished the last twenty-five years. But here we have a design, which is neither ruled by the doctrine nor limited by the scholarship of one Church, which has enlisted men of very various ecclesiastical sympathies, both in America and Great Britain, and promises to be abreast of all the Biblical criticism of its day. While increasing the usefulness of such a design, it does not weaken its scientific character that, by an arrangement to keep distinct the purely textual and philological criticism from the exegesis, the latter is made serviceable to students and preachers unacquainted with Hebrew.

The series could have had no better introduction than this volume from its Old Testament editor. Not only is the subject at once the pivot of the criticism of the Pentateuch and the ground on which law and prophecy meet, but in his treatment of it Dr Driver has set before his colleagues in the series a standard of the highest kind. It is seldom that an editor, who is generally content with furnishing an ideal and a more or less perfunctory revision, provides his authors with so lucid and inspiring an example. There are, it is true, a few details of arrangement which appear to require reconsideration. Is it not possible to give a continuous translation of the text? The outline of the contents of each section is useful, but it could have been more easily dispensed with than a translation, which would not have added greatly to the size of the volume. One feels the absence of this the more when one comes to the poems in xxxii., xxxiii., which Dr Driver has translated throughout. The other contents are well-arranged, and there is a good sense of proportion in their distribution between large and small print. The size of the volume is convenient; and though the glaze on the paper is trying to the eyes in gas-light, the type is large and clear. These, however,

are very minor merits beside the scope and spirit of the Commentary itself. Dr Driver has not given us any brilliant adventure in criticism—on such a field such an enterprise was hardly possible—but he has achieved a commentary of rare learning and still more rare candour and sobriety of judgment. Even with so judicious and comprehensive a work as Dillmann's classic on Deuteronomy, this may be fearlessly compared. It is everywhere based on an independent study of the text and history; its conclusions are as original and as sound; it has a large number of new details; its treatment of the religious value of the book is beyond praise. We find, in short, all those virtues which are conspicuous in the author's previous works, with a warmer and more interesting style of expression.

The introduction consists of five sections. The first treats of the name and gives an outline of the contents. The second relates D to the other documents of the Pentateuch, as in Dr Driver's *Introduction to the Old Testament*. The third is on the "Scope and Character of Deuteronomy, its dominant ideas": it is one of the ablest portions, and, as the subject demanded, the best-written portion, of the whole volume. Note especially how the doctrine of the central sanctuary is shown to be a corollary of the monotheism of the writer. The fifth section, which is the longest, discusses the authorship, date and structure. Dr Driver's conclusions with regard to the latter may be stated first. In the controversy regarding the unity of chs. v.-xxvi. and xxviii., he takes sides with Kuenen and Dillmann against Wellhausen, and defends the unity. He sees no reason why chs. i.-iii. should not also be from the same hand; and against putting iv. 1-40 along with them he feels only one slight inconclusive reason. Ch. xxvii. is a later expansion of a Deuteronomic nucleus. In xxix.-xxxiv. Dr Driver rejects as improbable the transpositions and alterations suggested by Dillmann and Westphal in support of their theory of a final hortatory discourse. *These words* in xxxi. 28 and xxxii. 46 he takes to apply not to that; but in the former verse to the Song in ch. xxxii. and in the latter verse to the whole Deuteronomic discourses. Chs. xxix.-xxx. are a supplementary discourse from the Deuteronomist, except the two passages, xxix. 9-28, xxx. 1-10, the former of which certainly, and the latter with hesitation, are assigned to a later Deuteronomic hand or hands (D²). Chs. xxxi.-xxxiv. are assigned, as by most critics, among the various documents of the Hexateuch. The song in ch. xxxii., with its introduction, xxxi. 16-22, is held to have been inserted from an independent source by D², who added xxxi. 28-30; while vers. 1-13, 24-27 are from the original Deuteronomist, and vers. 14-15 are of JE. The Blessing in ch. xxxiii. was incorporated in the

text at an uncertain stage. In ch. xxxiv., as usual, part of 1a, 1b-5a, 6 and 10 are assigned to JE; 11-12 to D²; and the rest to P, who is also held to have written i. 3 and xxxii. 48-52.

It will be seen, then, that beyond a few details, there is nothing new suggested as to the structure of the text. The most important feature of the analysis is the very small portion assigned to a second Deuteronomist. Most critics will feel that Dr Driver's prudence is justified: though the matter is not certain, there is no decisive evidence against attributing i.-iv. 40 to the author of v.-xxvi.

On the question of date and authorship there is even less ground for difference of opinion. The question of Deuteronomy was one of the earliest raised among us, and at this time of day it is not worth while going back upon it. It is difficult indeed to understand how any can cling to the Mosaic authorship of the book in face of these facts—that it nowhere avers to be by Moses: that its standpoint is Western Palestine, and that its whole perspective is so plainly that of some centuries after the events it describes. This is even the case with the speeches attributed to Moses. The war with Sihon is more than once described as taking place *in the going forth from Egypt*, which happened forty years before. This could not have been said by one who was speaking to Israel a few weeks or months after the war with Sihon: but it is a most natural description for a writer to whom the whole forty years were foreshortened. To the present reviewer this, the Scripture's own proof of its origin, has always seemed sufficient by itself to decide the question. But on this and all the other evidence the enquirer will find the case stated by Dr Driver with a candour, moderation and justice which take nothing for granted, and exhaust the possibilities on all sides. At the present stage, however, students will probably find even more valuable the very judicious and suggestive pages in which Dr Driver relates the legislation of Deuteronomy to Moses.

Not that the problems of Deuteronomy are by any means exhausted by Dr Driver; nor has he even stated all of them fully. It will perhaps be more useful if instead of reciting further the many virtues of this Commentary, this review notes some points either deserving of reconsideration or that have been altogether omitted. No one will feel that the bottom of the mystery of Deuteronomy has been sounded by the argument which discusses to what part of the seventh century we owe it. Dr Driver does not admit the decisiveness of the evidence for a date in the reign of Josiah; and he repudiates the theory which ascribes it to Hilkiah. He apparently leans to a date under Manasseh or Amon. I do not think he gives sufficient weight to the objection, that in such a case the Book would have reflected the evil conditions of these reigns. He says that "from the nature of the case an exhortation placed in

Moses' mouth could not be expected to contain allusions to the *special* circumstances either of Manasseh's or Josiah's reign." Yet Deuteronomy, in spite of its Mosaic rôle, does reflect the circumstances of other periods—*e.g.*, the distinction between the false and true prophets. The reigns of Manasseh and Amon made apparent to Israel a distinction of a greater kind, which leaves no trace in Deuteronomy—the distinction between the persecuted servants of Jehovah and the tyrannical powers of the nation. The nation is still a unity as it is to the earlier prophets, sinning and repenting as a whole. It seems to me that we are shut up to the alternative of finding a date either in the early reign of Josiah, or before Manasseh; and I do not feel that the case for this earlier date has had full justice done it by Dr Driver. The political and spiritual conditions for such a book were alike present by the end of the reign of Hezekiah. But there is only space to touch upon this, and we must pass to other points.

In connection with the authorship of Deuteronomy, there is one point on which Dr Driver does not touch at either of the two passages which suggest it: xi. 26-30 and xxvii. 1 *ff.* In a book written to enforce one sanctuary and one altar, and these presumably Zion with the Ark, why should the single holy place appointed in Western Palestine for a national service, and the building of an altar, be not Jerusalem, but the northern Ebal and Gerizim? There is a geographical reason for it, of course, but this does not harmonise with the prevailing standpoint of the book in Western Palestine: Ebal and Gerizim are the most prominent landmarks of Western Palestine, as seen from Eastern; and the most natural resort for all who cross Jordan westwards, as appears for instance from Abraham's and Jacob's case. In the case of ch. xxvii., the fact of course may be quoted as an additional proof of the mixed origin of the chapter, though in that case it is singular that the editor who added it did not feel any discrepancy between the provision for an altar in Ebal and the exclusive sanctity claimed for Zion. But in ch. xi. the point is more important. Have we here, in a passage that is suited to a standpoint east of the Jordan, and forms an exception to the rest of the book's jealous avoidance of every sanctuary but one, another token of the many ancient elements that undoubtedly went to make up Deuteronomy?

Canon Driver has no difficulty in showing that the Song in ch. xxxii. is of a date considerably later than Moses; but when he attempts to fix this date in the Chaldean period, I cannot but feel that he has come down either too far or not far enough, and that especially he has not given us an adequate statement of the case for an early date. He is right, of course, in claiming for the possibility of his theory the fact which Stade had already made clear

(Z.A.T.W., 1885), that with its introduction (ch. xxxi. 16-22) and its conclusion (xxxii. 44) the song is independent both of the Deuteronomist and of JE, among fragments of whose narrative it now stands. But his chief ground for assigning the Song to the Chaldean period is the affinity of its general thought to the prophecies of that period. Yet the most striking thing about the Song is the absence of all allusion to the Exile. This is not mentioned even as a possibility in the passage in which it would have been very natural to put it—viz., the catalogue of divine judgments: pestilence, war and wild beasts. Nor is it shadowed at the end of the poem (ver. 43). The worst that can happen to Israel is a state of utter helplessness (ver. 36), such as they were often reduced to by their heathen neighbours. Jehovah's power is promised in redeeming them from this, and not in bringing them back from captivity. Throughout, but especially in ver. 30, *How could one have pursued a thousand, &c.*, the enemies described are much more like the smaller heathen states of Syria than the vast empires of Assyria and Babylonia, who again are not necessarily implied by the phrase "a No-People." It is also striking that there is no reference in the Song to a divided kingdom and no prayer expressed for the unity of the people. All this leads to the alternative either of a very early date or of a very late date; and if one felt with Canon Driver that the case for the former was no stronger than he has stated it, one would be forced towards a date after the Exile. The Song reflects nothing of the national fortunes or outlook in the Chaldean period; and, in spite of what Dr Driver says about its theological affinities to the prophets of that period, there is really nothing in its ideas which we do not find, in germ at least, in Hosea.

As to details in this song—ver. 14, *sons of Bashan*, Driver renders by *herds: breed* is more proper. Ver. 18—surely both clauses may be interpreted of the mother's function. Ver. 23—*I will sweep up evils upon them* is a closer parallel to *I will use up my shafts against them* than *I will add, &c.* There is an error on p. 360, ver. 15—*God of his salvation* should be *Rock, &c.* On p. 356, —The song's assignment of the origin of Israel and her union with Jehovah to the wilderness, while nothing is said of Egypt, is imputed to the mere wish of the writer to paint a situation which would signalise the divine grace. But such a wish would have been as fully satisfied by describing the deliverance from Egypt. The question is at least raised, and might have been profitably discussed, whether there was a line of tradition in Israel that did not go back for the origins of the people to Egypt; and how far such silence, as the Song holds with regard to the latter, is confirmatory of many other signs we have of the desert origin of Israel, and the improbability of their ever having been a settled tribe before reaching

Canaan. The same question arises in connection with the blessing of Moses in ch. xxxiii.

On the date of the latter Dr Driver has stated all the evidence, and feels it lead him to the age of Jeroboam I. The oral tradition of such psalms, the certainty that the not yet stereotyped form of this one must have taken the impress of more ages than one, renders certainty about its date an absolute impossibility; but Dr Driver is right in emphasising the "ancient" character of the Blessing. Some details may be noticed.

In ver. 2, last clause, Dr Driver retains *from his right hand*. Is it not much more probable that we have here some form of the word for *right*, used in its sense of *south*; or even the corruption of the special form *Teman*, used as a place-name? This would complete the parallel which Wellhausen has already restored in the previous clause by reading *Meribah of Kadesh*: and in the similar passage in Habakkuk (iii. 3) *Teman* is actually mentioned with *Paran*.

In ver. 22, *Dan is a lion's whelp that leapeth forth from Bashan*, have we not a further proof for the argument, stated in my *Historical Geography*, that not Tell-el-Kadi, but the higher Baniyas, or its castle actually situate on the Bashan hills, was the early *Laiish*, the subsequent *Dan*? In ver. 26, in spite of what Dr Driver says of the usual meaning of *Ga'avah*, its proper English equivalent in the passage is not *dignity* but *majesty*. *Who rideth through the skies in his dignity* is bathos.

The following points seem to me to require addition or correction.

Although the question as to the historical character of the campaign against Og surely comes up in the treatment of the Dt. who alone records it, we are not even told by Prof. Driver that there is such a question. He only remarks that it is "unnoticed" in JE's narrative in Numbers, &c. The phrase that "some of the ruins in Bashan may be reasonably referred to the ancient kingdom of Og," obviously implies that Prof. Driver at least believes there was such a monarch. But he is quite silent as to the probability of the campaign. I think, for geographical reasons which I have stated (*Hist. Geog.*), that it was extremely probable that Israel pushed their conquests as far north as Bashan before crossing the Jordan. But Wellhausen, W. R. Smith, Buhl, and of course Stade, with many others, deny that campaign; and one would have liked to have Prof. Driver's opinion upon the question.

The diseases of Egypt are described as far as our knowledge of them goes; but though the Book expressly says that Israel *dreads them* now in their own land of Palestine, no notice is taken by Professor Driver of the fact of how often the plague in various

forms swept north from Egypt upon the whole of Western Asia. This, of course, is the proper illustration of the relevant passages in Deuteronomy : and not merely the catalogue of diseases which, like ophthalmia, were native to the Nile valley, and do not seem capable of crossing the desert.

There are several points connected with the geography to which I desire to draw attention.

On the general question of the identity of ancient and modern place names in Palestine, I think Professor Driver a little too strict in ruling out cases in which some letters in the modern pronunciation of the Arabic are not the exact equivalents of the corresponding letter in the Hebrew. Thus, for instance, he says, that the סוף of Dent. i., which he rightly takes to be the Suphah of Numbers xxi. 14, cannot be the Nakbes-Safa suggested by Knobel, for the latter is unsuitably situated : "nor does the name agree phonetically (for ص corresponds to ז not to ס). The geographical reason is correct : but not the phonetic. The rule he states is not absolute ; for take the case of Salchah. The Hebrew is סלכח, and the Aramean סלח, and the Arabic صليحت. As a general rule for dealing with such phonetic resemblances, it is safe, while being strictly suspicious of any suggested identity, to admit the possibility of the substitution for any letter in the ancient Hebrew forms of any other of the same class as the Hebrew. As to Suph or Suphah, Professor Driver appears right in placing it in the vicinity of Moab ; and we might note in connection with the name, the second name of the Wady or Seyl Saideh, the upper branch of the Arnon, which was reported to Burckhardt (p. 373) as Wady Safia (صفية).

On page 8 one would have liked a short discussion of the question of the two Ashtoreths, especially in connection with Eusebius' statement (*Onom.* *καρβαιν*) that "from Edre'i it was not more than six miles." Manifestly it is his other *καρβαιν* that must be identified with the "Tell Ashtere" to which Driver refers.

Page 23. *A people greater and taller than we.* On this feeling of the Israelites about the inhabitants of Canaan, it is useful to note the greater height of the present fellahin (in the opinion of many the descendants of the old Canaanites) compared with the Bedouin. This strikes the traveller : the Bedouin themselves feel it. On the ancient Egyptian monuments, too, the settled Syrian is represented as a plump and comfortable person ; a bigger and more formidable figure than the lean and meagre Bedawee. The difference is interesting in connection with the question of Israel's origin : *in the desert He found him.*

On page 38. The note on the torrent Zered, and the upper branches of the Arnon needs revision after Bliss' survey of the district

as given in the P.E.F.Q. for July of this year: pp. 203 ff, with a map which disposes the Arnon branches and their names differently from the arrangement on the P.E.F. map and Fischer and Guthe's map.

On page 41. *Caphtor*. Sayce has withdrawn his acceptance of Eber's etymology of the name (*Academy* for 1894: I have not the means at hand of giving the exact reference). There are other alternatives for Caphtor, besides the Delta and Crete, *e.g.*, W. Max Müller's—the east coast of the Aegean. On this verse (Deut. ii. 33) the seats of the Philistines, as given by the Deuteronomist, might be compared with the more southerly position assigned to them in Abraham's time by the Book of Genesis.

On page 42. Kedemoth no doubt derives its name from its easterly position on the edge of the desert.

On page 47 (near the foot), "and its oak forests are frequently alluded to by travellers." The language of the sentence is ambiguous; the phrase quoted reads as if it applied to Hauran, on which there are no forests nor the smallest woods, and, if the ancient architecture be witness, never were. The oaks are all to the west, in Jaulan. Hauran here and elsewhere should be without the article.

On page 49, with Ibrahim Pasha's unsuccessful assault on the Lejá, might be compared the means that Varro and Herod the Great took to reduce it to order (Jos. B. J., i. 20. 4; *Ant.* xv. 10. 1; xvi. 9. 1, 2. 1-3).

On page 54. The bedstead or sarcophagus of Og. "By *iron* is meant probably the black basalt of the country, &c." The Arabs east of the Jordan to this day call basalt "*iron*."

On page 79, the *βοσορ* of I. Macc. v. 26 ff, is quoted as if the same as Bezer "in the tableland" of Moab. But that campaign of Judas the Maccabee, which is described in I. Macc. v., was waged for the most part further north on the Yarmuk (witness Karnion Ephron, &c.), and Bosor and Bosora mentioned in it, must both be found among the modern Bosra, Busr (el Hariri) and other towns of similar names in that district.

On page 392, the site of the Gilgal of Deut. xi. 30:—*Ebal and Gerizim, are they not beyond Jordan, behind the way of the going down of the sun in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the Arabah, over against Gilgal, beside the oaks or terebinths of Moreh.* Driver adheres to the only meaning compatible with the punctuation of the text, that *in front of Gilgal* describes the position of Ebal and Gerizim; and adds that in spite of the great distance of these mountains, 28 miles north-west from the well-known Gilgal near Jericho, it would be possible for one "who stood on an eminence near Nebo," "speaking loosely and generally," to describe Ebal and Gerizim as "in front of Gilgal." But Moses is represented as

speaking on the plains of Shittim, and it is plainly impossible for any one, even speaking with the greatest looseness and generality, to define Ebal and Gerizim as in front of Gilgal, which lies just across the river from his standpoint. Not even "the eminence near Nebo," which is brought in without justification, could render the phrase possible. That being so, either Dillmann's view must be adopted, that some now unknown Gilgal near Shechem is meant (Driver rightly discards the Jiljilia, 13 miles south from Gerizim near Sinjil); or else the punctuation must be amended. Now this is so readily done, and when done makes such admirable sense, that it seems to me the only alternative open to us. Read, with Colenso, *the Canaanites which dwell in the Arabah over against Gilgal*, and you get both grammar and a sense true to history.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

The Sacred Books of the Old Testament.

Edited by Paul Haupt. Part III., The Book of Leviticus, by S. R. Driver and H. A. White. Part VIII., The Books of Samuel, by K. Budde. Leipzig: Hinrichs. London: Nutt. Post 8vo, pp. 32 and 99. Price, 2s. 6d. and 6s. 6d. net.

THE editors of Leviticus have had a less composite Book to treat than some of the others are, and the use of colours is less striking. Three different shades have been found sufficient: black for the body of the book (PC), yellow for the somewhat earlier Law of Holiness (Lev. xvii.-xxvi.), and brown for some elements that have been inserted later into the Priests' Code. These additions are ch. iv., vi. 23, and x. 16-20.

Though the changes in the Text are not on a large scale, a multitude of small alterations have been made or suggested, which raise interesting questions, some of reading and some of syntax, and furnish occasion for a great deal of instructive annotation. An important note on the use of the pronoun *אֲנִי* as epicene shews that this use cannot be regarded as an archaism, though no satisfactory explanation of it has been suggested. It is chiefly, though not exclusively, in the Pentateuch that the usage occurs. A good number of anomalous usages are found in Leviticus. The tendency prevailing at present is strongly in favour of obliterating these anomalies and bringing the punctuation into line with what is usual. It is possible, however, that the effect of this rather indiscriminate tendency may be to obliterate real elements of variation. The compass of the literature is so small that anomalous forms may not unnaturally appear large in proportion. The

occurrence nine times of the form *el* for the plural demonstrative is not quite satisfactorily explained in these notes, by saying that it "can hardly be due to any but accidental causes." An accident that happens nine times acquires another name. It is possible certainly that the short form was pronounced like the longer one *elléh*, but it is not likely. It is more probable that the unaccented final *eh* was dropped, as it often was even when under the accent. The note on Ezra v. 15 seems to shew that the Massorettes at least pronounced the long and short forms differently, though it may always be made a question whether the Massoretic tradition truly reflects the spoken language. Considering the long time the language had been dead, and its exclusive use in the recitative of the Synagogue, it can scarcely have done so in all particulars. An interesting case is the occasional pointing of the infin. hiph. with the vowel *i* like the perf. instead of the normal *a*. The present editors would point with *a* wherever the word cannot be syntactically regarded as a perf.—"wherever the syntax does not permit the word to be treated as a perfect—as is the case, for instance, in xiv. 46—the punctuation *ha* should be restored" (note on xiv. 43). The note on xiv. 46 shews that the somewhat ambiguous "as is the case" means, as it *does* permit in xiv. 46. The two illustrations added to the note are not quite happy, as Lev. xxv. 48 is a very unusual construction, and Jer. xl. 1 is in ordinary texts at least an infin., not a perf. Probably scholars will generally agree with the principle which the editors adopt. Nothing like certainty is attainable. There is little doubt that the Massoretic punctuation reflects a tradition. The question is, How old is the tradition? Does it date from the synagogal reading, or does it go back to the spoken language? The spoken language had already thinned the *a* to *i* in the perfect, and that this process should have been occasionally extended to the infin. in the popular mouth is anything but unnatural. Any explanation of the particular instances is no doubt difficult to give, but perhaps not more difficult on the assumption that the variation is ancient than on the supposition that it is modern. The student will find these annotations instructive in regard both to text and language.

The tints in the Books of Samuel are numerous, and unless one has a good eye for colours may prove confusing. On the third page of the cover, however, examples of the colours are referred to, and this will be helpful. The example given of *yellow*, 1 Sam. xx. 23-26, should evidently be 2 Sam. A glance into this volume will at once show how extraordinarily composite in the view of modern scholarship the text of the Books of Samuel is. Probably also it will awaken some incredulity in the mind of the reader. He must be content to wait till the Commentary, of which this Text is the

forerunner, appears, when the grounds of the critical analysis of the sources will be laid before him.

The Hebrew text of Samuel being more than usually faulty has engaged the attention of many scholars. Besides the Commentaries, such as those of Thenius and Klostermann, valuable monographs have been written on the subject by Wellhausen and Driver. The corrections of Kittel in Kautzsch's Bible, though conservative and carried little further than to make the text readable, also offer a useful contribution. Through these efforts a certain consensus on a large number of points had already been attained. Professor Budde however goes to work more fundamentally than any of his predecessors, and has produced a book which, by its thoroughness, acuteness and scholarship, may be almost regarded as final. Of course in all emendations, except such as are a mere transcription of some witness such as the Greek, there is a certain subjective element, and the sanguine feelings of the emendator will not always be responded to by his cold-blooded reader. Professor Budde does not hesitate to differ brusquely from other scholars, and they will no doubt reserve their liberty to differ from him. The reading adopted from Klostermann in 1 Sam. i. 9, *וַתַּנֵּחַ אַחֶרֶיהָ*, *she left her food behind her*, has not that ancient smell peculiar to genuine Hebrew, while the use of *okel*, food, in the sense of concrete "provisions" which one has on a definite occasion, is surely uncommon. An example of the levelling tendency already referred to is found in i. 12, where the anomalous *וַיֵּחַ* is altered to *וַיֵּחַ*, a change made to rule all the other cases. The process of corruption suggested by Budde might well be right in a single instance, but that it should have occurred in so many instances is beyond belief. The compass within which the notes had to be compressed has given them sometimes a curtness which may tax younger readers, and occasionally an over-decisiveness which should be recognised as due to the circumstances and discounted. Young scholars, like women, are apt to confound decisiveness with power and right. On the other hand, cautious heads are repelled by peremptoriness, which makes them obstinate and contradictory. It would be a mistake in them, however, to assume without examination that all those passages in the Massoretic text which Budde describes as "absurd," "nonsensical," or "impossible," have probably nothing wrong with them.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

Anecdota Oxoniensia.

The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees. Edited from four MSS. by R. H. Charles, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895. Pp. xxvii. 184. Price, 12s. 6d.

THE Book of Jubilees is so called from its chronological method. It computes time by Jubilee periods of forty-nine (not fifty) years. Each Jubilee period again comprises seven weeks (of years), and each week seven years. This method of computation seems peculiar to the author, the usual way of reckoning being by generations (though *cf.* Dan. ix.). The method was not unnatural, as the Jubilee was the first considerable division of years, and it suited the author's curious genius for invention or fiction, and enabled him to tell in what day in what month in what year in what week of years in what Jubilee each of the antediluvians and patriarchs married, had a son born to him, christened him and made a feast, which is some feast celebrated by Jews of the author's own day. All this history is recorded in the heavenly tablets, and is revealed to Moses on the Mount by the Angel of the Presence, for in heaven they count by Jubilees also, and have kept the Sabbath and the feasts since the world began. The Book is thus a paraphrase in one view and a compend in another of the Book of Genesis and the early chapters of Exodus. From its giving much of the contents of Genesis in a compendious form, it was known as Little (λεπτή) Genesis, Leptogenesis, or Microgenesis. Sometimes the story is told in the words of Genesis, at other times the narrative is a paraphrase with many adornments of a Haggadic kind of passages in that book. How many of these amplifications were current already in the author's day and have merely been preserved by him, and how many are due to his own rather luxuriant imagination, would be difficult to say. He explains the serpent's ability to talk in Eden by the supposition that at that time all the beasts had the gift of speech, of which they were deprived for the bad use they made of it. More ingenious is his proof of the literal fulfilment of the threat, In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt die. In the celestial reckoning a day is 1000 years, and Adam, who lived 930 years, thus died before the day was done. There is much of this trifling in the Book. More important are the edifying speeches put into the mouths of the ancients, which, though tedious, reflect the religious views of the author and his contemporaries. Even these would need to be used with caution if one were drawing conclusions in regard to prevailing sentiments, for there is a tone of exaggeration in many things, *e.g.*, in the estimate of Israel and its place before God and in the world, and in the dislike expressed of other nations, which may be the author's own, who, though of the Pharisaic school, goes his own way

in some respects, as in his view of immortality, which is more that of the Book of Wisdom than of the general Pharisaism. And in other respects the Book does not reflect actual usage, but gives ideal directions, *e.g.*, as to the kinds of wood to be used at the altar. The view was at one time expressed that the Book proceeded out of Samaritan circles. Mr Charles' scholarly investigations into the affinities of the versions of Genesis appear to set this view conclusively aside: while the text of Jubilees often coincides with the Samaritan in company with other versions, except in one doubtful instance it nowhere agrees with the Samaritan alone in opposition to other versions.

The term "Hebrew" used by Mr Charles in his title after ancient authorities might of course mean Aramaic. It seems more probable that the Book was written in Hebrew proper. Jerome refers to some Hebrew words which he says he had nowhere come across but in the Book of Jubilees. The date of the Book is usually assigned to the first century B.C., or more exactly, to about the middle of this century. Jerome was acquainted with the original, which, however, has perished. Fragments of a Syriac version remain, which Mr Charles argues may have been made from the Hebrew. A few pieces also remain of the Greek translation, and it is from the Greek that the Ethiopic version here edited has been made, as well as a Latin version which exists to the extent of about a fourth of the Book. All these fragments have been reproduced by the editor either in the body of his work or in appendices, in particular the Ethiopic and Latin in a critically emended text. Four MSS. have been used in forming the Ethiopic text, which are cited as A, B, C, D. For his translation in Ewald's *Jahrbücher* ii. iii. Dillmann used C, a transcript procured by Krapff the missionary, and for his edition of the Ethiopic text, 1859, only C and D were available, both characterised by Mr Charles as very inferior MSS. The present editor reposes principally on A and B, or on one of them, B being the most trustworthy. In addition to these MSS., very careful use has been made of the various versions of Genesis.

The Book of Jubilees is of importance in various ways. First, it is an interesting reflection of ways of thinking current in the century before our era. The religious views and sentiments of the time are to be gathered mainly from the lengthy exhortations to their children put into the mouths of the patriarchs and other ancients, though, as has been said, some care must be used in discriminating between what is peculiar to the author and what may be held as general. Secondly, the Book has an important place in the complicated question of the chronology of Genesis. It is probable that one object of the author of the Book was to do something to rectify this chronology. The bearing of the Book on this question has been

well estimated by Kuenen in his Essay on the Massoretic text, republished by Budde in his *Abhandlungen*. No doubt the present editor of the Jubilees will have something to say on the subject in his forthcoming Commentary. And, thirdly, the Book has its place in the textual criticism of the Book of Genesis. Mr Charles is disposed to rate its value in this respect very high. His very interesting tabulation of agreements and disagreements of the Book with other versions confirms the fact that Hebrew MSS., in the centuries before and after our era, do not fall into recensions. While they varied from each other, their variations may be called promiscuous. Of course, great caution will be necessary in accepting the testimony of the Jubilees when it coincides with the Sept. In the first place, the translator into Greek might not unnaturally allow the Sept., with which he was familiar, to influence him in expression, or even in reading. Again, the Ethiopic translator would be under the temptation to assimilate his renderings to the Ethiopic Bible, and as this was a translation from the Sept., a new Greek influence would thus be felt. And, finally, the Greek Jubilees, on which the Ethiopic translator worked, would not be without corruptions, some of them due also to Sept. influence. Mr Charles is quite alive to these possible sources of error. But after these infiltrations of foreign influence have been guarded against, respect must be had to many things—*e.g.*, to the varying idioms of different languages, in reasoning back to the text of the Hebrew Jubilees. An example may be cited. In ch. xvii. 5 (Gen. xxi. 11), the Latin reads, *pessimus visus est sermo*, no doubt a rendering of the Greek (so Sept. in Gen. xxi. 11), and Mr Charles ventures the conjecture that the Hebrew Jubilees, and even the Book of Genesis, may have originally stood יִרְאָה לֵךְ. But such words are not Hebrew diction at all; the “seemed” is due merely to Greek idiom.

Mr Charles might have spoken with greater magnanimity of Dillmann. Even if all that he says of Dillmann’s uncritical procedure in regard to the text be true, it will not be forgotten that Dillmann was a pioneer, or a discoverer, in Ethiopic learning, and it is greatly due to his work that there are now such distinguished scholars as Mr Charles in this department. Dillmann’s mind, too, was formed before the strong current in the direction of textual criticism set in, and it was not unnatural that he should continue to manifest more interest in the material contents of a work than in what was outward and formal. It is possible that Dillmann, like older scholars, may have adhered too closely to the principle, the Massoretic text against everything else; but the newer principle, Anything against the Massoretic text, is certainly not less one-sided. Mr Charles’ conclusions, when affecting this text, would need always, before acceptance, to be carefully looked into.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

The Messiah of the Apostles.

By Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D., Edward Robinson Professor of Biblical Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, New York.
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895. Pp. xv. 562. Price, 7s. 6d.

THIS work forms the central volume of a series which Dr. Briggs began nearly ten years ago with *Messianic Prophecy*, which was published in 1886. Last year, after this long break, he gave us *The Messiah of the Gospels*; and this has been followed very speedily by the larger volume now before us. No doubt the preparation of materials for these second and third volumes went on to a large extent simultaneously; and hence the fact that only a few months have elapsed between the times of their publication. Moreover, there has been no distracting crisis, such as intervened between the appearance of the first volume in the series and the second, to draw away the author from his studies to the necessary but unpleasant duty of self-defence. Considering the grievous distractions to which Dr Briggs has been subjected by the ill-advised prosecutions of which he has been made a victim, his productiveness is amazing. He tells us that the substance of this volume was cast into form for publication several years ago. "But the whole has been rewritten during the past year. So much more has been learned about the Christ of the Apostles during these months that it seems to me that I knew little before. This experience makes it altogether probable that there is still more to be learned by myself and by others." No student of Scripture will be disposed to question the truth of that.

If he is spared, Dr Briggs hopes to add two more volumes to this series—one on *The Messiah of the Church* and the other on *The Messiah of the Theologians*. We shall have to wait some time for these: but it is probable that when they are produced the present volume will remain both in chronological order and in importance the central volume of the whole work. More, perhaps, than any book which he has yet published, the author himself would regard this one as representing the best results of a life devoted to the study of theological questions, especially such as come under the head of Biblical Theology; and those who know his previous publications, and the unhappy controversy in which some of them have involved him, will know what they may expect to find in the present instalment. He tells us frankly that he does not write for those timid students who cannot give a welcome to any theological views which are out of harmony with traditional interpretations and deductions. "The author has done his best to turn away from the

Christ of the Theologians and of the Creeds and of the Church, and to see the Messiah as he is set forth in the writings of the apostles. He has made every effort to see the Messiah as he appeared to each writer in each separate writing" (p. ix.).

The arrangement of the book is similar to that adopted in the *Messiah of the Gospels*. Starting with the Messianic idea of the Jews and of the Jewish Christians in the first days of the Christian Church, Dr Briggs works carefully through the Christology of St. Paul as it is unfolded in the four groups of his Epistles; after which the Epistle to the Hebrews is examined in a similar manner. This brings us to about the middle of the volume. Then comes what may be called the most characteristic feature in the contents. Seven chapters out of a total of eighteen are devoted to the analysis of the Apocalypse, and an examination of the Messiah as presented in the different sections of that perplexing book. In revising his lectures upon it, Dr Briggs was converted to the documentary hypothesis, and has endeavoured to find a solution to a problem which may be regarded as one of the most difficult in the New Testament. He believes, not that he has succeeded, but that he has made a real contribution towards a solution.

In the *Presbyterian Review* for January 1888, Dr Briggs criticised the documentary theory of Vischer (which had already won the favour of Dillmann, Harnack, and Schürer), and rejected it. Since then the continued labours of the Dutch scholar Völter and of the German Spitta, combined with his own independent study, have led him to modify his view. He still maintains the unity of the book; but he would attribute that unity, not to a single author who composed the whole, but to the final editor of a series of documents which underwent a process of editing three or four times. This final editor is supposed to have taken a number of apocalypses which were already in circulation: to have combined them in a series of seven Visions, each with seven scenes in each Vision; and to have prefixed a prologue and added an epilogue to the compound. But the process of combination has not been the simple process of stringing together the original elements. If that had been the case, analysis would be very much easier than it is. The beginning of some of these apocalypses has been thrust into the middle of others, and the whole has been rearranged with a view to symmetry. Hence the disentanglement of the component parts is a perplexing problem which does not admit at present of satisfactory solution. But Dr Briggs believes that the documentary theory is the one which holds the field.

The main outlines of his scheme are as follows. Six different documents are embedded in the Apocalypse as we have it: these are the Seven Epistles, Seven Seals, Seven Trumpets, Seven Bowls, the

Beasts, and the Dragon. These last two are the oldest, and may be assigned to the reign of Caligula, and perhaps they were very soon combined as one document. The Trumpets and the Seals may also have been combined soon after their production. At any rate they are earlier than the apocalypse of the Bowls which presupposes them. The Seven Bowls in its original form belongs to the reign of Galba; in its latest to that of Domitian. The apocalypse of the Seven Epistles seems to have been the last of the series, and its date may be anything from Nero to Domitian.

Such, then, are the *disiecta membra* of the Revelation as we have it. How did they get into their present harmonious shape? Some such genesis as the following is imagined. A first editor puts the Seals, Trumpets, and Bowls together; a second editor prefixes the Epistles to this triplet; a third editor appends the Beasts and the Dragon, which had previously been coupled by someone else; and then, at the end of the first century or early in the second, the fourth and final editor works up the whole. To him are assigned the first three verses in the book and the last two, together with a variety of small insertions throughout. Is this last editor the Apostle and Evangelist? That is left uncertain. "The Apocalypse of John is the last apocalypse of Jesus; and that is equally true whether it comes from the Apostle John or an unknown John, whether it was composed by one author or is a compilation of several apocalypses." It is obvious that if a theory of this kind is the true explanation of the genesis of the Revelation, then the early and the late dates which have been assigned to it may both be correct. The earlier portions may be prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the later may be as late as Domitian or Trajan.

But a good deal of patient investigation is still necessary before a theory of this elaborate character can be accepted as more than tentative. There are somewhat similar theories already in the field, notably those of Völter and Spitta; and the last word has not yet been spoken about them. It is only by the careful testing of different solutions, and the gradual elimination of what cannot be correct, that the truth will be reached; and students of the Apocalypse will be grateful to Dr Briggs for his carefully-worked contribution to the problem. If he accomplishes nothing more than proving to some of his readers that there is nothing in such theories which ought to shock a reverent student of Holy Scripture, he will have achieved something well worth doing.

The conclusion of the analysis of the Apocalypse brings us near to the close of the volume. Three chapters still remain. One of these considers the Messiah of the Epistles of St. John; but it is almost entirely occupied with the First Epistle. Dr Briggs rightly expresses doubt as to the correctness of the common view that the

water and the blood in 1 John v. 6, refer to the blood and water which flowed from the pierced side of the crucified Saviour. "It is possible this event was in the mind of the writer. If so, it was only as a suggestion of vastly more important facts. It is most natural to think of the water of baptism, the blood of the cross, and the gift of the Holy Spirit. The water of the baptism of Jesus which attested him as the Son of God, the blood of the cross which attested him as the Lamb of God, the descent of the Holy Spirit that attested him as the enthroned Messiah,—these three facts and events present concurrent testimony of the greatest value. These three also attest to the individual Christian that Jesus is the Messiah, for the Christian receives the water of baptism, the blood of the Lord's supper, and the anointing of the divine Spirit, all concurring witnesses that he is a child of God and that Jesus is his Saviour" (p. 492). That is rational exegesis.

The next chapter (xvii.) considers the Messiah of the Prologue of the Gospel of St. John; with which is combined the Messianic passages Jn. iii. 16-21 and 31-36. Dr Briggs regards both these as comments of the Evangelist, not as continuations, the first of the words of Christ, and the second of the words of John the Baptist. This point can never be determined with certainty, but it does not affect the interpretation.

The concluding chapter (xviii.) sums up the argument of the whole volume. The readers of it will join in the hope that the author may have health and strength to complete the task, of which he has now accomplished the largest and most important portion.

A. PLUMMER.

**Edward Harold Browne, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester,
and Prelate of the most noble order of the Garter :
A Memoir.**

By G. W. Kitchen, D.D., Dean of Durham. London: John Murray, 1895. Pp. 519.

THIS memoir is a sign of the times. It is the biography of an Evangelical High Churchman, written by a Broad Churchman. How, then, can it possibly be a fair and truthful portrait? The answer to this question is, that it is constructed on what we may call the modern principle of the "standpoint"; the biographer puts himself in his hero's place, and makes it his business to show how well his life answered to the principles and aims which underlay it.

No man could write a bishop's biography after this fashion who did not agree with the subject of it in most matters of practice, and especially in his view of what the great business of a clergyman's life should be, while differing, it may be, in many theoretical questions. Undoubtedly the result in the present instance is a highly appreciative portrait of Bishop Browne, without any disposition to make light of his Evangelicalism or his High Churchism. We close the book with a vivid idea of the bishop as a humble, loving, spiritual Christian, as a cautious, peace-loving, laborious minister of Christ, and at the same time a firm believer in the divine origin and supreme importance of the Episcopal order, and in the power and blessing conferred by her Head on the Episcopal Church, and through her ministrations, on all who have the good fortune to enjoy them.

It is interesting to notice how Dean Kitchin views the different types of character that appear in the ranks of Christians, and especially the difference between the conservative and the advancing theologian. He says that men of power may be roughly divided into two classes : those who in early life are laid hold of by great general truths to which they constantly adhere, and which become the tests or standards by which all else is tried ; and those who are ever open to add to their stock of knowledge, to test their convictions, and modify their judgments ; these seem often to be swayed by the current of events, and get the credit of being unstable, "ever learning, never able to come to the knowledge of the truth." The first are men of deductive, the other of inductive principles. The Bishop was of the former class : it is implied that his biographer is of the latter. We suspect that whatever attractions there may be in the openness of mind and honesty of purpose of the latter class, they are subject, as leaders of thought, to a great disadvantage if they want those fixed principles and stable foundations which sooner or later all inquiring spirits feel to be needful for the great work of life. Openness of mind and freedom of movement are excellent and beautiful within certain limits ; but without a backbone of fixed convictions they are liable to give birth to a somewhat molluscous Christianity.

Harold Browne was like Dr Newman and Mr Robertson of Brighton, in having been brought up under evangelical influences, and in having come in these circumstances deeply under the power of religion. And in the main he retained his evangelical views. But his high notions of sacramental efficacy led to a certain modification ; for, believing that in baptism we are made partakers of Christ and of the Holy Ghost, he could not but admit that we might fall from grace, and that such falling from grace was a common occurrence. We cannot but regard it as a weak joint in the

bishop's armour that he attached so much importance to certain external or mechanical elements of religion. All through his life the "validity of orders" was a most vital principle; most earnestly was it discussed, for instance, in connection with the Moravian Church; but the question was not whether by the blessing of God resting on their labours the Moravians were proved to have had the seal and approval of Christ, but whether or not they were linked to the mechanical chain of episcopal ordination. The whole ecclesiastical position of Bishop Browne was dominated by this question of valid orders; and in judging of it we cannot but hold him to have erred in the weight he ascribed to the mechanical as against the spiritual, the accidental as against the essential, the human as against the divine.

Besides his parochial work in the diocese of Exeter (where, in virtue of his High Churchism, combined with his Evangelicism, he enjoyed the friendship and countenance, even during the Gorham controversy, of the notorious Bishop Philpotts), he filled two academical and two episcopal positions, as Vice-Principal of Lampeter Theological College in Wales, Norrisian Professor of Theology at Cambridge, Bishop of Ely, and Bishop of Winchester. Twice over he was very near getting the primacy; but on the first occasion Dr Tait was the Prime Minister's choice, and on the second Dr Benson. It was the general feeling at the second vacancy that in point of qualification Dr Browne was the best man going, but being seventy-one, he was deemed too old.

All through his episcopal career he was most indefatigable in every department of organization, and indeed he was a main instrument of inaugurating that new regime of episcopal activity which contrasts so strongly with previous languor. But he found the office of a bishop anything but easy. He was a timorous man, and many of the movements of the day filled him with dread. We are surprised to find him haunted with the spectre of disestablishment as a thing not impossible even in his day. But his fear was not for his own sake, for, chafing under Erastian bonds, he held that disestablishment would be a great relief to the bishops. But he thought it would be a great loss to the cause of religion, which needed the support and glory of an established church. Personally humble and unassuming, he still believed that a Bishop's magnificence was important, and that the income of his see was given to keep up the grandeur which from time to time brought him into contact with the highest of the realm. This feeling gave a certain haughtiness and air of condescension to his demeanour, as his biographer acknowledges. It is another surprise to the unsophisticated reader to find him oppressed by financial tightness, which may have suggested the gift, by subscription, at his golden

wedding, of a few hundred pounds, which, however, he devoted to a charitable object.

He had reached his eightieth year when failing strength constrained him in 1890 to resign his bishopric. One year after he died, amid the deep regret of his friends and universal tokens of public esteem.

It is somewhat disappointing to those outside the Church of England that this biography, like that of Archbishop Tait, is occupied almost exclusively, and of purpose, with ecclesiastical affairs. Obviously, both as an earnest Christian and as a family man, Bishop Browne's life had other sides, more interesting and instructive to the general reader. Of these, however, we have hardly a glimpse. His biographer wishes us to understand that he had a vein of humour, and he gives us a single instance.

"He was an admirable teller of a ghost-story, just because he had so much belief in it all, and had a fellow-feeling with the ghost, and felt that in his own case the boundaries between this present life and the larger world around might at any moment be overstepped. He delighted in the respectable ghosts attached to Farnham Castle. When strolling over the Castle with a friend, pointing to some winding stairs, he said, 'This is the place where the ghost goes up and down; but we have never seen it, though that room (pointing to a door) is my son's bedroom. But then, he is a lawyer, and is not a bit afraid of it, for ghosts don't like lawyers, because they always wish to argue the point out with them, and a ghost's brains are rather weak; nor indeed do they like curates, because they are sure to ask subscriptions to the parish charities, and that puts a poor ghost at a sad disadvantage.'"

W. G. BLAIKIE.

Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum.

Von Lic. Gustav Anrich, Privatdozent in Strassburg. Göttingen: Vandenhæck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 237. Price, 5s. 6d.

THIS is a treatise which, published subsequently to *Nekyia* already noticed, should be read side by side with it, as in some respects an amplification and a corrective. It is a full and careful discussion of the connection between Christianity and the ancient mysteries, that "roof and crown" of failing Paganism; and these not in

themselves alone, but as they stood in relation to cotemporary and kindred manifestations ; for example, the spiritual culture of the Cæsar period, ritual purification, magic, and the Neo-Platonic "Telestik," as well as the religio-mystic tendency of the later philosophy.

The author's process is thoroughly scientific. After stating the problem, and sketching the history of its treatment from Casaubon in the middle of the seventeenth century down to Hatch and Heinrich Holtzmann at the end of the nineteenth, he traces, in his first part, the development of the Greek mysteries, with their promise of future blessedness, and describes the essence of their cult, its "cathartic" element, its "ecstasy" of religious feeling, and the secrecy of its ritual, though not of its doctrine. He then passes on to the mysteries in the Cæsar period, and shews how they affected the Neo-Pythagorean and Neo-Platonic philosophy, helping the Greek idea of the natural deification of the human to subserve the yearning for fellowship with the divine, and so for ceremonial purity as a condition of future felicity. In his second part, he deals with preliminary Gnosticism as influenced by the mystery-worship combined with magic ; and the presuppositions and tendencies which led the heathen and the heathen-Christian to regard in the light of mysteries the Baptism and the Lord's Supper of Christian worship ; till Christianity, as a whole, became more and more a mystery in the hands of the Alexandrian Gnosis, with its mystery terminology, its secret discipline, its contrast of initiated and uninitiated, its catechumenate and its baptism instruction, and its attribution of magical effects to baptism and the supper as a *viaticum*, to baptism as purifying from sin and as exorcising demons, and to the various excrescences that attached themselves in due course to the pristine simplicity of the two Christian rites—the anointing, the lustral salivation, the feet-washing, the clothing in white, the crossing, the taper-bearing, the use of milk and honey, the hand-washings, the body-bathings, the cleansings of houses and fields, and the like. In all these cases he seeks to ascertain how far the influence of the mysteries may be detected in the work of origination or of development.

The positions which the author finally, and with apparent justification, takes up, are these. He traces the mystery-element found in the Christianity of the early centuries not to a direct dependence on the definitely organised Greek mysteries, with their feasts and lustrations, but to a complex collaboration of various influences of which these mysteries formed but a fragment, and of some of which they were themselves in part the product and expression. He argues that in determining the origins of Christian worship and practice we have to do not with a deliberate borrowing

from mystery sources, or a deliberate accommodation to the religious speech of heathendom, but rather with a process naturally and unconsciously fulfilling itself; a religio-psychological process, realising itself in a sphere of religious feeling and experience which was dominated in ever increasing measure by the mystic tendency of an expiring antiquity. Christianity offered analogies and a "platform" for mystery teaching, terminology and practice, especially as handled by Neo-Pythagoreanism and Neo-Platonism; partly because it was, in one aspect, a knowledge of truths revealed to faith, and partly because it had two sacred acts, or sacraments — baptism and the supper — wearing the garb of mysteries to the heathen and heathen converts of those times. Neither the revealed truths nor the sacred acts, as set forth in the books of the New Testament, were derived from the mysteries; and, indeed, any assimilation by Paul and the other Apostles to the "mysteries of the demons" was entirely incongruous with their education, faith and feeling. Anrich quotes as a "curiosity" Professor Percy Gardner's attempt to find the origin of the Pauline (and so the Synoptic) idea of the Lord's Supper in the central point of the Eleusinian feasts,—the sacred repast of which the initiated partook, and by means of which they had communion with the gods. "Of this," Anrich affirms, "nothing is known." He dismisses also as merely fanciful and without evidence Pfeleiderer's derivation of Paul's mystic views of baptism, the new birth and the new creature, from the "sacramental bath" and "new man" and "new name" in the cult of the same mysteries. Nothing can be more reasonable than the case which Anrich makes out for the Jewish and Christian origin of the New Testament ideas of the supper, baptism and the new birth by means of water and the Spirit, and for the simple explanation of the New Testament *μυστήρια* as the purposes of God, at first hidden, but one after another revealed; such as, for example, and pre-eminently, the purpose of extending salvation to the Gentiles.

The book is, above all things, a sane book. The author restrains his imagination with the bit and bridle of evidence. He does not leap at alluring and unverified heathen parallels as though they were, all at once, Christian origins; and he endeavours to fix accurately the boundary lines between the simplicity of the New Testament teaching and the corruptions of later speculation, ritualism and superstition.

J. MASSIE.

The Song of Solomon and the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

By Walter F. Adeney, M.A., Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Church History, New College, London. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. viii. 346. Price, 7s. 6d.

THE two poetical writings that are expounded in this volume require to be handled artistically and sympathetically. At the same time, owing to the influence of past interpretations, one at least of them requires to be treated with severe simplicity. Professor Adeney brings to his task a mind endowed with the literary touch, a fertile imagination, and above all, a determination to keep within the bounds of reason. The general reader, whose love for the O.T. has been at least hampered by the surface difficulties suggested by the Song of Solomon, will read with a feeling of glad release this exposition of the Song, and whether he agrees with it in all details or not, he will heave a sigh of satisfaction as the story of the poem is unravelled in language as exquisitely romantic as reasonably real. To his exposition of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, Professor Adeney brings higher qualities. He seizes the cardinal points of the theology of the poem and expounds them in brief lectures that are pointed with modern ideas and made to teach present-day truth. He illustrates the ideas of the writer by allusions gathered from all departments of literature and art. Altogether this volume deserves to take a high place in the useful series of the Expositor's Bible to which it belongs.

Of the 346 pages of which the volume consists, only 59 deal with the Song of Songs, whereas 287 are given to the Exposition of Lamentations. This is probably as it should be.

Several questions that rise almost instinctively to the lips of the average reader of the Song of Songs have to be answered in an Exposition. First comes the question: Are the hero and heroine of this dramatic poem lovers, or do they represent Christ and the Church? The reader will probably judge this book or any other on the Song by its answer to this question. Nor does Professor Adeney leave us in doubt. While allowing with the heartiest goodwill, to all whom it may benefit, the use of the Song as an *illustration* of the Love of Christ for the Church, he repudiates the notion that that is the *teaching* of the poem. He traces the allegorical interpretation from its first father Origen downwards, and shows that the authority for this method goes no further back than the time of the Fathers. Again the reader asks, Is this a Palestinian love-song? and if so, why is it included in the Canon of the O.T.? It is an exquisite poem extolling true and faithful love. It presents in dramatic form a real or imaginary incident

connected with the Royal Harem at Jerusalem. A peasant maiden has been seized by the myrmidons of the king to be added to the number of the monarch's wives. But this maiden has a peasant lover in her home in the north, and her heart turns fondly to him and is steeled against the overtures of the king, who makes love to her. She passes before her mind the deep true love of her rustic swain, and contrasts it with the studied love-making of the king, and her true heart prefers the simplicity of her peasant lover's methods to the gilded pride of the palace which the king offers her, and she rejects his advances. Professor Adeney suggests that the poem was written by a northern writer to rebuke the luxury and lasciviousness of the court of Jerusalem, and that the main purpose of the poem is to glorify pure love and monogamy over lust and polygamy.

To the question, Did Solomon write this poem? Professor Adeney gives a negative reply. A good deal of the Solomon literature does not belong to him. At all events it is inconceivable that the polygamous Solomon should have written this exquisite glorification of pure love, unless indeed he had been converted to monogamous ideas, as some assert, but as none can prove. The ethical teaching of the poem entitles it to a place in the Canon.

When we turn to the Lamentations we find Professor Adeney at his best as a preacher to the present day. This book is a collection of five elegies treating of the desolation and hardships of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. Each elegy consists of twenty-two verses, according to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. The first four are arranged as acrostics, the third is a triple acrostic. The elegies are anonymous. It is probable that they were not written by Jeremiah, but we may assume that they are the work of one hand. Of the elegies the third is the best, both in regard to structure and teaching. But the same set of ideas runs through all the elegies. These are that the present suffering is the just retribution of sin; that the sin of the people may be laid at the door of priests and prophets; that God has become the enemy of the people; yet His mercies endure for ever, and His compassions fail not; that He has sent Nebuchadnezzar as His instrument to punish them, but He will not permit him to destroy them; that the mercy of God is vouchsafed in answer to the prayer of repentance; when the people repent they will be restored to their land.

In his exposition of these ideas Professor Adeney is uniformly happy. Sometimes he rises to almost prophetic heights, *e.g.*, in his passage on the prophets without vision, and on the problem of God and Evil, the answer to prayer, and the everlasting mercy of God.

This book is essentially one for the general reader. Professor Adeney gives the results and not the process of his own investigations. The two poems expounded in this volume are probably not very familiar to ordinary readers of the Old Testament, but it will not be Professor Adeney's blame if henceforth these poems are not made popular by this extremely lucid and readable exposition of them. Nothing can make them rank amongst the most important books of the Old Testament, but in their own place they have a lesson to teach, and that lesson is clearly set forth by the author of the volume.

ALEX. TOMORY.

The Bible Doctrine of Man.

*By John Laidlaw, D.D. New Edition, Revised and Re-arranged.
Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, 363 pp. Price, 7s. 6d.*

THIS is a new edition, with many alterations, of the seventh series of the Cunningham Lectures, published in its first form about fifteen years ago. It then consisted of six lectures, which are here arranged as six divisions divided into sixteen chapters, to each of which is appended critical notes which could not be embodied in the work, and which, in the first edition, were relegated to one general appendix. While maintaining his original positions on the questions involved, and reproducing much of the original matter of the work, Professor Laidlaw claims that this is practically a new volume, much of the former book being actually re-written, and the whole in various ways recast.

The general aim of the volume is to set forth Scripture teaching as to the Nature of Man, and connect the Biblical psychology thus reached with the teaching of Scripture about sin and salvation. The claim of the author as to his own distinctive position on the subject, is that he has done justice to the supreme distinction given in Scripture to "spirit" as an element in man's constitution ; and while rejecting as unscriptural the theory of Trichotomy, has shown that a trichotomous "mode of speech" pervades Scripture, and that this is charged with a special religious significance.

In what sense then, according to Dr Laidlaw's reading of it, have we a Biblical Psychology ? Not in the sense of an independent science, for in its anthropology, as in its cosmogony, Scripture does not profess to teach science. Yet it reaches conclusions both as regards the origin of the world and the nature of man, which, while primarily and mainly religious, "justify themselves in the face of scientific discoveries as these are successively made" (p. 12).

What the volume seeks to make good is the position that "a notion of man pervades both the Old and New Testaments, popularly expressed indeed, but uniform and consistent, though growing in its fulness with the growth of the Biblical revelation itself" (p. 14). Thus Biblical Psychology is bound up with Biblical Theology, and is not treated as an abstract system, but in close connection with a revelation which has a history and a development. Dr Laidlaw therefore begins by taking a brief glance at what the Bible teaches regarding the origin of man, and in doing so, he accepts the conclusion of criticism as to the two creation narratives, while "leaving the documentary hypothesis to time and criticism." This is an example of the author's attitude throughout the volume to many questions which come in his way, and on which he avoids coming to a conclusion. He gives them a word of recognition and even approval, but observes a caution in pronouncing even an *obiter dictum* regarding them, which is occasionally tantalising. Again and again you find him on the point of grappling with questions that have to be faced; but he leaves them, telling you that "in that direction there are theological territories to be possessed." For his purpose the essential point in the Scripture account of man's origin is that "the communication of life in man is described as a peculiar and direct act of God" (p. 35). In summarising the Bible view of man's constitution, which is his next task, Dr Laidlaw finds that, while asserting the unity of man's nature, it as strenuously asserts its duality, and recognises man as composed of two elements, the one of which is "earth-derived," the other "God-inbreathed"; and he chooses to describe them in these general terms because the antithesis of soul and body, flesh and spirit, "is, strictly speaking, not found at all in the Old Testament" (p. 61). And this leads him to the real *crux* of his subject, whether this duality of human nature, so strongly asserted in Scripture, must give way to a three-fold division. With great fulness, he discusses the theory of Trichotomy, pointing out that "it held an important place in the theology of some of the Greek Christian fathers; but in consequence of its use by Apollinaris to underprop grave heresy as to the Person of Christ, it fell into disfavour, and may be said to have been discarded from the time of Augustine till its revival within quite a modern period" (p. 67). He goes on to show that, while many modern theologians, both British and German, have "recognised the trichotomic usage in Scripture," the attempt to base upon it a theory of the tripartite nature of man has been reserved for a very modern school of thought, that represented by Mr Heard and Dr Edward White, who have adopted it as a basis for the theory of Conditional Immortality. In their hands it is a thoroughgoing philosophy of man as "a tripartite hypostasis—a union of three,

not of two natures only," with which they try to unlock the main positions of Scripture as to man's original standing—the Fall, Regeneration, the Intermediate State, and the Future Glory. Its bearing on these theological doctrines is obvious. Man consisted at the first of "body, soul, and spirit," and the "soul," as the union point between "body" and "spirit," was created free to choose to which of these poles it would incline. Thus the theory would make the *via media* between the Augustinian and Pelagian views of the fall; for the fall was an inclination towards the "body," which has for its result the deadening of the "spirit." The theory also defines Regeneration, which is the quickening again of the dead "spirit"; and it underprops Conditional Immortality as the doctrine of the future life which goes with it; for eternal life belongs to the quickened "spirit," and annihilation is the fate of those to whom the *pneuma* has never been restored. "Since natural men have only the *psyche*, and since the *pneuma* is added or bestowed only in regeneration, immortal existence belongs only to those who are possessed of the *pneuma*" (p. 82). Apart from these theological inferences, Dr Laidlaw shows, with much force, that the theory rests upon the assumption—and it is a mere assumption—that "Scripture intends by these two terms, soul and spirit, two essentially distinct natures in man's inner being" (p. 83). This leads him to analyse the Bible use of "soul" and "spirit," with the result that he does not find in Scripture the sharp distinction between them which a theory of Trichotomy demands. "They are used throughout the Old Testament, and generally even in the New Testament, with no sharp distinction, but are rather freely interchanged and combined to express the whole inward nature" (p. 89). But in the Pauline writings he finds the distinction between soul and spirit as diverse "aspects of man's inner being," the "spirit" being in this Pauline usage the regenerate nature of man. Paul continually contrasts the "psychical" and the "spiritual." His language is therefore trichotomous, but this usage does not, in Dr Laidlaw's view, point to a tripartite theory of human nature, but rather "to the elevating influence of revelation upon language." Thus he steers a middle course between the upholders of Trichotomy as a theory of man's nature, and those who see in the use of the terms "soul" and "spirit" a meaningless parallelism. There can be little doubt that the reasoning by which he reaches this position is more congruous both to the facts of man's nature as we know them, and to the Scriptural analysis, than the theory which would make the *pneuma* a "separable constituent of man's being." For, as Dr Laidlaw is careful to show, the distinctive feature of the Biblical psychology is its doctrine of the *pneuma* in man. That doctrine undergoes a development in which three distinct stages are noted. First, the

term indicates the divine origination even of his physical life ; second, the innermost aspect of his inward natural life ; and finally, in the latest system of Christian thought, the regenerate or spiritual life in which man is linked anew to God through Christ Jesus (p. 130).

In the second section of his book Dr Laidlaw carries the view thus reached of man's nature into his discussion of the questions of sin and salvation. It leads him to take the position of Augustinian theology all along the line, though it is important to note his large admissions as to dogmatic exaggeration of original righteousness, and the figurative character of the story of the entrance of sin into the world. In his chapter on the Image of God in Man, which he is led to define as consisting of Intellect, Self-consciousness, and Personality, he has some very suggestive observations regarding the relation between the doctrine of the Trinity and the image of God in man. He shows that the thought of Trinity "alone furnishes the connecting link between God and man in the person of the Incarnate Logos" (p. 170). The Divine Original, after which man is made, is thus presented to us, not as mere sovereign will, but as absolute Love. But one desiderates a fuller discussion than is here given of the relation of the image of God in man to Christ. He says : "When we endeavour to connect in thought the relation of the Logos to humanity in the first creation with the relation of the Incarnate Redeemer to renewed humanity, we enter upon a somewhat dim and perilous way" (p. 175). Yes ; but this way needs exploration, especially in connection with the Christology of Paul. The relation of the pre-existent Logos to mankind, preparatory to that which He was to sustain to man in the Incarnation, has an important bearing on the Soteriology of the New Testament. Dr Laidlaw quotes Dr Dale as saying, that without some clearing up of this point "the theory of expiation cannot hold its place in the thoughts of the Church." And he admits that there is much unexplored territory in the great texts which combine the relation of the Son to the universe with that of the glorified Redeemer to the restitution of all things. But he hesitates to assert that a gateway may be found into this territory by any suggestion as to man having been created in the image of the Logos. Possibly ; but one feels that Dr Laidlaw might have dealt more fully with the Christological relations of the Divine Image. He stops his discussion at a point where we would fain have had him proceed.

Nothing but praise can be given to Dr Laidlaw's exposition of the Psychology of the New Life. In the course of it he exposes the thinness of the tripartite theory at this point ; and in his discussion of the relation between regeneration and conversion he has cleared up much popular confusion. His chapter on the great

Pauline passages that bear upon the growth and victory of the new life is a fine piece of exegesis—and to the preacher nothing could be more useful or suggestive. It is a field in which Dr Laidlaw has long wrought fruitfully and successfully. The volume is closed with an admirable chapter on the bearing of the Biblical psychology on the future life. The insufficiency of the theory of "Conditional Immortality" is exposed as another proof of the untenableness of the Trichotomy on which it rests; and the author shows how a true view of immortality is bound up with a doctrine of man's nature, such as the foregoing psychology has yielded. One feels that the author has, in his own words, successfully vindicated the place of Biblical psychology as "a torch-bearer to Biblical theology." And if there is, as Dr Laidlaw says, "no novelty in our discussion," no reader of the book will fail to admire its freshness. It is a most luminous exposition, and the author's candour and careful efforts to do justice to the opinions of others, specially to those he controverts, are features which should greatly commend the work.

DAVID PURVES.

Sammlung von Lehrbüchern der Praktischen Theologie in gedrängter Darstellung.

Herausgegeben von D. H. Hering, Professor in Halle. I. Band : Homiletik, 1 Lieferung. Berlin : Reuter & Reichard, 1894. Pp. 64. Price, M. 1.

THIS is the first instalment of a series of monographs on Practical Theology, which it is proposed to issue in some forty similar instalments within the next two years. The series, which is to consist of seven volumes, of from three to four hundred pages each, will discuss the various branches of Practical Theology usually set forth in German text-books. The aim of the series is to enable students of theology to continue the work of the lecture-room. Technicalities will be treated briefly but thoroughly; methods will be discussed in the light of past experience and present practice; and the superabundant literature of the subject will be examined so as to enable the student easily to see what is of abiding value. If the series is carried out in the spirit and with the skill and ability shown in the part now in hand, students of Practical Theology will hail it as a contribution of no ordinary interest and value. The volume on Homiletic is from the pen of the Editor. It has divided the subject into "history" and "theory"; and the part in hand carries the history of preaching, in an exceedingly interesting and well-

informed sketch, from the Apostolic Age to the twelfth century. The periods are broken up into convenient sections ; the characteristics of each period and section are clearly and briefly noted ; a succinct account is given of the great preachers ; and in the case of Augustine, a careful summary of the *De Doctrina Christiana*. Professor Hering handles the technicalities of his subject with ease and grace. They are never obtruded, yet they are always present, and they make the study of the history remarkably practical. At times, a somewhat unguarded expression occurs ; as for instance, "Chrysostom is *Bibeltheologe* when he preaches." But Professor Hering is quite alive to the weakness of Chrysostom's treatment of Scripture. I should, however, have expected more than a passing notice of the *Περὶ ἱερωσύνης*.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia : Being an Essay of the Local History of Phrygia from the Earliest Times to the Turkish Conquest.

By W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., LL.D. Vol. I. : The Lycos Valley and South-Western Phrygia. Oxford : at the Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. xxii. 352. Price, 18s. net.

THE publication of the first volume of Professor Ramsay's contribution to the history of Phrygia is an event of no ordinary importance. It has been looked forward to with eager interest, and it will not disappoint the expectations which have been formed of it. It has been a labour of love to its author. For many years the project has been upon his mind and in his heart, the enthusiasm of his waking and his sleeping hours. He has given his best powers to it, and has left nothing undone to secure its successful accomplishment. He has been able to make repeated visits to the country. He has examined every inch of the ground which he undertakes to describe. He has tested again and again his first impressions, his preliminary conclusions, and his favourite ideas. Not only has he been on the most intimate terms with the natives, and obtained from them all the information which they could furnish ; he has even been able to make himself independent of them, and has sometimes astonished them by taking himself the part of guide, and directing them to finds of which they had no idea. He has examined with all the care and skill of an expert the monuments which he has come across in the districts which he explored. He has had the good fortune to light upon inscriptions of importance. He has

gathered up all that could be ascertained of the habits, dialects, beliefs, tales, superstitions, folk-lore, and institutions of the people.

His book has all the value, therefore, of a study at first hand. It is the product not only of much thought, but of much travel and patient investigation on the spot. It has in it the makings of new chapters in ancient history. It presents an immense amount of matter which is of the greatest value to the classical student, as well as to the historian. The theologian also will find in it much that comes very close to his special interests. It opens up new lines of inquiry, new points of view, new ways of approaching old problems, both in the interpretation of the New Testament writings and in the story of the early Christian Church. It follows the large methods of Bishop Lightfoot, the yet larger methods of Mommsen, Schiller, and the great German scholars, and gives the theologian to understand, by fruitful and informing example, how the best results, in the case of the origin of Christianity and the reading of its records, as in other lines of historical research, can be reached only when the wealth of epigraphic, geographical, and archæological inquiry is added to the study of the literature.

What Professor Ramsay professes to give is a *local* history. He follows, therefore, the plan of taking each city or centre by itself, and giving in as complete detail as possible all that belongs to it. He begins with a chapter on the Lycos Valley itself, describing its geographical position, its scenery, its divisions, its general importance, its history, and its religion. In successive chapters he deals at length with Laodiceia, Hierapolis, the cities of the middle Maeander Valley (Mossyna, Motella, Dionysopolis, Hyrgaleis), the Phrygian cities of the lower Maeander Valley and the Carian and Lydian frontiers, Colossai and the roads to the east, Lounda, Peltai, and Attanassos, the Valley of the Kazanes and Indos, and the Phrygian cities of the Pisidian frontier. In each case he gives all that he has been able to gather about the origin of the city, its inhabitants, their religious beliefs and practices, their race affinities, the particulars of their trade, finance, manufactures, public buildings, amusements, officials and forms of government, relations to strangers, social system, wars, position under different conquerors, and in short everything, however minute, that contributes in any way to an adequate idea of the people and their place in history. The account of each city or group of cities is followed by Appendices in which we get the texts of inscriptions and the succession of bishops. An admirable map of South-Western Phrygia and a plan of Laodiceia are also given. The want of indices is meantime a serious want. These will be supplied no doubt when the work is completed.

In his Introduction Professor Ramsay touches upon the problem

of Pteria, the strange city of the White Syrians, "whose remains," he tells us, "are the largest and the most remarkable in Asia Minor, though it has lain in ruins since 539 B.C." The story of this great city and of the Empire of which it was the centre, and to which Phrygia probably belonged, is one of the most recent and most absorbing of Asian mysteries. Professor Ramsay here goes beyond the position to which he has hitherto adhered on the subject. He is inclined to agree with those who hold that this Pterian Empire was held by "the King Khitasar, whose war with Rameses II., towards 1300 B.C., is one of the most famous events in Egyptian history," and that it was so situated that "he could have allies from two widely severed regions, Western Asia Minor, and the extreme east of Asia Minor with Syria." He sides here with the orientalist rather than with the classical scholars, and believes that the geographical identifications on which the former rely are sufficient, if they are correct, to carry the above conclusions with them.

The account which Professor Ramsay gives of the Lycos Valley and its chief cities has too many points of interest even to mention here. He explains the positions of the three peoples inhabiting it, —the Phrygian people in the glen of the upper Lycos, to whom Colossai belonged; the Carian people on the south bank of the Lycos and of the Maeander, who possessed the cities of Laodiceia, Trapezopolis, Attouda, and Kidramos; and the people, sometimes regarded as Carian and sometimes as Lydian, the Hydreleitai or Kydrareitai, on the north bank of the Lycos and Maeander. He shows how they had each their own sanctuary or *hieron* as the centre of their religion and government, and how the God of the third people came to resemble the Greek Apollo, while the deity of the others was rather like the Greek Zeus. He thinks that the religions of the three were fundamentally the same in ritual, and that the difference in development was connected with differences in national or tribal character, the Phrygians and Carians tending more to "the patriarchal type of social institutions, while the Lydians retained more of the matriarchal type which seems to have been native to Asia Minor."

Much is made, naturally, of the road-systems. It is pointed out that the existence of a great empire is inferred from the earliest known line of communication in Asia Minor, and that it may be identified with that of Khitasar. The importance given to the Lycos Valley, especially under the Roman administration, by the fact that it was one of the great points on the Eastern Highway, and the change that took place with the Valley and its cities when the line of communication was altered, are clearly shown. When the centre of the Roman Empire was removed first to Nicomedeia by Diocletian, and then to Constantinople by the

great Christian Emperor, the whole system of roads in Asia Minor was altered. "They radiated thereafter from Constantinople, instead of being arranged for convenience of communication with Rome." The result was that the Lycos Valley, being no longer on one of the chief thoroughfares, passed so much into the background, that it ceased to have almost any history for centuries. New illustrations are also furnished of the way in which the spread of Christianity and the development of the Church turned upon these road-systems.

In addition to the pictures of Laodiceia, Hierapolis, and Colossai, which have so special an interest to the student of the New Testament, a mass of information is given on a multitude of things bearing more or less directly on the early history of Christianity. On the Anatolian religion, the imperial cult, the Oriental mysteries, the public shows, the sacredness of localities, the Asiatic ideas of purity, the indications of totemism, the care of graves, the *neokorate*, the office of the town-clerk, the wealth of Laodiceia, the Galatian frontier, and much else, statements are made from time to time which are of great value.

It is unnecessary, however, to go into detail. It is also impossible to criticise. To do that effectively we should have gone over the ground and made the personal investigations which Professor Ramsay has made. We can only express again our sense of the importance of this contribution to our knowledge of the cities and religions of Asia Minor, and our hope that the remaining volumes may soon be in our hands. Interesting as this one is in many ways to the theologian, we look with still greater expectation to those which are to follow. These are to give the important series of pre-Constantinian inscriptions, and to deal specifically with the early history of Christianity in Phrygia. In these Professor Ramsay promises to take up the great questions of the relations between Pauline Christianity and the Roman policy, the opposition which the Church by and by had to face from the combined forces of the Empire and the native religions, and the way in which the Christian community came to form a new and distinct social system.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

**A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle
to the Romans.**

By the Rev. William Sanday, D.D., LL.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and the Rev. Arthur C. Headlam, B.D., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. cxii. 450. Price, 12s.

THE *International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments* promises to do great credit to British and American Scholarship. It is an eminently seasonable as well as important undertaking, and if it has commenced admirably on the Old Testament side with Dr Driver's *Deuteronomy*, it has made a no less notable beginning on the New Testament side with this conjoint work on St Paul's greatest Epistle. Much as has been written on the Epistle to the Romans, no apology is needed for adding this Commentary to the long list of expositions. Each successive student adds something to what others have done; each sees his own little bit of truth and recognises his own little bit of experience mirrored in it. But the Epistle itself remains an inexhaustible study, always revealing new things to reverent eyes, re-asserting itself at each new spiritual crisis in the history of the Church or in the life of the individual, always demanding fresh consideration, always repaying the kind of inquiry that brings science to the aid of piety. And this Commentary, while entirely reverent, rigorously scientific, and using with a liberal wisdom the best that grammar, history, and criticism can yield, has features which give it a distinct place in the great succession of Commentaries on the Romans.

One of the things which lend it a certain measure of novelty is the way in which it distributes its matter. It aims at presenting the argument "in several different ways and on several different scales at the same time," breaking up the matter by the use of "headlines, headings to sections, summaries, paraphrases, and large and small print notes." This is a method which has obvious drawbacks, if it has some equally obvious recommendations. It is not helpful to the sense of unity and proportion. It needs expert handling, if it is not to confuse one. The authors believe that it has the advantage of placing all before the reader in such a manner that "he may not either lose the main thread of the argument in the crowd of details, or slur over details in seeking to obtain a general idea." They have adopted it with this in view, and they have made use of it with the *minimum* of disadvantage and the

maximum of profit. This, however, is at the best a subordinate matter. The other feature of the work which gives it an independent value is of essential moment. It attempts to furnish "an interpretation of the Epistle which might be described as historical." No Commentary that did not set this before it as its first endeavour would be entitled to much consideration now. We have no lack of well-meant expositions of another kind. It can be claimed for this one that it is generally true to the historical method of interpretation, and subordinates every other interest to the paramount duty of reproducing the writer's thought as it shaped itself in his own mind, and as he meant to convey it to his readers. The dogmatic interpretation of Pauline thought forms no part of the plan. The combination of the Pauline ideas in a system of belief, their theological construction, and their relations to creed, are rightly left to other workers. But the ideas themselves are carefully investigated in the light of the writer's training, the religious thought of the time, and the free, fluid, popular terms which were in use. Occasionally we come upon something which goes rather beyond these lines, as when it is said in the Introduction that "just the most fundamental doctrines—the Divine Lordship of Christ, the value of His Death, the nature of the Sacraments—are assumed rather than stated or proved." That is a sentence, we venture to say, that would never have been written by Meyer. To speak of "the nature of the Sacraments" as having the same fundamental place in Paul's thought or teaching as the "Divine Lordship of Christ" and "the value of His Death," is surely to look at things out of their proper proportions and relations. But statements of this dubious order are of the rarest occurrence, and take little from the value belonging to the book as a consistently historical study. In this respect it will rank highest among English Commentaries on the Epistle.

It is, indeed, in the exposition of the great religious ideas of the Epistle that the book is often at its best. It is here, too, that it adds most to our appreciation of the argument. The discussions of the ideas attached to the terms *righteousness*, *faith*, *election*, *justification*, may be specially instanced. There are admirable statements on the place which Paul assigns to the idea of *Resurrection*, on the profound Pauline conception of *mystical union*, and on the Pauline view of the *Renovation of Nature*. Less satisfactory to our mind is the treatment of the idea of the *Divine Wrath*, in which too much favour is shown to Ritschl's limitation of it as a purely eschatological idea, and only some of the several relations, to the Divine holiness, love, jealousy, etc., are noticed in which the Scriptures present it. But among the best studies of this kind are the two on the *Death of Christ considered as a Sacrifice* and on the *Idea of Reconciliation or*

Atonement. The only qualification we should make is as regards the acceptance of Bishop Westcott's position, that "the centre of the symbolism of Sacrifice lies not in the death of the victim, but in the offering of its life." We cannot look upon this as made out by Bishop Westcott's argument, least of all as regards Paul's view of Sacrifice. But apart from that, these studies are admirable examples of fair and thorough historical investigation. The conclusions stated are that the two ideas of sacrifice and propitiation cannot be eliminated from the Epistle; that they "lie at the root of the teaching, not only of St Paul, but of the New Testament generally"; and that they cannot be dismissed as mere metaphors when they are applied to Christ's death. It is in the highest degree satisfactory also to see that the authors of this Commentary, penetrating further into Paul's meaning than Ritschl or Westcott or Lightfoot, recognise that "Reconciliation" expresses something on the side of God as well as something on the side of man—a change of attitude or relation on God's part—which is, indeed, the first thing in the "Reconciliation" of which Paul speaks. There is also an important, fair, and instructive statement on the Pauline *predestination*, in which substantially the same conclusions are reached as are given by Mozley in his well-known volume, *On the Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination*.

In anything with which Dr Sanday has to do we look for the highest quality of work in textual criticism, and in this Commentary all that concerns the history and criticism of the text is done with the precision, the caution, the invincible regard for solid fact that belong to the best style of English scholarship. A few lucid pages give all that it is needful to know about the authorities, the latest suggestions as to the origin and connections of the manuscripts being noticed. The question of the grouping of authorities is next dealt with. Here the authors give a concise account of what has lately been done in this direction, and of the groups most affected by recent inquiries. They speak with commendation of what has been attempted by Corssen, Rendel Harris, Bousset, Conybeare and others in "isolating comparatively small groups of authorities and investigating their mutual relations and origin." This is no doubt right, for some suggestive work is being done in this line. There is, at the same time, an unmistakeable inclination even on the part of some of our English students to forsake the ways of the great critics and prefer the kind of conjecture and speculation of which we had some portentous examples in connection with the publication of the new Syriac text. A word of caution and remonstrance from one who can speak with Dr Sanday's authority would not be amiss. It is satisfactory to see that the essays referred to are described in these measured terms as containing "more speculative

matter," although "it is also probable that they have a certain amount of solid nucleus." On the general question of the Textual Criticism of this Epistle, in which, as in the other Pauline Epistles, there is less that is distinctive than in the historical books, it is shown that the "same main lines of distribution" are observable as in other sections of the New Testament; that the authorities tend to fall here, as elsewhere, into the groups DEFG, \aleph B, \aleph ACLP; and that these correspond generally with Westcott and Hort's "Western," "Neutral," and "Alexandrian" (in the last case less precisely), while the later uncials would make the "Syrian" group. It is to be noticed, however, that, like Professor Blass, our authors would prefer another nomenclature, one that would "beg no questions" but "simply describe facts," and suggest α -text, β -text, δ -text, ϵ -text, or σ -text, instead of "Alexandrian," "Neutral," "Western," and "Syrian" or "Ecclesiastical" respectively.

The Introduction, which covers towards one hundred pages, deals not less ably with the literary and historical questions than with the criticism of the Text. All that the most recent research has yielded is skilfully used to give us a correct and broad view of what Rome was in Paul's time, and what was the condition of the Jews in the world's metropolis then. There is an elaborate chronicle and criticism of the various attacks made upon the integrity of the Epistle. On the question of the genuineness of the last two chapters, Dr Gifford's explanation is preferred to all others, even to those of Lightfoot and Hort. Assuming that Marcion cut out these chapters, for which there is respectable evidence, and believing that it is becoming more certain that Marcion's *Apostolicon* influenced the text of the New Testament, our authors conclude that "when in adapting the text for the purpose of Church use it was thought advisable to omit the last portions as too personal and not sufficiently edifying, it was natural to make the division at a place where in a current edition the break had already been made." The explanation is an ingenious one. We still find it difficult to believe, however, that Marcion's influence could have been so great, or could have told so distinctly in this particular direction.

On the question of the origin of the Roman Church the old view of Ambrosiaster, himself a member of the Church, is followed as the most probable. The traditional account of its foundation by St Peter is set aside as having only a very qualified measure of truth, although our authors will not go the length of denying all connection between Peter and Rome. The idea that the Church owed its foundation to Jews who had been present at Pentecost, is dismissed on the ground that these Jews could scarcely have been in a position to evangelise others or even to become sufficiently instructed in the Gospel themselves. The data furnished by the closing chapters,

the unwonted "freedom of circulation and movement which now existed in the Roman empire," the fact that this movement was "at its greatest all along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean," and that its "general trend was to and from Rome,"—these and other considerations are thought to indicate that groups of Christians might easily visit Rome, coming from Palestine, Corinth, Ephesus, Tarsus, Syrian Antioch, and other places, and that, in due time, they would naturally form "not exactly an organised church, but such a fortuitous assemblage of Christians as was only waiting for the advent of an Apostle to constitute one." This argument is very persuasively put. The discussions on the composition, status, and organisation of the Church, and on the time, place, occasion, and purpose of the Epistle are also solid, well-balanced statements. The impression produced upon Paul's mind by Rome, and the ideas and circumstances which may have moved him to write the letter, are admirably put. Was not Paul's wish, however, to provide in Rome a base for his evangelistic work in the West, such as he had had in Antioch for his evangelistic work in the East, an important element, perhaps the main element, in his purpose in writing the Epistle?

There are many things of much interest, in the Introduction, in the Exegesis, and in the detached Notes, on which it is impossible to touch. We can only refer to what is said of Seneca, Pomponia Graeca, the condition of the provinces under Nero, the interpretation of the *Chresto impulsore* of Suetonius, the use of the Book of Wisdom, St Paul's philosophy of history, the doctrine of the Remnant, and the Christian teaching on Love. The influence of Ritschl appears occasionally, and not always to the best effect; the Church being sometimes put where Paul puts the individual. Nothing is more satisfactory, however, in respect of insight into Paul's thought than the interpretation of such doctrinal passages as iii. 25, v. 11, and the eighth chapter as a whole.

Since the publication of the original *Meyer* no contribution to match this one has been made to the historical interpretation of the Epistle to the Romans. It stands easily at the head of English commentaries. It has qualities, especially in what concerns the text, in which it is superior to the best works of Continental scholars.

S D. F. SALMOND.

Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testamentes, &c.

Herausgegeben von D. Hermann Strack und D. Otto Zöckler. A. Altes Testament. Erste Abteilung : Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, ausgelegt von D. Hermann L. Strack. München. Edinburgh and London : Williams and Norgate. Pp. xx. 475. Price, M.8.50.

WITH the appearance, a few months ago, of the last part of Professor Strack's exposition of the first four books of the Pentateuch, the "concise commentary" on the whole of Scripture is complete which was begun some dozen years ago by a company of evangelical scholars in Germany. Its general plan, and its attitude to the great critical movement of this generation, must now be familiar to most readers of this magazine, several of the contributions having been noticed in its pages, either in their original form or in translations. The present writer has also had an opportunity (*Critical Review*, Vol. III., p. 182) of expressing his mind with regard to the first part of Professor Strack's commentary. One of its strongest points, especially in view of the fact that Genesis is the part of the Hebrew scriptures first attacked by beginners, was found to be the frequent explanation of grammatical difficulties, whether of accident or syntax, a feature which is continued throughout the volume. For the more advanced student the most valuable parts of the commentary will probably be found to be frequent excursions (an index to which is given on p. xi.), in which the author discusses at greater length than was possible in the notes such important questions as "The Sacrificial Ritual of the Old Testament in general" (pp. 287-291), the name "Jahve" (pp. 181 ff.), the plagues, the historical reality of the Tabernacle, &c. To many of these are appended carefully-selected lists of authoritative books and articles, a department in which the commentary is particularly strong; see, for example, the bibliography to the excursus on Jahve, just referred to, or the literature on leprosy (p. 331). The only work of the first rank to which we have noted no reference in these pages is the late Professor Robertson Smith's "Religion of the Semites." It should have found a place in the bibliography of "Sacrifice," p. 291, and in the note on Lev. xv. 18 a reference to "additional Note D" would have been in place. Professor Bacon's "Triple Tradition of the Exodus" did not appear till after the commentary was completed. A third characteristic of this, as of all Dr Strack's work, is the earnest piety that pervades the whole. To him these

books of the Law are instinct with a great divine purpose ; to him, as to St Paul, "the Law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ." Professor Strack's commentary, therefore, may be unreservedly commended to younger students of the original for its exact Hebrew scholarship, its clear and concise annotations on just those points that most require elucidation, and the beautiful spirit in which the author deals with the words of revelation.

On the other hand, the present reviewer is convinced that his friend's attitude to the whole priestly stratum of the Pentateuch is one which will in the long run prove unsatisfactory, even to himself. Professor Strack, as we saw in our former notice, accepts loyally the results of Pentateuch analysis, but, in the interest of what will ultimately turn out to be a mistaken apologetic, he refuses to see those fundamental differences between the prophetic and priestly sources, upon which the newer theory of Israel's religious history is based. Illustrations may be found on almost every page of the commentary. Thus, in his excursus on the new name of Exod. vi. 2, Dr Strack falls back on the old explanation of this verse given by M. Jean Astruc in 1753, and contends that the statement here made as to the Patriarch's ignorance of the name Yahve is to be taken "relatively," not "absolutely." By this means it is sought to remove the discrepancy between J and P in their use of the divine names in the Patriarchal period, but it is not an explanation that will meet with much favour at the present time.

If we pass on a few chapters we find Professor Strack (p. 213) departing so far from the traditional view of the passage of the Red Sea as to admit that it would pass the wit of "the most experienced general, with the most brilliant of staffs," to take across an army of even two million well-disciplined soldiers in the given time. And yet, instead of allowing that the numbers given by P in Exod. xii. 37 (for the 600,000 in dispute cannot be assigned, as by Strack, to the prophetic narrative in the face of xxiii. 30) must be too high, recourse is had to a wonderful theory that the Israelites must have left Egypt in detachments, some before and some *after* that led by Moses !

When we come to the vital question of the Tabernacle and its relation to the simple "tent of meeting," which, according to the prophetic narrative, was pitched *outside* the camp, we find our author's apologetic at its weakest. The categorical statement, "Exod. xxxiii. 7-11 speaks only of a temporary Ohel Moed" (p. 285), will not stand examination in the light of Numbers xi.-xii.

One other illustration of the weakness of Professor Strack's case in defending at all hazards the historical accuracy of P. He is

combating the view that P's demand for forty-eight purely Levitical cities (Numb. xxxv. 1-8) is merely theoretical, and brings forward, as proof that traces of the arrangement in question are found in pre-exilic times, the well-known passage 1 Sam. vi. 15, a verse which bears on the face of it the marks of a later interpolation.

Account for it as one may, the fact remains that the study of Dr Strack's commentary, with all its scholarship and devout treatment of the text, has left me more convinced than ever that the victory is with the moderns. Once the analysis of the sources is accepted, we are logically compelled by our historical sense to distinguish degrees of trustworthiness in the documents thus obtained, and it is a mistaken apologetic, I venture to repeat, that would insist that it must be otherwise.

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments in Verbindung

Mit Professor Baethgen in Greifswald, Professor Guthe in Leipzig, Professor Kamphausen in Bonn, Professor Kittel in Breslau, Lic. Marti in Basel, Professor Rothstein in Halle, Professor Rüetschi in Bern, Professor Ryssel in Zürich, Professor Siegfried in Jena, Professor Socin in Leipzig, übersetzt und herausgegeben von E. Kautzsch, Professor der Theologie in Halle. Freiburg, i. B.: und Leipzig. Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. xviii. 1012 and 219 pp. (Price, 15s. in cloth).

THE attention of the readers of this magazine has already been called—on two occasions, indeed—to the important service which has been rendered to all students of the Old Testament by Professor Kautzsch and his able coadjutors in connection with the work, the full title of which is given above. It will suffice on this occasion to emphasize once more our complete agreement with the main principles on which the work has been carried through (see *Critical Review*, vol. III. p. 278), and, in particular, to call attention to one of the most valuable portions of the whole work, no indication of which, unfortunately, appears on the title-page. The translation proper, it should be said, occupies over a thousand large octavo pages; the second and much smaller volume is made up of matter to which the editor has prefixed the modest title of "Beilagen," but which, we venture to say, will be more frequently consulted by the student than the translation itself. The first of these "Beilagen" contains the notes on the criticism of the text, which

have now been collected with a pagination of their own. The dominant note of this part—to many, we repeat, the most valuable part of the undertaking—is a praiseworthy moderation in the matter of textual emendation. This was necessary in a work designed more for the clergy and educated laity than for Hebrew specialists. Hence it may safely be said that the hundred pages of the first appendix represents the *minimum* of textual emendation demanded by critical science at the present time. Most scholars would unhesitatingly go further than Professor Kautzsch has gone; no scholar would venture at this time of day to plead for less than is given here. Thus in the critical notes on the book of Psalms (pp. 69-81), considering how much has been done in this field of recent years, we incline to think the editor has erred on the side of caution, but this after all is better than to go to the opposite extreme, and by so doing create in the minds of those for whom the work is intended a prejudice against the scientific study of the older Scriptures.

Pages 110-135 of the “Beilagen” are devoted to a “conspectus of the history of the Israelites from Moses to the end of the second century B.C.”. The material is so arranged in five, and during the existence of the Northern Kingdom in six, parallel columns that the eye can catch at a glance the leading events and the literary productions of any period of Hebrew history, while a place is found in the last two columns for such portions of Assyro-Babylonian and Egyptian history as have a bearing on the contemporary history of Israel. In many respects the most important of these columns is the third, in which is arranged in chronological order what remains to us of the literature of the Hebrews. But this portion of the learned editor's labours is dependent on, inasmuch as it embodies the results of, the pages that follow, headed “Abriss der Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Schrifttums.” These pages we do not hesitate to describe as the most fascinating popular account of the Old Testament literature which has yet been written. The author's standpoint is, of course, that of the newer school generally, but there breathes throughout his work a spirit of reverence and a warm religious feeling which are unfortunately too often lacking in the kindred works of his compatriots (see, *e.g.*, the remarks on the supernatural origin of the prophetic gift, pp. 159-160, on the religious significance of the Psalter, pp. 208-9, and the closing words, pp. 218-19).

As may be inferred from the title, the method adopted is not that of the ordinary text-book or Introduction, but that of Reuss's well-known “Geschichte” and of the recent work of Wildeboer; that is, the surviving monuments of Hebrew literature are considered in connection with the period of Hebrew history to which they respectively belong. In the work before us, the history is divided into

six periods, the most interesting of which from the literary point of view is, for obvious reasons, the first or pre-regal period. Now a glance at the chronological tables above referred to shows only *two* entries prior to the time of David—viz. "the song of Deborah" (contemporaneous with the events recorded, *circa* 1250 B.C.) and the somewhat later "Fable of Jotham" (Judges ix. 7ff.)—the third entry being the famous "Song of the Bow" (2 Sam. i. 17ff.). The result is that the reader unfortunately receives a false impression of the author's critical views, and in a new edition it would be well to bring the table more into harmony with the author's real position as laid down in the "Abriss," pp. 136-140.

With regard to certain critical problems at present under debate, we may note, in the department of Pentateuch criticism, that Professor Kautzsch considers that the question as to the original decalogue is "as yet by no means ripe for decision," that the sources J and E do *not* extend into the historical books of Judges and Samuel (see pp. 148 and 157), and that the Law of Holiness (Hs) must be later than Ezekiel. In various matters affecting the prophetic books the author will be found to lean to the conservative side; thus he finds traces of another hand than that of II. Isaiah only in chapters 63-66. As to the Psalter, finally, we are glad to note that Professor Kautzsch refuses to assign the whole Psalter to post-Exilic times, maintaining, on the one hand—and, we think, maintaining with justice—that such Psalms as the 20th, 21st, 45th can only be understood as hymns of the pre-Exilic period, and on the other—with equal justice—that "such strong opposition to the necessity of sacrificial worship as we find in Pss. xl. 7, l. 8 ff., and li. 18 f. could only have found admission into the temple hymn-book because of the fact that the Psalms containing these sentiments had for a long period been regarded as in some sort canonical" (p. 207).

By a clerical error (p. 204) the close of the prophetic canon is placed in the middle of the *second* century B.C. The date intended, the middle of the *third*, is correctly given on p. 132 of the chronological tables. It only remains to express the thanks of all students of the Hebrew scriptures to editor and publisher for placing within our reach so comprehensive and valuable a work at so moderate a price.

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

Die Vorstellungen vom Messias und vom Gottesreich bei den Synoptikern.

Von Prof. Dr Ludwig Paul. 8vo, pp. vi. 130. Bonn : Cohen, 1895 ;
Edinburgh and London : Williams & Norgate. Price, 2s. 6d.

THIS is a book dealing in a very able and scholarly way with some of the central problems of the life of Christ as narrated in the first three Gospels ; and also with the problem of the origin of these books. The writer's name is not to be found in the German University Calendar, and this work is probably connected with his recent appointment. He writes in a clear and condensed style, and gives many acute discussions of texts, often shedding on them fresh light. We need not here discuss the propriety of the method under which he writes, that namely of isolating the Synoptic Gospels from the fourth, and studying the synoptic life of Christ as if the Gospel of John had never been written. It is a method which prevails in Germany, and which has many conveniences ; and the reviewer must follow the writer on the ground he has chosen and judge of the work he has done there.

We have here, in the first place, a fresh study of the growth of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus, which has much in common with that given by Baldensperger in his "Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu," but also much that is widely different. By what stages did Jesus advance to the conviction that He was the Messiah, at what point in the narrative did He attain to this position in His mind, and what did He mean by the title He assumed of "the Son of Man"? These are the questions to be answered ; and the view has on the whole prevailed that it was at His baptism that Jesus felt called to take up, at least in His own consciousness, the part of the Messiah, and that His ministry thenceforward was Messianic—that, namely, of the conscious fulfiller of prophecy and divine agent in bringing in the Kingdom of God. The mental history of Jesus on this view consists only of two stages, the pre-Messianic and the Messianic. Dr Paul contends that three stages must be recognised in it ; that Jesus regarded Himself successively as prophet, as Son of Man, and as Son of God, and that the title Son of Man has not the same meaning in all the passages where it occurs, but covers a considerable growth in Jesus' views of His own person. At first, Jesus is simply a prophet ; he takes up the same position as John the Baptist, and preaches the same message. He announces the kingdom not as come but immediately coming ; His office is to declare its nature and sow the seed or make recruits for it. From this Jesus is led by His inner religious position to give Himself the title "Son

of Man." Baldensperger maintained that this title was always apocalyptic, and stood for the Judge descending to the last judgment; but Dr Paul considers it to have been at first the title for the purely human qualities Jesus felt Himself to possess in a higher degree than anyone else. He more and more, however, felt Himself to stand in a unique position, and realised that He alone represented the kingdom of mercy and goodness, so that He could say of Himself that the Son of Man was more than the Sabbath, more than the temple. He has not yet, however, taken up the rôle of Messiah. That only dates from Peter's confession.

At this point He becomes the Son of Man in a new sense, not the man only but the Judge, as described by Daniel, who is to execute God's will by setting up His visible kingdom. This, it is stated, Jesus expected to do while yet alive; when He set out for Jerusalem He expected to suffer but not to die. It was only at the very end that He advanced to the belief that He should return from heaven to set up the Kingdom. The phrase "Son of Man," as used by Jesus, has thus an apocalyptic meaning only during the few last days of His life. There certainly are passages in which it has this sense; and it is perhaps the chief merit of Dr Paul's book that he shows the phrase to have been an elastic one, and to have been used by Jesus in different ways at different stages of His career.

This part of the book has several serious weaknesses. If Jesus for some time after His baptism does not regard Himself as the Messiah, but only as a prophet, and if, as is well shown here, Kingdom and Messiah are inseparable correlates, why is there no trace of His having foretold, as the Baptist did, the coming of a greater than Himself? Must He not have done so if He regarded Himself as merely recruiting for the Kingdom? Dr Paul moreover sees, as most scholars do, that the temptation is part of the experience of Jesus when coming to regard Himself as Messiah. If He only came so to regard Himself when setting out on His fateful journey to Jerusalem, must the temptation also be placed at this part of His life? Our author comes to that conclusion in respect of the third temptation at least, in which Jesus renounced all political modes of action for His cause (p. 96). This view evidently does some violence to the synoptic narrative, the chronological arrangement of which he professes to regard as in the main trustworthy.

As for the views of the Kingdom of God in the Synoptics, the writer holds that the kingdom Jesus had in His mind was to be in this world, though it was purely moral and spiritual in its character. It was conceived at first without the judgment, which to the Jewish mind was so important, having a prominent place in it, though this element was not wanting. It was conceived as limited to the Jews; but as there was nothing in it that was not

purely human, it widened out in Jesus' mind towards universalism. The Parousia was not at first a feature of it; the "regeneration" spoken of (Matt. xix. 28) was a process Jesus expected to see ere long, in His own lifetime. After the crucifixion this was, of course, changed. The second coming of the Saviour became the principal part of Christian belief about the future; and in this stage of thought many utterances of Jesus were connected in the tradition with the second coming, which originally had no such reference. The cooling down of the expectation of the Parousia, the settlement of the Church—not as a temporary arrangement soon to give way to the Kingdom, but as being the Kingdom itself—and its growing organisation and power, each of these stages of belief has left its mark, our author thinks, on the Synoptics. Here he is guided chiefly by Pfeiderer, and he follows that scholar in assigning very few of the parables of the Kingdom to Jesus Himself, nearly all of them to the period when the Kingdom was passing into the Church.

These are the main outlines of this book, but it is written with great compression, and contains much more than we can even indicate. Many passages are treated freshly, as we said, notably that about the "regeneration," already referred to, and that of the message of the Baptist and Jesus' reply to him. Some of the proposed renderings, however, appear to me inadmissible. Matt. xi. 12, "the violent take it by force," is made to mean that the Pharisees obstruct the appearance of the Kingdom, and that but for them it would have been recognised long ago. Luke xvii. 20, "The kingdom of God is among you," is held to point to visible communities of believers already to be witnessed in the world, a rendering which brings it down to a late period. Matt. xvi. 13-19 is said to be the most practically important passage in the New Testament, because the primacy of Peter and the Romish system, for which the writer shows he has other feelings besides those of the scholar, are founded on it.

The writer drops phrases along his path which show where he stands with reference to the question of the origin of the three Synoptics. Luke is a "collector," Mark is a "harmoniser." At the close of the essay he states his views on the subject explicitly. The Mark used, as Paul agrees with Holtzmann, by Matthew and Luke was not the Mark we know, but an earlier document. The earlier Mark was not the book "without order" spoken of by Papias, but was perhaps based on it; and our Mark used not only that older document but also Matthew and Luke, in many passages combining and harmonising them. Mark, then, did not receive its present form till the Gospel of Luke had been composed, and also that of Matthew, if not in its latest, yet in one of its latest revisions.

As for Matthew, it is founded on the Logia of Papias, on the early Mark as aforesaid, on old tradition, and also on some old writings, one of them at least rich and good. In Dr Paul, in fact, we experience a complete change from the preference for Mark which has so long obtained in synoptic study, and generally find Matthew placed first. The Gospel of Luke, lastly, is founded on an early Lucan narrative, for the existence of which Marcion is appealed to, on oral tradition, and on a number of such narratives as are spoken of in the prologue, an early Matthew and an early Mark being among them. This statement appears to sum up very correctly on the whole the results which students of the subject have seen for some time to be coming into view.

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Zweite Hälfte, 1 Theil: Abschluss der speciellen Formenlehre und die generelle Formenlehre. By Prof. Fr. Eduard König. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1895. 8vo, pp. 602. Price, M.16.

WHEN Professor König published the first part of his grammar, he expressed the hope that the remainder would appear within two or three years. Fourteen years have passed since then, and the volume just published still leaves the work unfinished. In the interval Professor König has done notable service by publications of somewhat different character, chief among them being his critico-dogmatic work "*Der Offenbarungsbegriff des Alten Testaments*" (1882) and the "*Einleitung in das Alte Testament*" (1893). But the numerous valuable discussions of the linguistic argument for the dates of the several books of the Old Testament contained in the last-named work, or published separately in periodicals, gave evidence that the author was still busy with philological study and research. Further fruit of this we have in the present volume, which completes the exposition of the "*Formenlehre*": the syntax is still reserved for another volume.

One of the chief aims of the work is completeness: every instance occurring in Hebrew literature of any form is cited. Even more than in the case of the verb, with which the first volume dealt, is this completeness welcome in the treatment of the substantive and the adjective, the numerals, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections to which the first half of this second volume is devoted. For, as the preface points out, it is just here that

Böttcher's great grammar fails us: its treatment of the substantive is not absolutely exhaustive, and it contains no discussion at all of the numerals, adverbs, etc. The numerals in particular present so many peculiarities of form and usage that König's full discussion (pp. 206-232) is certain to prove most valuable for purposes of reference; the lists (pp. 215-225) of compound numbers actually found in the Old Testament are a specially useful contribution, and will be found of critical as well as philological interest.

In illustration of König's treatment of the noun (pp. 1-206), it will be sufficient to refer to his discussion of the large and important class consisting of the three radicals with *one* originally short vowel—the so-called *segholates*. This occupies the first 70 pages of the volume, less indeed the considerable space occupied by matters common to all nouns, as, *e.g.*, the case-endings (pp. 3-10). The form *katl* is considered first. The instances are given in three divisions—(a) Those which exhibit in the inflected forms the original *ā*, p. 1 f.; (b) those of which no inflected form occurs; (c) those which in the inflected forms shew the original *ā* thinned down to *i*, p. 17 f. It is unfortunate that the reason of this most valuable division is left unexplained for several pages, and that between the first two divisions and the last there intervene accounts of case-endings in general and other matters. Instances of *kūtl* are also given in three divisions:—(a) Words of which only forms with *i* occur, and which are therefore to some extent uncertain instances: *cf.* class (c) under *katl*; (b) words which occur with both *seghol* and *çere* in the first syllable of the simple singular form, and (c) words which shew only *çere* in the first syllable. Instances of *kūtl* are divided into (a) words which shew *ō* in the inflected forms, (b) those which shew (always or at times) *ū* in the inflected forms, and (c) those which retain *ō* in the St. Abs. Pl. *e.g.* קָדָשִׁים. There then follow similarly classified instances of this class of noun from the (first, second, and third) guttural roots and roots י'ע, ע'ע, א'ע, י'ע, ו'ל, and א'ל. The section closes with the instances in which Hebrew throws the short vowel into the last syllable.

This combination of exhaustive presentation and careful analysis is of unquestionable value, although the particular method of classification may not commend itself as the best. Many will probably still prefer Stade's arrangement, by which all the different types due to the peculiar character of different roots which the same form may present are given in succession under that form (*e.g.*, under *katl*—חָסֵד, בָּעַל, זָאן, שָׁבִי etc.): but this is not the place to criticise in detail either this or any other classification found in the present volume: it is a matter of principle, and the principle was explained and defended in the first volume. But it may be added that, as a

further effect of the principle adopted, the feminines of this type are discussed quite by themselves (pp. 156-170).

In citing the individual instances, the pausal forms actually found, and the plural endings (whether *-im* or *-oth*), are indicated. This is of value ; but the plan of adding also the meanings of the words is to be deprecated : for advanced students, who alone are likely to use the work, the information will be unnecessary, and by no means worth the numerous brackets it adds to pages otherwise unavoidably crowded with them.

The second main division of the volume, entitled " *Die generelle Formenlehre*," deals with the various forms of the language in their relation to one another, in their historical development, and as influenced by physiological laws. Some prefatory sections discuss the trustworthiness of the Hebrew textual tradition. On the whole, König estimates this highly, and, as compared with Lagarde, depreciates the importance for a study of noun-formation of the different vocalization frequently represented by the Septuagint (pp. 359 ff.). Important sections then follow on the priority of the noun or verb, the origin of the derivative conjugations, and the tense and modal forms, the origin and significance of the various noun-forms, word-composition, and the nature of the inflexional variations in both verb and noun. As to the first of these matters, König argues against the priority of either verb or noun, regarding them rather as two parallel developments, having the same direct relation to the root, but independent of one another.

In many respects the last sections of the volume will be found to be the most characteristic. It is in these that König's " *laut-physiologische methode* " is most directly and fully seen. All who are even slightly acquainted with any other Semitic language are well aware of the peculiarly great influence of the tone on Hebrew vocalisation. To König's detailed discussion they will, therefore, turn with interest.

Among the more general aspects of this volume is the constant reference to comparative Semitic philology, which fully justifies the new phrase in the full-title. At the same time, the " constant reference to Qimchi and the other authorities," which formed so excellent a feature of the earlier volume, still characterises the second, although the fact is no longer mentioned in the title.

A full index of forms, extending to upwards of 150 columns, and a shorter subject-index, greatly facilitate the use of the work as a book of reference.

It is impossible, in a short review, to criticise, or even refer to, the contents of such a work as this in any detail. But sufficient has probably been said to show that it is marked by two great qualities, with which Professor König's other work has made us familiar

—thoroughness of treatment and independence of judgment : it is to be regretted that to these we cannot add lucidity of expression. Yet, despite the frequent obscurity of the style, this work deserves, and is sure to receive, a hearty welcome from all advanced students of Hebrew in England ; and all readers of the two volumes already published will echo the wish that no great time may elapse before the work is completed.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

Romains et Juifs.

Etude critique sur les Rapports publics et Privés qui ont existé entre les Romains et les Juifs jusqu'à la prise de Jerusalem par Titus.
L. K. Amitai. Paris : Fischbacher. Pp. 136.

Essai sur la Formation du Canon de L'Ancient Testament.

Xavier Koenig. Paris : Fischbacher. Pp. 75.

Das Rätsel des Fünfbuches Mose und seine falsche Lösung.

Ein Beitrag zur Lösung einer brennenden biblischen Zeitfrage mit eingehender Berücksichtigung der Quellenscheidung von Dr Strack. Eduard Rupprecht. Gütersloh : Bertelsmann. Edinburgh and London : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 160. Price, M.2.

THE writer of the first of these books, a Belgian Jew, promises his readers a critical study of the relations between the Jews and Romans during the most important period of the world's history. The author knows well what such a study should be. "Critical history," he says, "in order not to lose itself in the hazardous, fanciful sphere of hypothesis, ought before all things carefully to collect materials, facts ; then to examine them with scrupulous care in order to eliminate whatever is uncertain, whatever excites suspicion. Every prejudice ought to be set aside with jealous care." These are excellent principles. Yet after reading his book we have regretfully to say that he awakens expectations which he does not by any means satisfy. As soon as he begins to write his history he seems to forget his own principles. We look in vain for evidence of original research, diligent collection of materials, careful study of documents. And we miss still more the calm impartial tone and temper of the true historian. However

willing we may be to be carried along by the author's always vigorous and sometimes eloquent writing, we find ourselves pausing to question every second statement, and asking for proof, which is rarely given.

Even the prelude suffices to show that the Jew is going to be the hero, and the Roman the villain of the drama. "*Vae, vae vobis*"! So it begins. "It is the cry of the heart of the barbarian, of the wolf in the face of the lamb, of a world in which might usurps the place of right and justice." As we read on, we find we are not mistaken. The Roman is the barbarian, the wolf, the usurper. "My work will not be in vain," the author says, "if I do nothing but show the true character of the Romans at the epoch which we are studying." Montesquieu is quoted with approval: "The Romans were a race of brigands, who never belied the character which they had at the beginning." Moses is quoted with the assumption that he had a prevision of the Romans in Deut. xxviii. 49. And the writer gives his own verdict: "The she-wolf with her milk nourished their first ancestor, and with the milk infused her blood, her taste for rapine, her thirst for blood, and her appetite for the flesh of her victims." This and much that is like it may make a fine background for a picture, but it is not history.

Now turn to the hero. We are told that the Jew contended with the Roman during those two centuries because he had a noble and sacred cause to maintain. The struggle was a holy war. "It was the rising of a people to rescue themselves from the intolerable yoke of a conquering, cruel, and insatiable barbarian. The cause for which they fought was law and religion. This was why the struggle was so desperate, and why it ceased only with the complete disappearance of the combatants on the side of the heroic people." Again we have to say that this is not history. The struggle of the Maccabees was the last holy war of the Jews. The lofty religious enthusiasm, the genuine spiritual fire which burned in the hearts of Judas and his brethren is looked for in vain among the combatants of later times. Wise and good men kept themselves aloof from the disastrous struggle with the Romans, as our author himself admits (p. 71). Those who prolonged the bitter conflict were doubtless patriots of a kind. They fought heroically, desperately. But they were not men of enlightenment; still less were they saints. They were wild zealots, fanatics, sicarians. It was a kingdom of this world they contended for. It is vain to speak of a sacred cause borne down by tyranny, of right overwhelmed by brutal might. The decline and fall of the Jewish nation, like the later decline and fall of her great enemy, were due, not to external, but to internal, causes.

The writer's repeated assertion that the Jews of that period were

intellectually as well as morally in advance of the Romans, that "their culture and civilisation were incontestably superior," may be allowed to pass. We leave it an unsolved problem whether the Pharisees, whom he regards as the flower of the nation, were intellectually superior to the men of the Augustan age. But in the course of his story he has more serious questions to consider. He says nothing that is new about Christianity. He seems here content to follow the guidance of Graetz. But he is most anxious to correct a false impression that prevails regarding the Pharisees. "They were really peaceful men, simple in their manners, severe in their devotion to duty, declared enemies of luxury, and full of sweetness towards the poor and unfortunate." He regards it as very doubtful if there ever was any conflict between these good men and Jesus. Even if there was, there could be no greater calumny than to say that the Jews were the instigators of the death of Jesus. "There is superabundant evidence of the inanity of the accusation: it wants all psychological and historical basis. The responsibility of the death of the Christ falls entirely on Pontius Pilate—that is to say, on the Romans." We want more than psychology to prove statements like these, but as usual we look in vain for the historical evidence.

The volume closes with an impressive appeal to Christendom. "Will Christianity always show herself hostile to Judaism? Will the daughter continue to be jealous of the mother? Will she tyrannise over her for ever? Will the time never come when a sincere reconciliation shall take place? The mother extends her arms; will the daughter still refuse to throw herself into them?" He prophesies that the time will come when we shall all be governed by one Ideal, the eternally Beautiful, the eternally Good. "Then the Messiah expected of Israel shall have come at last." By a singular oversight he omits from his Ideal what ought to come first, the eternally True. We doubt whether this volume brings us much nearer to *that*.

M. Xavier Koenig, who appears to be a member of the French Protestant Church, tells us that he has set himself the task of giving to the students of France what Ryle, Buhl, and Wildeboer have recently given to those of England, Germany, and Holland—a history of the Canon based upon the definite results of critical science. Among earlier workers in this field he singles out for special praise Vatke, Kuenen, Wellhausen, and R. Smith. He has evidently imbibed the spirit of these masters. He has both the valour and the discretion of the true critic. "History," he says, "has the right to determine scientifically the organic evolution of the sacred books." But "facts are so difficult to know and inter-

pret. Prudence and mistrust are the virtues of the historian." Further, he writes in a graceful style which makes his book very easy and pleasant reading.

He first disposes of the myth which until recent times passed for doctrine, that the whole Canon of the Old Testament was fixed by Ezra and the Great Synagogue over which he was supposed to have presided. M. Koenig proves that "this Great Synagogue is a pure fiction, which never existed except in the imagination of the Jewish doctors." He then gives a very clear account of the historical conditions and spiritual needs which led to the canonization—(1) of the Law; (2) of the Prophets; (3) of the miscellaneous collection known as the *Kethubim*. We can only refer to a few points of detail in his account. He contends for the essential historical accuracy of the remarkable narratives in 2 Kings xxii.-xxiii. and Nehemiah viii.-x., and for the good faith of the reformers who made Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code the basis of their reforms. His countrymen, MM. Havet and Vernes, appear to regard these narratives as dramatic fictions, but he sees no reason for following them in their extreme scepticism, and he has the support of all the leading critics for his own view. He collects evidence which goes to prove that the *Prophets* must have been collected into one sacred volume not later than the third century B.C. They may be said to have been canonized by the religious consciousness of the whole people rather than by the verdict of individuals. The third part of the Canon, the *Kethubim*, remained open long after the others were closed. The Rabbins were the final arbiters. Passages in the Mishna prove that controversies regarding disputed books continued to disturb them down to the end of the first century of our era. When Ecclesiastes, Esther, and Canticles came finally to be regarded, in the very curious Rabbinical phrase, as "defiling the hands"—i.e. as sacred or canonical—they were admitted to that honour for reasons which could now hardly be accepted as valid.

M. Koenig's enquiry leads him to a practical conclusion which is strikingly expressed. We may quote two or three sentences. "When we seek to reconstruct the history of Israel, what are we to do? Shall we use the Palestinian canon pure and simple? By no means. We cannot neglect any document, whether canonical or not, which enables us to mark the necessary phases of the evolution which ended in the coming of Christ. The Hebrew canon is insufficient. The historian and the theologian must form for themselves another canon. . . . The man of piety is content to read and be edified without seeking to understand the times and the circumstances. But for the theologian the question is settled. The Jewish canon cannot, and ought not to hold him within its

narrow circle. Wherever the Spirit has been manifested, he must listen to His voice."

M. Koenig has very carefully performed the task which he set himself. It may be superfluous to point out a misprint on p. 15, line 3, and another on p. 58, footnote, which are not given among the Errata.

The third of these books is a strange one to come from Germany. Eduard Rupprecht informs us in his preface that he has already written an *Anti-Wellhausen* (1893), and a *Pseudo-Daniel und -Isaiah* (1894), and that the books bearing these suggestive titles "have excited a quite uncommon interest in Germany, America, Norway, and even in Rome"—his fame does not seem to have yet reached our Island. It is no wonder if, elated by these successes, he now feels ready to solve "the Sphinx-riddle of the Pentateuch."

In the cup of his success there has been only one drop of bitterness. The Universities of the Fatherland have received his books with marked coldness. One Professor has said that he has not learned the *technique* of criticism; another that he uses the old-fashioned weapons of the school of Hengstenberg. Worst of all, young Siegfried of Jena has told him that he has not time to read his "sermons." But his ardour is not to be cooled by their indifference. In a terrible passage he expresses his scorn and contempt for all Professors, D.D.'s, Ph.D.'s *et hoc genus omne* (p. 10). His feelings thus relieved he turns to his immediate purpose. Having in his previous works disposed of the radical critics, among whom he reckons Reuss, Wellhausen, Kautzsch, Stade, and Cornill, he now turns his attention to the moderate liberals, such as König, Köhler, Strack, and Zöckler. He readily acknowledges that there are "many good things" in these critics of the "centre." Are not most of them friends of his own? There is a wide gulf between them and the extreme men of the left. He cannot deny that the greatest and best of the school, the elder Delitzsch, was considerably influenced in his latter days by the views of Wellhausen (p. 24). But for himself he will have nothing to do with those who seek a *via media*. It is for them that the words on the cover of his book are intended: "Why halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him." Is he himself then the only one who has not bowed the knee to Baal? There is one other, and he in Princeton. Dr Green is the sole writer whose views he quotes with approval, and to him his book is dedicated.

Rupprecht states his case in a very lively manner. If he uses strong, and sometimes, as he curiously enough confesses, unparliamentary language, he covers many such sins with an abundant flow of good humour. While his opinions are inflexible, he is a man of

many moods. His wrath must not be taken too seriously. He makes it clear that he will have none of Dr Strack's critical analysis. Not only does he not believe in it; he tells us in bolder than ordinary type that criticism is "the greatest crime of the age." The theories of the Professors are but the "conjectures of nightfies." There was but one author of the Pentateuch, whom he somewhat too familiarly calls "old Moses."

We are becoming familiar with the Jehovist, Elohist, Priestly Writer, and Redactor of the Pentateuch, whose reality is now fairly well established. Though Rupprecht regards them as in the strictest sense nonentities, yet to his imagination they soon become real enough. He usually treats "dear J." and "good friend P." with studied civility. He makes the Redactor the chief butt of his humour. He maintains—and he is so far right—that no consistent account has yet been given of the character and work of this compiler. He makes the most of the uncertainty. "Tell me, my poor Redactor," he says, if we may summarise, "tell me what is your true character, you play so many parts. Sometimes you are an inspired genius, at other times no better than a dullard. Now you figure as a learned investigator, again you are woefully ignorant. One thing is clear: you are a very ill-used person. Well for your critics that you are not alive, or you might sue them for defamation of character. They make a poor scapegoat of you. At times you are a real martyr. Looking at your various rôles, I tell you what you really are: you are a *genialer Esel*, an ass of genius." Having come to that conclusion, he abides by it throughout.

He makes a brave show of going through Strack's book, and dealing with the arguments in it *seriatim*. The professors have told him that his previous books are lacking in detail-work. On the principle of learning from the foe, he resolves that there shall be no absence of details in this volume. "To the critics I will become a critic," are his brave words. But criticism is irksome work, and other ways of arguing are so much easier, that in spite of himself he slides back into his old methods. It is easier to tell stories of good men, mostly youthful, who have been inoculated with the critical bacillus, and have had distressing experiences, among them one poor theological student who caught the "morbus," and turned to—Philology; it is easier to abuse one's opponents and throw doubts, not so much upon their sincerity as their sanity; it is easier to express amazement at the general human folly than to meet a particular argument or to keep one's attention fixed on a clear and simple issue.

The best thing in the book is the writer's "Dream of the Critical Magic-mirror," somewhat after the manner of Richter. Consider-

ably shortened, it is as follows:—"I thought I stood before a critical tribunal, appointed to judge me for my sin in writing this book. I was in a darkened chamber hung with thick curtains. . . . Silently, with triumphant mien Siegfried [not of the Niebelungen, but he of Jena], followed by others, led me to a small room, with the superscription, γνῶθι σεαυτόν, which awoke in me lively recollections of the fate of Socrates. To my joy no poison-cup stood on the table. They brought me to the critical magic-mirror. One of them said to me in tones of irony, 'Herr Pastor, what do you see?' I answered in accordance with truth, 'Nothing.' Every one shook his head, and the same voice said, 'Please to look again.' My eyes had by this time grown accustomed to the twilight. I spake: 'Now I see—myself.' Again there was general astonishment. 'You *must* see something else. Look steadily, keenly, deeply: what do you see now?' They were right. What I saw was astounding. My poor head, which for many years had caused me so much pain, was split into three heads, none of which bore more than a distant resemblance to me. . . . There flashed through my brain the thought of old 'P.' 'J.,' and 'R.,' who would now have their revenge on me. . . . 'What makes you so pale?' said one of the sinister Vehmgericht. 'I am three,' I stammered, as annihilated. 'You have had a great experience,' was the reply, 'may it make you wise. Learn that no one can rise against the great goddess *Kritik* with impunity. Leave the vain battle with the Genius that hovers over the end of the nineteenth century. . . . As a distinguished English critical theologian says, it is vain to fight against wind-mills.' . . . But I said to myself, it is a magic-mirror. . . . When I was again under the free air of heaven I resolved that I would never rest till I had helped to shiver to atoms this demoniacal critical magic-mirror which turns the heads of many pious men, and blinds them."

J. STRACHAN.

Karapet Ter-Mkrttschian,

Die Paulikianer im Byzantinischen Kaiserreiche und verwandte ketzerische Erscheinungen in Armenien. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. xii. 163. Price, M. 5.

THE Armenian monastery of Edschmiazin, near Mount Ararat, has already taken its place beside those of Athos and Sinai, as a possible storehouse of lost treasures of Christian literature. More than one recently discovered document of importance has been unearthed within its walls. And now one of its members comes

forward with a monograph on one of the obscurer sides of early Church History, which is a further proof of the welcome revival of intellectual activity in the Eastern Churches. *M. Karapet holds the rank of Archdeacon at Edschmiazin, but dates his preface from Leipzig, where he has qualified himself both as a student of Church History and as a fluent writer of German. He has not, indeed, overcome all the difficulties of wielding a foreign language; and the inherent obscurity of the subject is not lessened by occasional obscurities in his style. Nevertheless, both he and we are to be congratulated on the result. It marks the appearance of a scholar who puts at our disposal reliable resources hitherto locked up in a language known to but few European students.

The importance of the Paulicians has been appraised in a sentence by Dr Dollinger, who described them as "the true link between the Gnostics of antiquity and those of the Middle Ages, the bridge of passage from the one to the other." They form part of that stream of heresy which runs parallel with Catholic truth, and appears no less continuous and indestructible. Of false doctrines there be many, but of real heresies only a few are possible. A real heresy proceeds from a false Weltanschauung, such as necessarily involves the denial of the relationship of God and men, revealed by Holy Scripture, and in Christ. One of these perennial falsities of conception is the dualistic theory which unites Manichæans, Paulicians, Albigenses, Cathari, and countless other sects, and is not without its representatives in some modern developments of Christianity.

The origin and early history of the Paulicians has not been subjected to thorough and independent examination since the work of Gieseler; the Armenian authorities at the disposal of European scholars have been confined to the Latin translation of Ozniensis and Tschamt-schian's History of Armenia, which dates from the end of last century. It is this origin and early history which M. Karapet investigates anew in the light of a new estimate of the authorities.

The two main authorities for the teaching and history of the early Paulicians have been Photius ("Contra Manichæos"), and Petrus Siculus ("Historia Manichæorum"). To these must be added the work ("Contra Paulicianos") of the Armenian Patriarch, Johannes Ozniensis. All three of these our author lays aside—the first two as secondary and late, the third as handling not Paulicians (in spite of the Latin translation of his title), but Messalians. For a primary authority he turns to a document which has hitherto been disregarded, which Gieseler printed as "Appendix ad Petrum Siculum," and dismissed as an abbreviation of the foregoing document. An examination of the Chronicle of the Monk Georgios Hamartolos makes two things clear, first that Photius and Petrus

Siculus both derive the bulk of their information from a third source, whether it be from Hamartolos himself or another further back; and second, that the monk himself had before him and in part copied the account in this appendix to Petrus Siculus. The author of the appendix is identified as another Petrus, distinguished as Hegumenos; and he, according to Karapet, must be taken as the earliest and most authoritative source concerning the Paulicians. The first section of this volume contains an analysis and comparison of these authorities which places it beyond doubt that Georgios copied the appendix almost verbatim, and goes far to show that Photius derived either directly or indirectly from the same source, enlarging upon it for polemical purposes, while Petrus Siculus followed and added to Photius.

If therefore we are to obtain a true conception of the early Paulicians, uncontaminated by later developments and controversies, we must fix our attention on Petrus Hegumenos. He wrote his account not later than the first half of the ninth century. And there, stripped of later additions, we find the foundation of the sect laid by Paul and John, instructed by their mother in "the Manichæan heresy," and sent out as missionaries "to the Armenians"—the reformation of the sect after a short period by one Constantine—the "Gospel and the Apostle" (probably Luke and Paul) as the sole scriptural basis of their teaching—and the fundamental distinction of their doctrine from that of the Church in the proclamation of "two principles," the heavenly Father whose dominion extends only over the supra-mundane world, and the Creator who rules alone over the world. The mother of Christ is the heavenly Jerusalem, into which he has entered for our sakes. Both sacraments are decisively rejected, the word of Christ being the sole means of fellowship with Him. They reject the cross in every form. Christ Himself is the true Cross. The Old Testament is valueless, and in the New, Peter is excluded from authority and even from salvation. Siculus, on the other hand, adds other characteristics which belong to the Paulicians of a later and more eclectic type. He describes different people.

The question next arises, To what combination of forces was the rise of this sect in the middle of the seventh century due? to what earlier tendency within or without the Church is it related? The old reference to Manichæanism will not suffice. It does not account for all the facts. In seeking a more satisfactory explanation, M. Karapet proceeds in his second section to discuss those heretical movements on Armenian soil which show any relation to Paulicianism. It is a strange field into which he conducts us, the fringe of the Empire and of the Church. The mountainous districts of Upper Mesopotamia and Armenia were the birthplace or the home

of numberless sects and systems. Recalcitrant to tradition, impervious to Hellenic philosophy, they discarded with seeming indifference one after another of the doctrines of Christianity, and annexed to the remainder most incongruous elements from external systems. From one another they can be differentiated only with great difficulty. M. Karapet makes the attempt to disentangle Messalians, Borboritones, Thondrakians, and Thulailians, to mention only the better known names. He has the command of many authorities which are almost or altogether unknown to western students, in the Armenian controversialists and historians. Some of the more important documents he translates in his appendix. He ascribes great influence to the Messalians, whom he identifies not only in the *Mlzne* of Armenian literature, but in the "Paulicians" of Ozniensis. The Messalians are followed by the Paulicians proper, and these by the Thondrakians. But the succession is chronological, not genetic. Paulicianism had a double root, the one through Messalianism in Oriental paganism, the other through Marcionism in Christianity.

Further points of interest which arise in the discussion are the relation of these sects to Iconoclasm and their fraternisation and subsequent coalition with Mahommedanism. Sympathetic relations were readily established between this deformed Christianity and Islam, on the ground of their common hatred of external ceremonial, of image-worship, and of the Catholic Church. Those who should have represented Catholicism in the East were heretics in the eye of the Church no less than these heretics in intention. The decree of Chalcedon had acted as a solvent on the Church of the East. Western Asia was practically lost to Catholic Christianity long before it fell under the authority of Mahommed.

In analysing the effects of the Council of Chalcedon upon the subsequent history of the East M. Karapet gives an exposition of the doctrinal position of the Armenian Church, which coming authoritatively from within deserves particular attention. "It is customary to proceed on the distinct assumption that whatever rejects the decree of Chalcedon is necessarily monophysite. The historical fact, however, is that only those Churches deserve the name which have their origin in the monophysite controversy itself, and acknowledge themselves successors of Eutyches and his companions. The Armenian Church, however, arose from the first as an independent and national church, in political and ecclesiastical circumstances quite different from those of the Church of the Empire. When in the Empire the monophysite controversy was proceeding, the Armenian church was battling for existence with the Persians. With Eutyches and his successors she had nothing to do, but rejects them together with their doctrines. The decree of Chalcedon produced only this result, that she ceased to take any part directly in the

dogmatic development of the greater Church. She rejected the doctrine of the two Natures, but not (as is commonly assumed) because she had received a bad translation of the Acts of Chalcedon, rather because living in a spirit of healthy religion she was bound to have the feeling that these metaphysical speculations led to absurdities, precisely as was manifested later in the doctrine of two Wills. The Armenian was separated by its intrinsic character from the Greek Church, and could not possibly allow a union to be forced upon it, which was equivalent to the loss of its own existence. This must be clearly borne in mind in order to understand the stubborn conflict which it waged against the decree of Chalcedon."

The third section of the work is an attempt to gather up the results in an historical sketch of Paulicianism. Here M. Karapet has hardly done justice to his own labours. His building is slight in comparison with his foundation-work. What we want is a delineation of the sect at each of the stages represented by the Hegumenos, Photius, and Siculus, with some suggestions of the influences to which various modifications are due. Our author contents himself with indicating the probable influences which precede its birth. He confirms the view cautiously put forward by Dr Döllinger (*Beiträge zu Sektengeschichte*), that we have to look rather to Marcion than to Manes for the original impulse of Paulicianism. The points of contact are found in the form of their dualism, which does not advance to the identification of the rival principles with spirit and matter, in their rejection of the Apostle Peter, in their view of the birth of Christ, and very clearly in the phrase used to describe their Canon, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος. "The Paulicians whom we have before us are nothing more or less than the true successors of the Marcionites, and the reform which one Constantine may have effected can have been nothing else than the restoration and revival of a purer and more original Marcionism."

It remains, however, to be explained, and M. Karapet offers no adequate explanation, how the Marcionites came to be Paulicians, and how, moreover, the tradition of their origin so persistently associates them with the Manichees. The latest witness for the existence of the Marcionites under that name is Eznik, the Armenian Bishop of the fifth century. There must have followed a period when all dualistic teaching was gathered under the name of Manichæanism, from which again, in the following century, the Paulicians differentiated themselves by reverting to the Marcionite type.

With the deportation of the great bulk of the sect to Thrace, under the Emperor Tzmisces, there begins a new and better known period of its history. The hoped-for conversion followed only in

name. The leaven of dualistic teaching was firmly implanted on European soil. Centuries later its activity was manifested in the Cathari and Albigenses. As Dr Lea says (i. 91), "In all essentials the doctrine of the Paulicians was identical with that of the Albigenses." It spread like an epidemic over Western Europe. It was a menace not only to Catholicism but to Christianity, and the proceedings of the Inquisitors, the handbooks, such as that of Bernard of Gui, bear witness at once to the danger and subtlety of the heresy, and to the obstinate determination of the heretics to die for their faith. The testimony of Theophanes regarding the Paulicians (ἀδύνατον ἦν τοὺς τῇ πλανῇ ἐκείνῃ ἐαλωκότας μετανοῆσαι) is echoed by Bernard Guidonis in the fourteenth century, "Secta Manichæorum mori potius eligunt quam converti."

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

Dualism and Monism, and other Essays.

By John Veitch, LL.D., late Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow, with an Introduction by R. M. Wenley, D.Sc. London and Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. 260. Price, 4s. 6d. net.

THE volume contains three Essays. The first gives the title to the book. It discusses the following points:—Realism and Common Sense; Phenomenalism; The Independence of Things; Being and Law; Phenomenal Monadism. The second Essay consists of the opening chapter of a History of Philosophy projected by the author, and having reference to the theory of "progress by antagonism." This Essay includes a searching criticism of the Method of Hegel. The third Essay is a reprint of a paper originally contributed to the Transactions of the Wordsworth Society. There is also an Introduction by the Editor, which may at once be characterised as interesting, judicious, and informing. It describes Professor Veitch's position in philosophy, and gives a charming picture of an unobtrusive but powerful and attractive personality.

The volume is a sequel to another bearing the title "Knowing and Being," which was noticed in an earlier number of this Review. The present volume has all the characteristic marks of the writer. We see here a critical faculty of remarkable acuteness, a relentless logic, a lofty spirit, temper, and purpose, and the old allegiance to Hamilton.

The first Essay is on a theme in which the Professor took abundant delight. In form it is a critical review of a volume by M.

Dauriac, entitled *Croyance et Réalité*: in substance it is an acute and able defence of the Hamiltonian position. The argument does not admit of a brief statement.

The second Essay is a torso. It is a fragment of a task unhappily incompletely performed, yet containing a fruitful idea, and giving promise, had the author been spared to put his thoughts into shape, of an original and attractive work. With the criticism of Hegel's method one is reluctantly compelled, on logical grounds, to coincide. The defects of that method are clearly shown. It is, in fact, a deductive method, as truly as was that of Campanella. It is rather an ordaining than an investigation, a declaring how things ought to be rather than how they are. In that portion of the Essay which asks what is left of Hegel's view the author does not so completely carry our sympathy. The Idealism is left which means—Mind first, Mind ever at work, Mind alone creating and accomplishing.

It would have been interesting had the critic here attempted an Ontology. It would have made this Essay a supplement and complement to the Essay that precedes it. No one believes that Realism has given us the last word in Philosophy. The antithesis of mind and matter is a crude ending of the attempt to unify knowledge. The Bible solution is given in its opening words—"In the beginning God." The belief is not without ground which sees in Hegel's teaching one of the ways in which the human mind has sought to give philosophic expression to that solution. No attempt is made in these Essays to estimate the strength or service of Hegel; to show the value of his interpretations of thought and history, or the invincible force of his criticisms. His philosophical system may be regarded as having historical interest only, but the wealth of his fertile and inspiring mind is a permanent dower of the race.

The Essay on Wordsworth, with which the volume closes, is at once beautiful, persuasive, and successful. It is a vindication of his theism: yet one feels that a generous sympathy has led the author to be more propitious to Wordsworth than to Hegel—more propitious than he found it possible to be, with logical consistency, to Hegel. One wishes that, with the same mood upon him, he had dealt with the philosopher as with the poet.

In laying down the book, one feels that he has been in contact with a strong and beautiful spirit.

VAUGHAN PRYCE.

German Philosophical Classics.

Edited by Professor G. S. Morris, and comprising critical expositions, designed for English readers and students, of the Master-pieces of German thought:—Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, by the Editor; Kant's Ethics, by the late President Noah Porter; Fichte's Science of Knowledge, by Professor C. C. Everett; Schelling's Transcendental Idealism, by Professor John Watson; Hegel's Logic, by Dr Wm. T. Harris; Hegel's Aesthetics, by Professor Kedney; Hegel's Philosophy of the State and of History, by the Editor; Leibnitz's New Essays concerning the Human Understanding, by Professor John Dewey. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. Price, \$1.25 each volume. Hegel's Logic, \$1.50.

THESE volumes form an admirable supplement to the series issued by Messrs Blackwood, though they have not yet received the welcome in England to which their conspicuous merit entitles them. The obvious difference between the two series lies in the circumstance that, while the English Series is biographical as well as expository, these volumes confine themselves to critical exposition. The peculiarity of the Series under notice is that, with one exception, each volume takes some one great master-piece as its subject; sets forth its special purport and substance; expounds and interprets its doctrine; furnishes a critical estimate of its merits and defects; and shows, where possible, the relation of the subject matter to other systems of thought.

The editor opens the Series with a volume on Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*. The translator of Ueberweg's History of Philosophy and the author of "Philosophy and Christianity" is sure to give us work efficiently done, and no one, desiring a knowledge of Kant's intellectual position and of the bearing of his speculations on vital questions, need go wrong under the guidance of Professor Morris. His exposition is marked by accuracy; a sense of proportion; ample knowledge of the subject and of the wants of students. This judgment could be easily sustained did space permit.

The volume on the *Ethics* of Kant is by the late President of Yale, Dr Noah Porter, and is an admirable example of the power he possessed of exposition, discrimination, and argument. The task could hardly have been entrusted to better hands.

Fichte's *Science of Knowledge* is critically expounded by Professor C. C. Everett of Harvard. The writer of the volume enters with keen sympathy into the very spirit of the author, and greatly aids in the understanding of his thinking. The self-repression of the writer is most exemplary. It is Fichte himself who speaks, and

through an interpreter who for the most part reminds one of the effect of the morning sun on the mists of night. The writer closes a deeply interesting volume with a critical estimate of Fichte's philosophy, pointing out its limitations, and comparing it with the writings of Schopenhauer and Hegel.

Schelling's *Idealism* is treated by Professor Watson of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. Schelling changed so frequently that he has been regarded by the student much as a photographer regards a restless sitter. Our author's view is that the changes were marked by coherence and continuity. He works out this argument with admirable lucidity and power.

Schelling's philosophical faith passed through three successive stages: they were stages of advance in his philosophical education, and they were signalized by the issuing of Treatises. In the first stage, he is under the influence of Fichte. The only Supreme Reality for him is the Moral Order of the world as revealed to the individual in the idea of a Moral Perfection to which man can only approximate: his life consists in the struggle to attain this. In the second stage, man and nature are regarded as two co-ordinate manifestations of a single activity that is revealed in each with equal fullness and perfection. In the third stage, the attempt is made to prove the Personality of God while preserving the freedom and the moral responsibility of man maintained in the earlier stages.

There is thus no break in the continuity of his philosophy. In the first stage or period, he is not concerned to deny the reality of an "Objective God," though he is not concerned to maintain it, but he catches a glimpse of the glory of God in the ideal of infinite Moral Perfection, and he perfectly grasps the principle of human freedom. In the second stage or period, he does not let go the freedom and responsibility of man, but discovers that nature is the expression of a rational process, and hence that man and nature are alike manifestations of something not themselves. In the third stage, he seeks to gather up all the elements of truth already discovered, and to view them in the perfect unity of a Personal God. He was, therefore, ever moving on to a goal.

All this is worked out in the volume before us with consummate skill. The interest is sustained throughout, partly because the intellectual development of a singularly gifted mind is here sympathetically and ably traced, and partly because we are here at the point of transition from Kant through Fichte to Hegel.

There are three volumes of the series on Hegel: let us see precisely what they do for us. Philosophy, as Hegel understands and develops it, is all comprised under three heads. The first is *Logic*, which considers abstract notions, which expounds scientifically the categories of the mind or of all thinking experience. It begins

with the thought of pure being, of all thoughts the most abstract, elementary, and contentless. It passes forward till it ends with the "Idea" of absolute, self-conscious Personality; the thought which includes all thoughts, and which they all imply. The realm is that of the abstract, the ideal and subjective, but a realm which presupposes an objective realm in which the abstract is realised and becomes valid.

This branch of Hegel's philosophy is treated in a volume of the series under notice. The author of the volume is Dr William T. Harris, U.S. Commissioner of Education. It was he who in the year 1867 founded the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* for the express purpose of introducing Hegel's works to the notice of American students. He has done, says Dr Macbride Sterrett of him, more than any other man to familiarize Americans with the thoughts of Hegel. He has long been known as an open-minded disciple and interpreter and critic of Hegel. The history of his mental experiences, in intellectual fellowship with the philosopher during many years, is given in a most interesting autobiographical introduction to the present volume. No man has a better claim to be heard by the student of Hegel, and every attentive reader of this volume will be thankful for his enlightening guidance.

Hegel next develops his philosophy of *Nature*. Nature is the realm in which the abstract terms of thought which logic contemplates are realised and become objective. Nature is that objective reality which is the proximate ground, or condition, of the thought with which logic is concerned. Here the ideal and the subjective become real and objective. This head of doctrine is not expressly dealt with in the volumes before us.

The Philosophy of Man, which is the Philosophy of *Spirit*, is the third head of philosophical doctrine. In man Nature culminates. Man, self-conscious, thinking, willing, acting, is objective and subjective, ideal and real in one. You have in man explicitly and more perfectly what you have in Nature implicitly and imperfectly. If Nature may be spoken of as spiritual, it is in figure only or potency; the figure and the potency appear in man in literal and accomplished fact. Hence the Philosophy of Man is pre-eminently the Philosophy of Spirit.

Now this Philosophy of Spirit embraces three points. The first, which considers the natural character of man as a spiritual being, and includes Anthropology and Psychology, is termed Subjective Spirit. It deals with the individual. The *Philosophy of the State* is next considered. Here man is regarded in his domestic, economic, and political relations, under the head of Objective Spirit. Thought is no longer limited to the subjective and the individual. In the third subdivision, man is considered in the perfection of his spiritual

character and functions under the head of Absolute Spirit. Here come in for treatment *the Philosophy of Art, the Philosophy of Religion*, and Philosophy pure and simple; and we are led into the very arcana of the philosophy of Hegel; into the Presence Chamber of the Absolute Spirit, the Supreme and Perfect object of philosophy and thought—the self-conscious, self-revealing God, through whom and for whom are all things, man approaching the character of absolute spirituality in the measure in which he recognises, and lives in conscious and voluntary dependence on, the Everlasting and truly Absolute Spirit, which is God.

Such is the development, and it makes clear to us that the Philosophy of Spirit is supreme with Hegel. The fuller recognition and apprehension of Absolute Spirit is that to which all knowledge progressively tends. God is the Interpreter of all human experience, the beginning and the end of all absolute reality. The Absolute and Perfect Spirit is seen, in the issue, to be the explanation of all, the ground of all, in the realm of thought, and in the realm of objective reality. God is not the result of development, but is its eternal, omnipresent, and ever-efficient pre-condition.

Returning now to the volumes before us that treat of Hegel's philosophy, it is to be observed that the first, in interpreting Hegel's *Logic*, throws a bright light on his whole system of thought; that the second, written by Professor Kedney, himself the author of a book on a kindred subject, interprets Hegel's *Æsthetics*; and that the third, written by the editor of the series, interprets Hegel's theory of the *State* and of *History*. The former of these two volumes may be warmly commended to all who are interested in art; while the latter is full of brilliant suggestion, and may profitably be studied alike by theologians, preachers, and social reformers. From all this it will be seen that important aid for understanding Hegel is here offered to the English student. A promised volume, much to be desired, on Hegel's *Philosophy of Religion* has not yet appeared, leaving the top-stone yet to be laid, but it is a noble building that has been rising stone by stone.

The volume by Professor Dewey on Leibnitz's *New Essays* will be found to throw light on his whole system of thought, and on its relations to other ways of thinking. As a critical exposition it is worthy to stand in the series of which it is a member.

Looking at the volumes as a whole, it may be honestly and thankfully affirmed that they expound with great fulness and care, and that they criticise with judgment, the thinking of the great minds that made modern Germany the rival, in intellectual activity and subtlety of thought, of ancient Greece in its palmyest days. They form, therefore, a welcome addition to our philosophical literature.

VAUGHAN PRYCE.

Metaphysik.

Metaphysik, von Franz Ehrhardt, Privat-Dozent an der Universität Jena. Erster Band: Erkenntnistheorie. Leipzig: R. Reisland. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. x. 642. Price, 12s.

THE scope of this work will be best indicated by a summary of the table of contents. (1) The Task devolving on a Theory of Knowledge; (2) Experience; (3) Naïve Realism; (4) The Realism of Natural Science; (5) The Apriority of Space: its Significance; The Subjective Origin of the Idea; Kant's Demonstration of the Apriority of Space and Geometrical Certainty; Criticism of Psychological Theories of Space; The Localisation of Sensations; (6) The Ideality of Space: Proof Supplied by the Theory of Knowledge, and by Metaphysics; Secondary Evidence; Rebutment of the Chief Objections; (7) The Apriority of Time; (8) The Ideality of Time; (9) Causality and Substantiality; (10) Various Forms of Subjective Idealism; (11) The Thing-in-Itself: its Derivation; Phenomenon; (12) The Limits of Knowledge.

Its real subject, as the summary shows, is defined by the subordinate title, *Erkenntnistheorie* (Theory of Knowledge).

It is now-a-days surely a rather antiquated procedure to include the theory of knowledge in metaphysics. Herr Ehrhardt makes an attempt, indeed, to justify it; but by conceding, as he does, that the question of the objective metaphysical import and reality of what is given in experience cannot be properly discussed till that of the rise of experience, in other words, the primary problem of the theory of knowledge, has been dealt with, he cuts away the ground from under his own feet. There is, of course, a sense in which no philosophical problem can be solved independently, either of epistemological, or also of psychological, and even of other problems; but this is not the author's plea for the confusion with which he is chargeable.

The purpose of the work is more precisely defined as the exposition of a theory of Experience (*Erfahrung*), so far as metaphysical problems are thereby affected. This is the limit the author sets himself. Not only does he exclude questions of psychology and the like, but even that of the possibility of synthetical judgments *a priori*, with which Kant opened his "Kritik d. r. Vernunft"—a question which he would relegate to Logic; though he, at the same time, objects to the inclusion in Logic of problems such as the possibility of experience, on the ground that Logic has to accept experience as a fact, not to explain it.

After defending the possibility of a "theory of knowledge" against Hegel's objections on the one side, and Comte's on the other, he proceeds to define the meaning and scope of "Experience." The experience to be investigated is that of the investigator himself, not, however, merely as his separate individual experience, but as identical with the consentient experience of persons of ripe years, who are capable of interchanging thought.

The content of this consensus is, first and foremost, the external world, then the inner world of the soul—both with their infinite variety of objects and the qualities, activities, changes, laws thereof; each allowed even by the materialist to be irreducibly distinct from the other.

But in what sense is the existence of an outward world to be defined as a fact of experience? As the author avows himself to be a transcendental idealist, one cannot but be curious how he will answer this question. "Only so far as we keep to the point of view of experience is it permissible, in a preliminary way, to maintain the existence of the corporeal world. But we do this when we take for granted the existence of a knowing subject, which finds an external world as part of its actual experience. Whether the said world will remain or disappear altogether, or undergo a total change after we cease to take this for granted, and proceed to discuss the question, Do things exist in themselves independently of our perception? it is not permissible for us to enquire, as long as we occupy the standpoint of experience. It cannot, however, be doubted that from the point of view of experience, we are warranted in affirming the existence of the outward world as a fact." "We maintain accordingly that for our experience everything is actual or real, or, still better, that we designate everything 'real,' the reality of which is guaranteed by perception, acting under normal conditions, and against which no negative case can be adduced."

This seems to me, I confess, a somewhat lame conclusion; for what does it amount to save that as long as we mean by reality, real presence in perception, we are at full liberty to affirm that it is real; but if we mean by real what the common mind means, namely, real independent of perception, we have no right to call it real. To say the least, it is a roundabout way of confessing that real is simply real to us. But roundaboutness is rather a characteristic of Herr Ehrhardt's mode of discussing the problems passed in review.

The work as a whole is both a defence, an elucidation, and a criticism of Kant's "Kritik." More than half of it is taken up with the question of the apriority and ideality of time and space, as to which the author avows his agreement with Kant. New results, in the strict sense, therefore, in this regard he does not profess to present; but he believes himself to have offered new arguments in

support of Kant's position and against opposed views ; and expresses the hope that his investigations will not only help to lay bare the weakness of the empiricism and realism which at present dominate scientific literature, but do something towards turning the tide in favour of Kant's theory.

Whilst endorsing Kant's view of space and time, he altogether rejects his doctrine that a certain number of pure concepts of the understanding, along with the principles thence arising, are subjective conditions of the possibility of experience. The reference is in particular to the principle of causality and that of the persistence of substance or matter. In his view the concept, causation, or effectuation arises solely from experience ; and for that reason is applicable, *not* to phenomena, *but* to things in themselves. He further asserts—also in opposition to his master—the knowableness of things-in-themselves, and in reasoning out this point is led to the “important result that all the active principles in nature are to be regarded as absolutely real, and that the thing-in-itself of the corporeal world is to be viewed as a system of forces.” He equally questions Kant's assumption that the ideality of psychical phenomena follows from that of time, and that to allow the reality thereof involves the rejection of the ideality of time.

The doctrine of the absolute reality of the forces of nature, just referred to, involves the position that a thing-in-itself is immediately given in our inner experience, namely, each man's self as a psychical being, and that the soul is in reality “one of the special dynamic principles which work in nature, and which form a great hierarchical system ; in fact, so far as we know, the highest”—a view of the ultimate elements of the cosmos substantially identical with that of Lotze.

In the light of these and other considerations he considers it possible to demonstrate the erroneousness of the notion that “transcendental idealism converts the empirical world into pure seeming, and robs our experiential knowledge of all objective value.”

These are some of the main features of the work. It is certainly not without its merits ; it is well fitted, for example, to serve as an introduction to the study of the great questions that are in debate between Empiricists and Realists on the one side, and Apriorists and Idealists on the other. In this regard its very prolixity may be an advantage. But one may be allowed to doubt whether it will inaugurate—as the writer seems to hope—a new epoch in the branch of philosophy to which it is devoted.

D. W. SIMON.

**Handkommentar zum Alten Testament: Die Klagelieder
des Jeremia übersetzt und erklärt.**

*Von Dr Max Löhr, Professor der Theologie in Breslau. Göttingen:
Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. xx. 26. Price, 1s. 6d.*

**A Short Commentary on the Book of Lamentations:
Chapter I.**

*By the Rev. A. W. Greenup, M.A. Hertford: Austin & Sons.
1893. 12mo, pp. 52. Price, 2s.*

PROFESSOR LÖHR'S condensed commentary on Lamentations appears under highly favourable conditions. In 1891 he published a valuable and more extensive treatise on this book, so that, when wisely invited afterwards to prepare the present work for the series of handy commentaries now in course of publication under the editorship of Professor Nowack, few contributors perhaps could have been more fitted to accomplish so satisfactorily the task assigned. Abundant material was ready for adaptation, while judicious criticism of friends, together with his own more mature reflection, showed how such a work could be improved. Considering further the space-limitation imposed in this series, it is obvious that Professor Löhr has now given to the public the cream of his thought on this book of the Old Testament. The scholarly commentary is admirable in itself, and promises to be one of the best in the series. It is a marvel of cheapness; the printing is excellent.

Mr Greenup's work is one of considerable merit, but unfortunately is a mere fragment, consisting of Notes on the First Chapter of Lamentations, with no Introduction. Seeing that the whole is specially designed to aid "those who are just beginning the critical study of the poetical books of the Hebrew Bible," it is perhaps too much to expect students at such a stage to read and understand the comments frequently cited from Rabbinical writers, or to make out the occasional quotations from the Targums. Attention is rightly called to the unusual accentuation (in ver. 1) of the archaic form *rabbāthi* on the penult: it would have been well to indicate also the euphonic reason. On page 5 we read that (in ver. 1): "The Massoretic accentuation is neglected by the LXX. and the Vulgate"; but as the Hebrew text was without accents, or even vowel-points, till centuries after the Septuagint translators had completed their work, these cannot be said to have "neglected" signs which had not yet been invented and used.

The work contains a large amount of valuable material, displaying the varied scholarship and general ability of the author.

JAMES KENNEDY.

Der Grundcharakter der Ethik Jesu im Verhältniss zu den messianischen Hoffnungen seines Volkes, und zu seinem eigenen Messiasbewusstsein.

Von Lic. Eugen Ehrhardt. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr, 1895 ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 119.

DR EHRHARDT assures us in the preface to this book that his object in dealing with such a subject is to endeavour to answer the question, "Can we still look upon Jesus as our supreme guide in matters of conduct or not?" For Dr Ehrhardt's mind this question resolves itself into another as to how far Jesus succeeded in transcending the limitations of the popular Messianic ideas of His time, and in proclaiming an ethic free, pure, and universal.

With a view to answering this latter question, Dr Ehrhardt devotes the first section of his book to a careful statement of the Ethical problem with which, in consequence of the peculiar development of later Judaism, Jesus and His contemporaries found themselves confronted : while the second section deals with the solution of the problem which Jesus offered.

I. *The First Section* begins with a glance at the prophets. Here we are assured that the prophetic ethic was essential Messianic. The aim of all ethical striving was for them a future period of Messianic bliss on this earth, to be enjoyed by a holy remnant of the people—and in this ideal such really different elements were inextricably blended as divine fellowship and earthly lordship.

Further, it was essentially a social ethic—the individual could partake of the supreme good only as a member of the people of God.

In the second place, the Law is dealt with from a similar point of view. Here it is maintained that the Law too is essentially Messianic in character, being regarded as the absolutely perfect means of attaining the supreme good. It tended, too, to separate Israel from the rest of the world, and thus to strengthen their expectation of final lordship in the earth. Consequently, upon the whole, it was unsuited to develop the really religious element in Israel's hopes about the future.

Thirdly, the period of the Apocalyptic Literature is considered. It is here that the real problem arose. Now, under external pressure, Israel abandoned the hope of a glorious earthly future, and looked for the magical appearance of a heavenly life of bliss for God's people. Now, too, the individual also began to expect a palingenesia. Yet from lack of real religious experience the people were unable to conceive of any future but one really earthly in character. They really depreciated not this life and this world, but just the Present ; and their thoughts about the future continued to

have an earthly tone. Hence, then, the dilemma of that time. The Messianic system contained an inner contradiction, refusing, on the one hand, to demand an interest in the social and political affairs of this world, it was yet unable, on the other hand, to pronounce a thorough and sincere condemnation upon this life and this world, and thus it proved itself powerless to furnish a definite ethic or a powerful moral stimulus.

II. In the second section we have a careful, if complicated statement of the solution which Jesus offered to the problem.

Dr Ehrhardt insists that Jesus' conception of the Kingdom of God was harmonious and consistent throughout and emphatically eschatological.

He did not oppose the tendency to turn from the world, but purified and deepened it, setting before men the ideal of becoming at home in a higher world. Further, He freed this ideal from any exclusively national colouring, and definitely regarded individuals as the bearers of this supreme good. Hence Christ's gospel had power to determine conduct, and led to a definite following of the real aim and spirit of the law which Christ regarded as the true "fulfilling of the law."

Yet Dr Ehrhardt finds another moral mood in Jesus teaching, viz., one concerned with human common life.

The reconciliation of these two tendencies is found in the special character of Christ's relation to God. Christ had direct personal knowledge of God dependent neither upon nature nor upon history. No earthly goods mediated His enjoyment of God. He possessed what the pious Israelite only longed for. In a sense this God is far from the world and foreign to it; it is unholy, and God is holy. Yet is God near to man's soul; and as Christ lived so truly in God's presence He was able to turn again to the world, and take a real interest in it. He could regard it as a field opened to Him for work for God, and felt compelled to attempt to realize in the actual world the good He had reached in His inner life.

Clearly, however, Christ's religious disposition is quite opposed to that of the Messianic system. This supreme good is mediated by nothing earthly, and if He talked the language of the Messianic system the real spirit of His gospel depended upon His own experience.

What is common to Jesus and that system is the eschatological character of His religious disposition. He thinks of this world as at best only a relative good, He would have men see in communion with God the real supreme good, and while He accepts the title Messiah He is concerned to establish a new conception of the Messiah, and to teach other truths than those popularly connected with that name.

The book finishes with an interesting section on The New Messianic Ethic.

As Christ expected a great world catastrophe in the near future, He makes His ideal absolute and knows nothing of relative goods or aims. Hence arose a danger on the one hand of dreamy and unregulated enthusiasm, and on the other of a barren legalism—dangers which in the history of Christendom have both had manifest and evil results.

Lastly, there seems to be a contradiction in Christ's teaching, part of it laying down rules for social life, and part demanding a disposition to turn from the world. But this contradiction disappears when we realize how Christ really thought of the moral life. From a standpoint really raised above all earthly good, men are yet to turn to the world, and to seek to realize God's will there; they are not to win their supreme good by good practice, they are to possess it to begin with and to work well in its strength.

Probably it will be felt that Dr Ehrhardt lays too much stress upon the eschatological and ascetic aspects of Christ's Teaching, and that Christ's joy in the natural world and his thought of God as the real ruler in all earthly affairs, played a greater part than is here suggested. But when Dr Ehrhardt finds in Christ's direct and personal relation to God the real secret of His whole moral and religious life, we feel that he has reached the essential point in the whole matter. It was because Christ did so live in the very presence of God that He could become the source of true religious life for others, and a moral teacher and guide for all men and all time.

This book is a complicated and sometimes tedious production. But it is without doubt successful in selecting for emphasis the very kernel of Christ's teaching, and in showing its real independence of ideas and categories of only passing worth.

A. H. GRAY.

Paronomasia in the Old Testament.

By Immanuel M. Casanowicz. Boston, Mass.

8vo, pp. vi. 94.

THIS is a dissertation prepared for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Johns Hopkins University, in the year 1892. The subject is one of a kind not often taken in hand. And it may be questioned whether, not so many years ago, it would have been received in the spirit, or had accorded to it the attention that may be expected for it in these days. One of the happy results of recent criticism has been to vindicate for the human element in Scripture the place to which it is rightfully entitled. Not merely have the books of the Old Testament the style which might be expected in a literary work of an oriental people, but each writer has his own style, which can generally be more or less accurately distinguished from that of others.

In respect of style, one of the most interesting elements is the "play upon words" which Mr Casanowicz makes the main subject of his dissertation. After explaining the meaning of the expression, the relation of Paronomasia to other figures, and the limits within which it is generally found, the author refers to the use of Paronomasia, first, in the classical and some of the modern languages; and secondly, in the Shemitic languages generally. Then he passes to his proper theme, and in a series of short paragraphs discusses the various forms of paronomasia in the Old Testament, such as Alliteration, Assonance, etc.

The most valuable part of the brochure is an alphabetical list of Paronomasia found in the Old Testament (pp. 44-84), followed by a classified table of the whole list. Finally, there is an index of passages containing Paronomasia arranged according to the order of the books of the Old Testament.

This little volume is not one to quote from. But it may be said that it shows considerable research on the part of the author, and contains a good deal of material (and that conveniently arranged) for the student who desires to become familiar with the niceties of the style of the Old Testament. GEO. G. CAMERON.

Le Sens commun : Études de Philosophie religieuse.

*Par Charles Poirée de Garcia. Avec une Préface de M. A. Réville.
Paris : Fischbacher. 8vo, pp. xvii and 459.*

THIS is a curiously belated volume. Few books can safely be published twenty-five years after the death of their authors, and the disadvantages of delay are much greater in the case of a work which, like the present, partakes largely of the nature of a personal Credo or Apologia. But the delay of a quarter of a century is especially unfortunate in this publication, since M. Poirée's cast of thought was already, even for his time, decidedly antique. Like so many Frenchmen of his generation, M. Poirée, while an advanced and progressive political thinker, was in philosophy and religious thought a man of the eighteenth century. And so, while his literary remains, if published when they were probably composed, that is, some time before the end of his life, or about fifty years ago, would have possessed considerable historical interest as an expression of the personal philosophy of an old-fashioned man of that day, they come with an odd and antiquated air into the last decade of the nineteenth century.

M. Charles Poirée was a French country gentleman of a devout and serious turn of mind, who played his part as an enthusiastic republican in the political life of his native province in the second quarter of the century, and died in 1868. The present volume

contains his reflections on religious and philosophical subjects, left by him in manuscript, and now at length published by the piety of his daughter and introduced in a sympathetic and discriminating preface by M. Réville.

During the first forty years of his life M. Poirée was a convinced and devout Roman Catholic; and the manner of his transition from that faith to the Deism in which he ended is of general interest, as being highly typical of his age and country. He was, as has been said, an advanced Liberal. For long he hoped to reconcile his political with his religious creed; and the adhesion of the Roman clergy to the Revolution of 1848 brought "the happiest moment of his life." But when the same authority sanctioned the *coup d'état* of 1851, it was a tremendous shock to him; and the revulsion of feeling then set up ended in his complete rejection of the Church's authority, and with it, of the Christian faith. *For the first time*, he tells us, he read the Bible. Many parts of the Old Testament he read with painful surprise; the New Testament with suspicion and eventual incredulity. The second half of his book records his criticism of the Bible; the first half, his attempt to establish on philosophical principles the Theism in which he ultimately came to rest.

This constructive theory breathes the spirit of the eighteenth century. There is its conventional psychology, its abstract and unreal notion of "Reason"; its uncritical confidence in certain "ideas of Reason,"—God, the Soul, Immortality, Retribution—ideas whose authority is not yet undermined either by philosophical criticism (for in 1860, so far as M. Poirée is concerned, there might never have been such a person as Kant) or by the historical sense of their origin and evolution. There again is the eighteenth century belief in progress, its easy optimism.

M. Poirée's criticism of the Bible is vitiated, according to our ideas, by an absolute deficiency of historical perspective. The only revelation of which he has any idea is a revelation of supernatural truths; he admits the abstract possibility of such a revelation. The only inspiration for which he examines the Bible is an inspiration of infallibility. From this point of view the Old Testament history presents hopeless stumbling-blocks to belief in inspiration or revelation; and it never occurs to the enquirer to look amid human incompleteness and imperfections for an operation of the Divine Spirit in that history. In the same way, the contradictions of the Gospels are enough to destroy their authority; and in the triumphant refutation of the theory of "infallible" Scripture the real historical question receives but slight and hasty treatment. A real historic fact behind the Gospels is indeed recognised; M. Poirée has a mind too fine and sympathetic for the vulgar theory of imposture: "On

sent un fait vrai," he says; "on voit un homme qui a vivement frappé des imaginations." It was Baur, perhaps, who finally brought the Christian question to its true touchstone of historic fact, by beginning with what is historically positive and certain—the literature. M. Poirée's enquiries belong to an earlier phase of the controversy. It is sufficient for him to argue—"Les disparates qu'on remarque seraient suspectes de le part d'historiens ordinaires; mais on ne peut les pardonner à des écrivains inspirés. *La moindre atteinte à le verité devient chez eux une négation complète de leur autorité, renverse leur histoire, et place l'édifice religieux bâti sur elle au rang des erreurs humaines.*"

M. Poirée's papers are chiefly interesting, then, as a "human document" and as in their way a historical monument. Everyone feels a painful interest in the movement which during this century and the last has led many educated minds in Catholic Europe towards a particular type of secularism and infidelity. Of the inner side of that movement, of its interior working, this book gives us a suggestive glimpse. The instance appears to us a representative one in many important respects.

The collapse of M. Poirée's faith, on the occasion of a political error in his spiritual guides, is a fresh illustration of the danger of leaning on a hierarchy with interests of its own to serve.

The conclusions to which it forced him are the sufficient criticism of the view of Scripture from which such an enquirer started. The definition of inspiration as infallibility led him to the rejection of the Bible. "S'il nous a révolté, ce n'est pas comme ouvrage humain, mais comme œuvre divine. Nous lui pardonnons bien les imperfections du moment qu'il nous est présenté par les hommes, nous y trouvons même un ensemble rare dans les ouvrages des simples mortels. Mais nous ne pouvons pas voir sans colère qu'on nous le présente comme l'œuvre de Dieu; dans ce cas, il serait trop indigne de son auteur."

This, at all events, is intelligible. Now-a-days the attempt is being made to help out the theory of authority by a "principle of historical development," and a double authorship, human and divine. Whether historical development and human imperfection are consistent with infallible dogmatic authority at all, and what "authority" will mean in that case, may be said to be the questions of the present moment in this connection.

The practical apologist, lastly, possesses in these pages a convenient summary of the difficulties which an honest mind may feel about the inspiration of Holy Scripture. By whatever means he may propose to answer them, he will here find the objections to the theory of an infallible Bible clearly and temperately stated.

A. HALLIDAY DOUGLAS.

Rosenmann : Studien zum Buche Tobit.

Berlin : Mayer & Müller, p. viii. 41. Price 1s. 6d. ; M.1.50.

ALL the books of what may be called the canonical apocrypha were of Jewish origin, yet, possibly because they had been so generally honoured by Christians, they were for many ages sedulously neglected by the Jews. This attitude has passed away, and it is a symptom of this that the present "Studies on the books of Tobit" are the work of a Jew. It does not profess to be an exegesis or even an exhaustive investigation of all the questions involved in the introduction ; it occupies itself only on some questions that arise from certain passages. As it is composed of separate Studies, the work has a fragmentary aspect, but there is a unity through the whole, since all the Studies bear more or less on the date of Tobit. If we leave out of view the position forced upon the Roman Catholic divines by the Council of Trent, there are practically two opinions to be considered, that of Ewald, who would date Tobit in the latter part of the Persian period, and that of Neubauer, who would place it in the Christian era after the destruction of Jerusalem. Rosenmann takes a position intermediate between these two, and holds it to have been composed during the course of the second pre-Christian century. His arguments against the early date—the presence of Haggadic elements—do not seem to us as conclusive as his arguments against the late. It is, so far as it goes, a very thorough and creditable piece of work. While the date is the main question involved, Rosenmann incidentally discusses the purpose of the book, and concludes, "The book is therefore nothing other than a poetical commendation (*Loblied*) of almsgiving (*ἐλεημοσύνη*) and righteousness (*δικαιοσύνη*)."
We could have wished the writer had discussed the question of the change of person. To the sixth verse of third chapter the narrative is in the first person, whereas after that it is in the third. At first sight this phenomenon suggests to the reader the idea of a compilation and that the source of the earlier portion is different from that of the latter—possibly it is simply due to the awkwardness of an age not accustomed to composition. In taking leave of this subject, we would note the importance of the book of Tobit as bearing on the question of the Canon. If its origin is as early as Ewald would make it, or even as early as Rosenmann would place its date, why was it excluded from the Canon, while on the theory that they are late, Daniel and Esther are included. The theory that it was the superiority of the canonical books over other contemporary books that led to this result can scarcely be maintained. The age that produced and admired Tobit and Judith was not likely to recognise that Esther was immeasurably superior to them.

J. E. H. THOMSON.

Notices.

Dean Fremantle issues a second and revised edition of his Bampton Lectures.¹ The main positions affirmed in the book are these—that Christianity is “primarily a life, and secondarily a system of doctrines, public worship, and clerical government”; that the Church is “the whole community of Christian people in the whole range of their life”; that “the whole of human society is to be brought under the power of Christ”; and that each of the rings or circles of human society, the family, the communities which exist for the furtherance of science, of art, of social intercourse, of commerce, as well as for public worship, are essentially religious societies, and the nation most of all.” These positions are vindicated and illustrated at length with great variety of argument, and with the honest glow of strong conviction. There is much of Rothe’s way of looking at the question of the Church and the nation in the book. It is meant as a “challenge to Christians to reconsider their views and action” in many things. It is full of matter to provoke thought, and will probably be better received now than when it first appeared.

Professor Paul Drews, of Jena, publishes the first half of an edition of Luther’s *Disputationes* at Wittenberg in the years 1535-1545.² The volume includes the disputations on the Council of Constance, Justification, Private Mass, the Antinomians, and others. The whole is prefaced by interesting chapters on the practice which prevailed in the University of Wittenberg in Luther’s day, on Luther himself in the character of *disputator*, and on the manuscript sources available for the work. The editor has spared no pains to make the book accurate and complete. It is of importance as the first edition of these *Disputationes*, and for historical considerations.

Sigwart’s large and valuable treatise on *Logic* has already been reviewed in this journal. We have the pleasure now of noticing an excellent and most useful English translation,³ which forms one of the volumes of the *Library of Philosophy*. It will be most welcome

¹ The World as the Subject of Redemption, being an Attempt to set forth the functions of the Church as designed to embrace the whole Race of Mankind. London: Longmans. Crown 8vo, pp. xxvii. 400. Price, 7s. 6d.

² Disputationen Dr Martin Luther’s, in d. J. 1535-1545, an der Universität Wittenberg gehalten. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vi. 346. M.12.

³ Logic. By Dr Christoph Sigwart, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Tübingen. Vol. I. The Judgment, Concept, and Inference. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Vol. II. Logical Methods. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Translated by Helen Dendy. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Medium 8vo, pp. xii. 391, and viii. 584. Price, 21s.

to English students. The translation has been a laborious task, but it has been done with intelligence and care, and will greatly extend the knowledge of this important system among English and American students.

*The Age and Authorship of the Pentateuch*¹ is a defence of the old view of the Mosaic books. We cannot say it is a successful defence. It goes back to a large extent to the criticism of scholars like Hengstenberg and Hävernick. It refers to others like Delitzsch, but gives no indication of acquaintance with their change of view. How far it is from understanding the position of scholars like Canon Driver, may appear from the fact that the author thinks that if the Old Testament reached its present form in the way stated by Dr Driver, it "is the work of accident, and is destitute of value for religious ends." How far he is from appreciating the position of the best critics is seen by this that he meets Ewald by Milman.

The excellent Latin edition of Adamnan's *Life of Columba* which we owe to Dr Fowler, of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham, is followed up now by an English translation.² The rendering is executed, one need scarce say, with the utmost care. We owe much to Dr Fowler and to the publishers for providing us with a book of such interest in so cheap and handsome a form.

With great pleasure we refer to new issues of two books by the late Bishop Phillips Brooks, his well-known Bohlen Lectures on *The Influence of Jesus*,³ and his Yale *Lectures on Preaching*,⁴ one of the best products of a rich and noble mind, which can be read again and again with increasing profit and admiration.

*The Education of the Feelings*⁵ is intended, as the sub-title indicates, to be "a system of moral training for the guidance of teachers, parents, and guardians of the young." The author, who died in 1885—Mr Charles Bray—was favourably known by other publications, as "The Philosophy of Necessity," "Force and its Mental Correlates," &c. This book is of old date, the first edition going back to 1838. It is now in its *fifth* edition, and deservedly so. For it says much on a subject of vital importance—the moral quality as the very heart of all true education. Its value is increased by an admirable introduction by Mr William Jolly, himself

¹ By the Rev. William Spiers, M.A. London: Charles H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. 396. Price, 3s. 6d.

² Prophecies, Miracles, and Visions of St Columba (Columcille), first Abbot of Iona, A.D. 563-597. Written by St Adamnan, ninth Abbot, A.D. 679-704. A new Translation. London: Henry Frowde. Cr. 8vo, pp. 140. Price, 1s. net; 2s. cloth.

³ London: H. R. Allenson. Cr. 8vo, pp. 275. Price, 4s.

⁴ London: H. R. Allenson. Cr. 8vo, pp. 281. Price, 5s.

⁵ London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 167.

an enthusiast in the cause of moral education, and a man of ripe experience in educational matters.

We have another volume of the very valuable *Sammlung ausgewählter Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichtlicher Quellschriften*, which is being issued under the editorship of Professor G. Krüger. This is the *fifth* part, and contains a careful edition of *Leontios*¹ by Dr Gelzer.

*The Dominion of Christ*² is the title given to a series of discourses published in connection with the centenary of the London Missionary Society. They deal in a vigorous, unconventional way with the claims of Foreign Missions in the light of "modern religious thought and a century of experience. They discuss such subjects as the various missionary methods and agencies, the prospects of victory, patriotism and Missions, the vocation of the missionary, the place of education in Missions, the relation of the Churches to the work of Foreign Missions, etc.

A volume on *The Following of Christ*³ comes from the Rev. Charles L. Marson, consisting of short passages from modern writers selected with great taste and correct judgment—altogether, in style and contents, a charming book.

*Cantica Canticorum*⁴ is the title given to a translation of eighty-six sermons on the Song of Solomon by St Bernard. The translation is well done. The editorial work is equally careful. The book is very handsome in form. The Introductory Essay gives an excellent picture of the man, the times, and the ways of ecclesiastical life. Mabillon's Preface is also included, and there is a good index.

From Professor Kattenbusch of Giessen we have the first instalment of an elaborate historical examination of the *Apostles' Creed*.⁵ The questions which have recently been raised on the Continent, the views which have been published by scholars of the eminence of Harnack, and the keen controversy which has gone

¹ Leontios von Neapolis, Leben des Heiligen Johannes des barmherzigen Erzbischofs von Alexandrien, herausgegeben, von Heinrich Gelzer. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xlviii. 202.

² By William Pierce, Minister of New Court Chapel, Tollington Park. London: Allenson. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 226.

³ London: Elliot Stock. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. 199. Price, 5s.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. xxxi. 535.

⁵ Das Apostolische Symbol. Seine Entstehung, sein geschichtlicher Sinn, seine ursprüngliche Stellung im Kultus und in der Theologie der Kirche. Ein Beitrag zur Symbolik und Dogmengeschichte. Von D. Ferdinand Kattenbusch, ordentl. Prof. der Theologie in Giessen. Erster Band: Der Grundgestalt des Taufsymbols. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xiv. 410. Price, M.14.

deep into the religious world in Germany, make such an investigation opportune, and it would be difficult to find any man better furnished for an undertaking of this kind than Professor Kattenbusch. His previous studies, as well as his mental habit and theological bent, qualify him in an exceptional way for the task, and he gives himself to it with all the zeal and patience of a specialist. The value of his work will be best estimated when it is completed. But in this first volume he goes into the history of previous enquiries into the origin of the *Apostolicum*, and the questions connected with its form. He notices as fully as is needful the criticism of Laurentius Valla and his successors, and the views propounded by Luther, Erasmus, Calvin, Voss, Lavater, Calixtus, and others in former times. He next reviews the positions advocated in more recent times by scholars like Hahn, Caspari, Harnack, Zahn, and others on the Continent. English students are not forgotten. The contributions made to the subject by Ffoulkes, Heurtley, Swainson, Harvey, Lumby, Hort and others are all taken account of. This record of the work of previous enquirers being completed, Professor Kattenbusch investigates the history of the Western Formularies—Italian, African, Spanish, Gallic, Irish, Norwegian. He then turns to the story of the Eastern Formularies—the Syro-Palestinian Symbols (those of Antioch, Laodicea, Caesarea, Constantinople), and carries it on to the Nestorians, Lucian, Epiphanius and others. Looking at the various provincial forms in the West, he concludes that their origin is to be sought in the Roman Symbol. Further, he shows how weighty the reasons are for regarding the various Oriental forms as dependent forms. He finds their beginnings were probably in Syria and Palestine, but recognises no original type in all the Eastern formularies, and reaches the result that these, no less than the Western forms, are derived from the old Roman Symbol. The book is so full of minute detail that one sometimes feels almost lost in it. But all is obviously done with a care and patience which must make the work the standard authority on the subject.

Dr Paul Carus is well-known for his interest in Buddha and his system. He gathers up the results of his scientific studies, and presents them in a popular and compendious form in a very readable volume, which he calls *The Gospel of Buddha according to Old Records*.¹ He tells once again the story of the sage's life, eliminating those elements of it which he deems unquestionably apocryphal, and retaining only so much of the marvellous or miraculous in it as seems to have some moral significance. He gives also a lucid and attractive representation of the main points of Buddha's teaching as he understands them. He shows, at the same time, the place

¹ London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. 275. Price, 6s.

which they hold in the general history of religion, and the relation in which they stand to the Christian faith. His comparisons between the doctrine of Buddha and that of Christ are so put as to exhibit mostly the points of agreement between the two religions, and to suggest new ways of looking at the great religious problems of modern times. The version which the book gives, both of the life and of the teaching of Buddha, is the author's own version. It is the view of the great Indian sage and his doctrine which Dr Carus thinks is the result of a critical study of the sources, and it is carefully fortified by reference and authority.

Messrs Denny and Lacey, perpetual vicars of Kempley and Madingley, have spent great pains on a defence of the legitimacy of the *English Hierarchy*.¹ They begin their argument naturally with the consecration of Matthew Parker to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. They discuss among other things the consecration of Barlow, the opinions of Henry VIIIth, Cranmer, and Barlow, the priesthood, the practice of the Roman Catholic Church, etc. They give the proof of the consecrations at length, adding a table of the consecration of Laud. There are appendices also on the Rites of Ordinations and other matters. The whole is introduced by a preface by the Bishop of Salisbury. The book will interest those who regard ecclesiastical questions of this kind as of great importance. It is written in good Latin.

Mr Waddy's *Harmony of the Four Gospels*² appears in a second edition, revised and enlarged. It gives the text according to the Revised Version, arranges it chronologically in parallel columns, provides maps, notes, indices, and a very useful table for finding any particular passage. The notes are often of very considerable interest. They give compact and well-considered discussions of many of the most important and difficult topics, such as Luke's order of events, the Genealogies, the Temptation, the duration of our Lord's Ministry, the Lord's Prayer, the Passover, the order of the events following the Resurrection. The Harmony is one of distinct value.

Professor F. L. Steinmeyer, having completed his series of expository studies on our Lord's Parables and Discourses, proceeds with a similar series on the Epistle to the Romans. Two parts have come to hand, one dealing specially with Paul's treatment of the problem of Judaism in chapters ix.-xi., the other with the words of exhortation addressed to the Christian community at Rome in

¹ De Hierarchia Anglicana dissertatio apologetica, auctoribus Edwardo Denny, A.M., et T. A. Lacey, A.M. London: Clay & Son. 8vo, pp. 265. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

² By S. D. Waddy, Q.C. London: Charles H. Kelly. 8vo, pp. xc. 243. Price, 5s.

chapters xii., xiii.¹ In three interesting and pleasantly written chapters these subjects are discussed in the first section—*das Seelenschmerz des Paulus, der Fernblick des Apostels, das Ideal des Propheten*. In the second section we have an analysis of the practical address with which the statement of the relation of Israel to the Gentile world and to God's purpose in the administration of His grace is followed up. Its motive, its tenor, and the various points of Christian duty, in their several bearings on the Church, the State, and the individual, are carefully explained. What is said of Paul's attitude to the law and of the argument in the 11th chapter deserves special consideration.

The *Expositor*² and the *Expository Times*³ continue their useful course with undiminished vigour. The former has completed the first volume of its fifth series. The articles are well distributed between Biblical and doctrinal subjects. They include papers, some of them of great importance, on Old Testament questions by Professors Driver, Cheyne, Karl Budde, A. B. Davidson, G. A. Smith and others. Due attention is given at the same time to New Testament subjects, which are represented by Professor Ramsay, Dr Dods, the Rev. John Watson and others. There are also some valuable doctrinal discussions, embracing papers by Dr Fairbairn on the *Person of Christ*, and others. The latter magazine has completed its sixth volume. Its contents are of as great variety and interest as before. There is a long list of contributors, many of them men of eminence in their several departments. Among the more notable articles, we may refer specially to the series on the Theology of the Epistle to the Romans, by the Rev. A. C. Headlam, and the continuation of Professor A. B. Davidson's papers on the Theology of Isaiah. There are many other contributions which might be named as scholarly and instructive. The editor's paragraphs and his notes on books are as pointed and seasonable as ever.

*Runic Rocks*⁴ is the title given to a fascinating story by the well-known German novelist, Wilhelm Jensen. Its object is to discuss and illustrate the true view of the use and end of life. The scene is laid in a Frisian island, the pastor of which represents the idea of life which makes it simply a preparation for eternity. The pastor's wife is the representative of the theory of life which sees in

¹ Studien über den Brief des Paulus an die Römer. I. Paulus und das Judenthum, Römer, bis 11. 8vo, pp. 107. Price, M. 1.80. II. Die Paraklese des Paulus an die Christenheit zu Rom. 8vo, pp. 123. Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate.

² London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo. pp. 476. Price, 7s. 6d.

³ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. viii. 568. Price, 7s. 6d.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 269. Price, 6s.

it only emptiness and disappointment ; and a noble woman of the name of Walmot stands for the theory of life which makes its shortness the reason for filling it with as much good and gladness as possible. There are some good studies, and much effective writing, in the book. The translation, which reads well, is by Marianne E. Suckling. There is a Preface, too, by Professor Fiedeler.

Dr Franz Hettinger, Professor of Theology in the University of Würzburg, enjoys a good reputation as a Christian Apologist in his own Church and beyond it. The section on *Revealed Religion*,¹ which is one of the best parts of his *Apologie des Christenthums*, is now published separately in English, and is edited, with an introduction on the *Assent of Faith*, by Henry Sebastian Bowden, of the Oratory. It will repay perusal.

The Rector of Barkham, Berks, works out a novel idea in a very pleasing way in his *Books Fatal to their Authors*.² It is a dainty and entertaining volume, the last chapter, which treats of some *Literary Martyrs*, being of special interest.

That Mr Tipple's *Sunday Mornings at Norwood*³ should have reached a second edition is only what should have been expected. It would have been a strange thing had this token of public appreciation not been given them. The *Ascension* as it appears in the great passage in the fourth chapter of Ephesians, the "*Election of God*," as Paul speaks of it in the ninth chapter of Romans, *Unceasing Prayer*, the *Rejoicing of Charity*, *Joshua's Vision*, are among the subjects of these discourses, which everywhere have the stamp of a fine, devout, and original mind.

*A Creedless Gospel and the Gospel Creed*⁴ is a book addressed to "believers and communicants of the Church," and intended to awaken in them "a sense of their responsibility as witnesses for God." It falls into three divisions. The first is occupied in part with a statement of some of the effects of a Creedless Gospel, but mainly with the Apologetics of Christianity, the basis sought for it in Natural Religion, the scientific basis, the philosophical, the ethical, the social. The nature and the limitations of these various bases are explained, and the author then proceeds in the second section to give the positive Gospel Creed stating the cardinal truths of the Incarnation, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Holy Spirit, the Church, the Judgment, in their relations to

¹ London : Burns & Oates. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiii. 208. Price, 5s.

² By P. H. Ditchfield, M.A., F.S.A. London : Elliot Stock. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 244.

³ Prayers and Sermons by the Rev. S. A. Tipple. London : Allenson. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 393. Price, 6s.

⁴ By Henry Y. Satterlee, D.D., Rector of Calvary Church, New York. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 8vo., pp. xiii. 522.

evidence, to the doctrine of the Church, &c. The third part deals with the practical questions of the courage, the knowledge, and the joy of the Christian. There are also Appendices on the Apostles' Creed, and on Bishop Westcott's "Social Aspects of Christianity." The book deals with these apologetic, doctrinal, and practical questions in a free, popular, sympathetic way, which should make it useful and attractive to those to whom it is specially addressed.

Among the various Commentaries which have recently been given to the public, Strack & Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Kommentar* is by no means the least useful. There are others which are stronger in certain things. But it has qualities of its own which give it a distinct and honourable place. It is good from the scholar's point of view. Often it has also the special value of insight into the spiritual meaning of Scripture, and sympathy with its spiritual message. We are glad to see it reaching its second edition. The second, third, and fourth sections of the New Testament division are now before us in their second and thoroughly revised issue.¹ These include the Gospel of John by Luthardt, and Acts by Zöckler; the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans by Zöckler, Schnedermann, and Luthardt; the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians, and the Catholic Epistles by Wohlenberg, Bürger, and Luthardt. The literary and historical questions connected with the writings are examined at sufficient length for the purposes of the series, the general attitude to questions of criticism being that of a moderate and reasonable conservatism. A brief account is given of the literature of the exegesis. The plan of the Commentary proper is to give the text in German, footnotes dealing with all matters of reading and interpretation belonging to the Greek text, and an analysis of the run of thought paragraph by paragraph. The exegesis is generally sound and good, avoiding all that is bold or sensational. Luthardt's work is of the best quality. His merits as an expounder of the Johannine writings are not to be overlooked.

The sixth and seventh volume of Reuss's *Das alte Testament*² are

¹ München: Beck. Zweite Abtheilung. Evangelium Johannis, von Luthardt und Apostelgeschichte, von Zöckler. Lex. 8vo, pp. xi. 323. Price, M.5.

Dritte Abtheilung. Briefe Pauli an die Thessalonicher und Galater, von Zöckler; Korintherbriefe, von Schnedermann, und Römerbrief, von Luthardt. Lex. 8vo, pp. xiv. 542. Price, M.8.

Vierte Abtheilung. Briefe an die Epheser, Kolosser, Philemon, und Philipper, von Wohlenberg; Briefe des Jakobus, Petrus, und Judas, von Bürger; Briefe Johannis von Luthardt. Lex. 8vo, pp. xi. 280. Price, M.5.

² Das alte Testament übersetzt, eingeleitet, und erläutert von D. Edouard Reuss; herausgegeben aus dem Nachlasse des Verfassers von Lic. Erichson, Direktor des Theologischen Studienstifts, und Pfarrer Lic. Dr Horst in Strass-

now in the hands of the public, and the work is thereby completed. The editors, Licentiate Erichson and Dr Horst, have done their part well, and deserve the cordial thanks of all admirers of the Strassburg veteran, whose loss is so widely deplored. The sixth volume gives Reuss's rendering and exposition of Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, and the general view which he took of the religious and ethical philosophy of the Hebrews, as seen in the Wisdom of Jesus, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the non-canonical writings belonging to the last period of pre-Christian Judaism. The closing volume is occupied with the political and polemical literature of the Hebrews, to which classes he assigns the Books of Ruth, Daniel, and Esther, together with I., II. and III. Maccabees, Judith, Bel and the Dragon, and the Epistle of Jeremiah. A very useful *Register* is added. The series of seven volumes gives us a conspectus of Reuss's interpretation of the whole range of Hebrew literature, from the earliest period down to Christian times, which we should be sorry to miss. They show in how many things his criticism was before his time, and in how many cases suggestions thrown out by him have been taken up and carried out to constructive results by others. Much is to be gained by his translations as well as by his investigation of sources, and his exegetical notes. The most interesting parts probably of these last volumes are those dealing with the non-canonical writings, particularly the two books of *Wisdom* and the three books of *Maccabees*. In the minor articles, Tobias, Susannah, Baruch, The Prayer of Manasseh, and others, much is said that demands consideration, as regards their ideas and their relations to later Christian thought, as well as their origin and authorship. The growth of the Messianic Hope, the place given it or denied it in these books, and the results which they yield to the student of Jewish theology, are subjects on which it is always profitable to know the mind of a scholar like Reuss, and the introductions to these writings deal with these questions briefly, but instructively.

The two *Epistles to the Thessalonians* make the tenth section of the revised issue of Meyer's *Kritischexegetischer Kommentar*.¹ Lünemann's work is practically superseded in this new edition. So complete is the revision and so different the method. In his exegesis, his criticism, and the whole way of handling the Epistles, Herr Bornemann is entirely independent of his predecessor. The

burg. Braunschweig: Schwetschke und Sohn; Edinburgh and London: Williams and Norgate. 8vo. Sechster Band: Religions- und Moral Philosophie der Hebräer. Pp. 437. Price, M.7.15. Siebenter Band: Die politische und polemische Litteratur der Hebräer. Pp. 279 and 24. Price, M.5.20.

¹ Die Thessalonicherbriefe. Völlig neu bearbeitet von Lic. theol. W. Bornemann. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 708. Price, M.9.

work is not only brought up to date with even more than German thoroughness, but is laid out on a vastly larger scale. It includes much that Lünemann omitted. The result is a volume of something like three times the size of the original work. It will not be felt, however, to be too bulky, if we have regard to the variety and interest of the additional matter. Great pains are spent, for example, on the record of the literature of the Epistles, and especially on the history of the exegesis. This is given with remarkable fulness and with most commendable care. It is instructive in a high degree, and shows an acquaintance with the works of English writers, which is not only extensive, but surprisingly exact. This is too rare an equipment of the German scholar. Another departure from Lünemann's method, and one of very considerable importance, is the introduction of a general review of the contents of each Epistle after the special exegesis is completed. Herr Bornemann's plan is to begin with the necessary introductory statements on the city and Church of Thessalonica, the historical presuppositions of the Epistle, and the more obvious scope of the writing. Then follows the exegesis, which leaves nothing unnoticed, whether in grammar or in idea, that is of real importance. The results of the detailed interpretation are here gathered up, and the purpose and tenor of the Epistle stated anew in the light of these results. This is done in a very informing way. It also has the advantage of leaving all questions of criticism to the end, to be dealt with under the force of the impression made by the whole previous study. These questions are examined with eminent ability and moderation. Nothing could be fairer or more searching than the criticism of the various forms of attack upon the Second Epistle. The defence of the genuineness of the Epistle deserves special attention, above all, in the argument drawn from the positive character and contents of the letter. In most cases, we prefer the original Meyer to the elaborate revision by other hands. In this case the later work is to be preferred to the earlier.

The very useful series of compendious theological manuals, known as the *Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften*,¹ proceeds apace. The ninth section is devoted to a *History of the Christian literature of the first three Centuries*. It is by Professor Krüger of Giessen, a very competent hand. The older histories, excellent as some of them were, have become out of date in a large part of their contents. So numerous are the additions which have been made to the matter of the history, and so new the light in which many questions have been placed. In this comparatively small volume

¹ Geschichte der althristlichen Litteratur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xxxii. 255. Price, M.4.80.

the results of the literary discoveries which have been made in recent years are gathered up and given in a very clear and useful form. The most important of the many speculations which have been thrown out in connection with these discoveries are also noticed. The book at the same time is more than a mere digest of what has been written by others. It is the work of a scholar who, by independent study, has acquired a first hand acquaintance with much of the field, and is able to give a critical account of the main points. In method and in his general idea of the historian's task, Professor Krüger is most in sympathy with Nitzsch and Overbeck. He limits himself, as far as the case permits, to the strictly literary aspects of his subject, leaving questions of a doctrinal or ecclesiastical interest to the theologian. He also aims at such an arrangement of the matter as will give, as nearly as possible, an organic construction of the case. He does not regard it as belonging to the scope of such a history to give any account of the Jewish and heathen writings of the period in their relations to the Christian. He refers briefly to the New Testament books, and this is the least satisfactory part of the book. It contains too much of the short and easy way of disposing of serious questions. The whole seven Catholic Epistles, for example, are dismissed in a few lines as probably unauthentic. The history is dealt with in three main divisions—the Primitive Christian Literature, the Gnostic Literature, and the Ecclesiastical. Each has its sub-divisions, the first dealing in separate chapters with the Epistles, the Apocalypses, the Historical books and the Didactic writings. The closing sections are given to the legendary literature (the Abgar-legend, the Acts of Peter, Paul, and Thecla, and the Clementines) and the *Martyria*. Within the limits proposed to him Professor Krüger has produced a book which will be of great advantage to students. Its usefulness is increased by the addition of an excellent Chronological Table, showing how the various writings are distributed over different countries and periods.

There is perhaps no part of the New Testament that so greatly needs fresh study as the Book of Acts. There is none on which we have fewer commentaries of the first-class; none to which men have been more tardy in applying the accumulating results of historical investigation. An exposition from a scholar of the reputation of Professor Blass of Halle,¹ therefore, is all the more welcome. It is a very material addition to the exegesis of Acts, the work of a

¹ Acta Apostolorum sive Lucae ad Theophilum liber alter. Editio philologica, apparatu critico, commentario perpetuo, indice verborum illustrata, auctore Frederico Blass. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. x. 334. Price, M.14.

student who is peculiarly strong in his own special department. That department, however, is a somewhat limited, though very definite and important one—that of philology. . . . The Commentary is professedly a philological Commentary, and it does not attempt to overstep its province. There is much, therefore, that we miss in it. It adds little or nothing to the historical study of the book. It touches only slightly in the Prolegomena on some of the broader questions. It has something to say on the miraculous element in the narrative, but mainly with the view of showing how far the genuineness and veracity of the work remain unaffected by the view taken of that element. The questions of authorship, date, and place, are also dealt with rather briefly. The paragraphs given to these, however, are of great interest, especially as regards the value which Professor Blass attaches to the traditional account of the writer, and the testimony which he bears to the general credibility of the narrative, and the remarkable accuracy of its references to persons, places, and institutions.

The importance of this new contribution to the interpretation of Acts lies, however, chiefly in two things, philology and textual criticism. The notes are almost entirely philological, but they are of great value in that line of study. On almost every page we have some useful observation on the vocabulary of the book. There is an immense wealth of grammatical and lexical science expended on the illustration of word and phrase in the exegesis proper. In addition to this, the Prolegomena furnish two very instructive studies, one on the composition of the book, and another on the language of the New Testament generally and the diction of Luke in particular. These are of great value. The use of *θέλω* and *βούλομαι*, *ἵνα* and *ὅπως*, *ὁρῶ*, *βλέπω*, and *θεάομαι*, and other verbs and particles, is clearly defined and admirably illustrated.

A more mixed judgment must be pronounced on the treatment of the text. Professor Blass, dropping the titles Occidental and Oriental and the terminology adopted by Westcott and Hort, designates the two great classes of documentary authorities simply as *α* and *β*. The former includes the great Uncials, *Σ B A C* and their *confrères*; the latter the witnesses of which *D* is the best type. Dr Blass's object is to exhibit the distinct text represented by the latter, and to bring out its importance. His book may be said to be an exposition of this text of Acts. His argument is full of interest, and undoubtedly he calls attention to some facts which are apt to be overlooked. On the other hand, he seems to fail entirely in establishing the claims which he makes on behalf of this secondary text. He has to admit the difficulty of disentangling it, which arises from the fact that it is mixed up with the other, even in the purest documents. He makes considerable use of a third or intermediate text, represented by such

manuscripts as E, 137, &c. This is skilfully done, yet not quite convincingly. He has further to admit that even his best authorities are depraved or mutilated to an unfortunate extent, and that the consentient testimony of the witnesses included under *a* can scarcely be gainsaid. And at last he has to fall back upon the expedient of conjectural emendation. The conclusion to which he comes is thus expressed—"Erunt sic quoque antiqui nostra fide digniores, quam recentes, suntque sequendi, nisi ratio cujusque loci aliud jusserit. *Eam autem rationem potiore omni auctoritate codicum habeo.*" The place which he would give to conjectural emendation is vastly miscalculated. It may suit the kind of criticism with which classical scholars amuse themselves. It is not applicable to the New Testament.

Among smaller publications we notice a clear and interesting pamphlet by Dr Julius Friedländer on *Spinoza*¹ and his service to Ethics; a second edition of an instructive discussion of the question of *Personality*; ² an acute little treatise on the *Ethics of Gambling*,³ in the main a reprint from the "Contemporary Review," discussing the theory, economic nature, and moral quality and effects of the practice; a tasteful help to devotion, *Week by Week*,⁴ in which the Epistle or Gospel for each Sunday in the year is accompanied by some suitable verses; a seventh edition of the Rev. George H. Giddins's useful compilation, *The Christian Travellers' Continental Handbook*.⁵ excellent, cheap, and handy additions to Teubner's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum*; ⁶ a second edition of an Essay, full of good matter, by Professor Theodor Zahn, on *Epictetus*; ⁷ and pamphlets issuing from the Universalist Publishing House, on *The Balance-Sheet of Criticism*⁸ and the *New Testament Narratives of the Resurrection*.⁹

¹ Spinoza, ein Meister der Ethik. Berlin: Dreher. 8vo, pp. 30.

² Die Macht des Persönlichen im Leben. Berlin: Wiegandt u. Grieben. Small 8vo, pp. 63.

³ By W. Douglas Mackenzie, M.A. London: The Sunday School Union. Small 8vo, pp. 90. Price, 1s.

⁴ By Fraser Cornish. London: Macmillan. Small 8vo, pp. 111. Price, 3s. 6d.

⁵ London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 162.

⁶ Anthologiae Latinae Supplementa. Vol. I. Damasi Epigrammata, &c. Edidit Maximilianus Ihm. Cr. 8vo, pp. lii. 145. Price, M.2.40. Alexandri Lycopolitani contra Manichaeos Disputatio, edidit Augustus Brinkmann. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxi. 50. Price, M.1.

⁷ Der Stoiker Epiktet und sein Verhältniss zum Christenthum. Erlangen u. Leipzig: Deichert. Cr. 8vo, pp. 47. Price, M.0.75.

⁸ By I. M. Attwood, Boston. Cr. 8vo, pp. 32.

⁹ By George M. Harmon, Boston. Cr. 8vo, pp. 26.

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The Critical review of theological & philosophical literature

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THE
CRITICAL REVIEW
OF
THEOLOGICAL & PHILOSOPHICAL
LITERATURE

EDITED BY
PROFESSOR S. D. F. SALMOND, D.D.

VOL. VI.

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.
1896.

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PRINTED BY TURNBULL AND SPEARS

FOR

T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH,

LONDON, . . . SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT AND CO., LTD.

NEW YORK, . . . CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

TORONTO, . . . WILLARD TRACT DEPOSITORY.

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A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges.

By George F. Moore, D.D., Professor of Hebrew in Andover Theological Seminary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. 476. Price, 12s.

THE need of a good commentary upon the Book of Judges has long been felt. The book presents peculiar difficulties; at the same time it is one of quite peculiar value in the history of the literature of Israel. For homiletical purposes it has naturally never been a favourite; and as a consequence it has been neglected by commentators, both Patristic, Mediæval, and Modern. The rise of historical criticism in our own day has quite altered the aspect of Biblical Hermeneutics. For some considerable time it has been recognised that the Book of Judges demanded a far more thorough and systematic investigation than it had hitherto received. The little commentary by Black in *The Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools*, quite admirable in its way, showed how much might reasonably be expected from a larger work.

It is doubtless an advantage that the book stands outside the Hexateuch. It is possible to view the problems of structure, historical character, and religious institutions which the Book of Judges suggests, with a far greater degree of calmness than when the same questions are discussed in connection with the books of Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. This may be a humiliating confession to have to make; but it indicates one of the grounds for satisfaction at the timely appearance of the present volume.

After Canon Driver's *Deuteronomy*, many of us have wondered what the next volume in Messrs T. & T. Clark's *International Critical Commentary* would be. Could the standard of excellence in the Old Testament work be maintained by the scholars who were to follow him? This was a question which was somewhat anxiously put on many sides. Professor Moore was not well known in England. Not many people study the *American Journal of Biblical Literature*. Very few among us, it is to be feared, take much interest in the progress of theological studies in other countries. We are ignorant of our neighbours' best men. But all anxieties are dispelled by the present volume. The selection of Professor Moore was evidently a most judicious one. The amount of real work and wide reading which has been packed into this commentary, without overloading it, is most-admirable. The "bibliographical" references appear to be as complete as it was possible to make them. The discussion of words, of grammar and idiom, though necessarily brief, shows a thorough grasp of the Hebrew language and a sound

scholarship. I think it may safely be averred that so full and scientific a commentary upon the text and subject matter of the Book of Judges has never been produced in the English language.

So careful and scholarly a work could not ignore the difficulties presented by the literary structure of the book. And here Professor Moore shows himself to be completely in accord with the best and most sober lines of modern criticism. He acknowledges his indebtedness, as surely all Hebrew scholars must, to Professor Budde's brilliant investigations. But Professor Moore is quite able to take an independent line. He has no fondness for novelty and ingenuity as such. He handles critical questions with great sobriety. Students in England and Scotland will welcome another name added to the list of men who have no love of change for change's sake, but who are quite resolved to admit such changes of view as the evidence of the best scholarship seems to demand.

Professor Moore faces the difficulties which are presented by the text of Judges with candour and courage. He does not hesitate to contrast Judges i. 1—ii. 6 with the narrative in Joshua; and to state the reasons which compel him to regard the opening section of Judges as a fragment from an ancient historical source of superior worth. The bulk of the book (ch. ii. 6—xvi. 31) was composed, in Professor Moore's opinion, by one of the Deuteronomic school of writers *upon the basis of a pre-Deuteronomic Book of Judges*. This theory seems most satisfactorily to meet the requirements of the case; since the peculiarities of the Deuteronomic style appear conspicuously in the opening section (ch. ii. 6—iii. 6) and at the beginning of the histories of the several judges, while the narratives themselves, with the exception of that of Othniel (iii. 7-11), show few signs of the distinctive Deuteronomic characteristics.

It is a matter of great interest and importance that Professor Moore, while ascribing the *composition* of this pre-Deuteronomic Book of Judges to the seventh century, has no doubt that it was itself derived from different sources. This explanation alone can account for the contradictions and minor irregularities which appear in the narratives, *e.g.* of Gideon and of Deborah and Barak. These histories, it is now recognised by nearly all scholars, must have been current among the Israelites in versions slightly differing from one another. Their points of difference can still be traced, even after their combination, beneath the surface of an apparent homogeneity. Upon the question, whether or no these slightly divergent original sources of the pre-Deuteronomic Book of Judges are to be identified with the J and E of the Hexateuch, Professor Moore wisely declines to give any very decisive opinion. He evidently inclines himself to this view, which Budde has warmly advocated. Obviously it is a question requiring the

utmost nicety of judgment and the most patient balancing of minute detail. Professor Moore believes that the original (JE) historical work continued at least as far as the beginnings of the Israelite monarchy. But he adds the opportune warning that "J and E represent, not individual authors, but a succession of writers, the historiography of a certain period and school" (p. xxvi.).

In the concluding portion of the book Professor Moore has to deal with a section of notorious difficulty. And his treatment of it is a good instance of his courage and of his wisdom. He considers that chaps. xvii.-xviii. present the recension of a narrative, which in its primary version must have belonged to the most ancient material preserved in the book. The story of the outrage at Gibeah and the tribal war of exterminating vengeance against Benjamin he does not reject, as some critics have done, as devoid of all historical value and as a mere fiction concocted in hostility to the family of Saul. He accepts the antiquity of the narrative, more particularly of that portion of it which is preserved in chap. xx.; but he considers that the evidence both of the general character of the story and of its distinctive expressions gives conclusive proof that our Hebrew version is a late expansion—possibly composed at so late a date as the fourth century—of the original narrative.

Any criticism adverse to the strictly historical character of the narrative of Judges must inevitably give offence. But it is better to give offence than to keep back anything that seems to be demanded by the sober search for truth. Professor Moore, in dealing with the Samson narratives, finds himself quite unable to regard them as serious history. On the other hand, he is equally unprepared to treat them, as some have done, as a sun myth (pp. 315, 365). He accepts them as popular tales based on some original foundation of fact in connection with early border warfare. Again, while he says "the historical character of chs. xx., xxi. 1-14 will scarcely be seriously maintained; in the whole description of the war there is hardly a semblance of reality" (p. 405), he quite firmly maintains the historical nucleus of the narrative; and upholds, against Wellhausen, the view which most of us probably share, that Hos. x. 9 contains an allusion to the events recorded in Judges xix., xx.

The general method followed in this commentary is orderly and simple. The book is divided into sections. A discussion, with an analysis, of a whole section precedes the commentary; the commentary of a section moves on by paragraphs, which are taken in succession. The commentary on each paragraph has appended to it, in smaller print, a discussion of special difficulties, peculiar words, variant explanations, and the like, enriched with references to the bibliography of each subject.

The reader will not fail to be struck with the extensive use made of recent geographical and archaeological research. Once more a scholarly book by one who fully accepts the critical position, exposes the utter want of foundation for the charge that has recently been repeated from mouth to mouth, that the critics have taken no notice of archaeological research. I confess I turned with some curiosity to Judges v. 14 to see what Professor Moore had to say to Professor Sayce's recent *dictum*: "We have no grounds for explaining away the explicit statement of the Song of Deborah and Barak, that 'out of Zebulun (came) they that handle the pen of the writer.' On the contrary, the testimony of Oriental archaeology is in thorough harmony with the literal interpretation of the verse" (*Lex Mosaica*, p. 15). It is perhaps unfortunate that Professor Moore, who gives what is without question the right translation, "And from Zebulun those who carry the muster master's staff," has here confined himself to explaining the literal interpretation, and has ignored Professor Sayce's extraordinary preference for the A.V. rendering, and the yet stranger inferences that have been based upon it. Professor Moore, however, does enter a protest against the reckless way in which "the monuments" have been pressed, by a whole series of baseless suppositions, into service against "the critics" in connection with the story of Othniel (p. 85). Whether we agree with Professor Moore that that story is unhistorical, or with Kittel that it is a recollection of the wars between Rameses III. and Tiglath Pileser, it is important to be reminded that the evidence of monuments needs to be tested with the same scrupulous care as the evidence of literary criticism; and that avowedly apologetic aims are no excuse for baseless generalisations.

It would be unfair to the Commentary before me to make extracts of passages in order to give examples of Professor Moore's style and work as a commentator. I have endeavoured to form my impression of the book, not merely from reference to individual passages of known difficulty, but from a careful continuous perusal of large portions. His treatment of chapters v. and ix., perhaps the most important passages in the whole Book of Judges, appear to me to illustrate, just where it is most needed, the qualifications of careful annotation and lucid discussion.

I ought to call attention to one important feature in his treatment of the text. Professor Moore has made a most useful and altogether praiseworthy endeavour to furnish a sympathetic treatment of the Greek versions of this book. He has struck out an admirable line in the direction of grouping the various authorities which have preserved to us the different types of Greek renderings. This process must have added immensely to the labour expended

upon the text ; but it has added proportionately to its value and interest. According to Professor Moore, the text of "A and its congeners" may justly lay claim to the designation of "the Septuagint," if that term is to be regarded as equivalent to "the oldest Greek version." So far as "Judges" is concerned, he believes the text of "B and its congeners" to represent a translation made in the fourth century. Speaking of the LXX, it is impossible not to sympathize with Professor Moore when he makes use of the following terms, that will perhaps startle some who are unacquainted with the bewildering misuse of the title: "It seems to me desirable, however, in the interests of clearness, that the name [Septuagint] with all its misleading associations should be banished from critical use."

Space will not allow me to linger upon this interesting aspect of Professor Moore's Commentary. But I have just one regret to express about the book ; and that is, that the Introduction should not have included two additional sections, dealing the one with "the History," the other with "the Religious Thought" of the book. In the case of both subjects there is clearly an opening for separate treatment. The details are, I know, carefully discussed as they come up for notice in the course of the Commentary. But a summary of results would have been most welcome and helpful. It would also have mitigated the appearance of repellent severity which is suggested by an Introduction containing disquisitions only upon "Structure," "Chronology," and "Text."

The omission of the religious element appears to me to constitute the only serious defect in the book. I call attention to it, because, in these days, when the interests in mere literary criticism are apt to assume an absorbing character, it is really essential that the student should, in every way, have it impressed upon him that criticism is only a means to an end, and that the end which every Old Testament student has in view, is the deeper understanding of each narrative as a portion of the life of the Israelite people, and as a picture of that Divine training through which the people passed, and of which the records are profitable still for our spiritual learning and guidance. A Commentary omits its most important function if it neglects the religious teaching of a book. The best Commentator will indicate the spiritual lessons to be drawn from the national history and from the records of the guidance that was given to the people and to its teachers by the Divine Spirit. This is not incompatible with the scientific treatment of history and text. It is to be deplored if the opportunity is lost, or if the attempt is abandoned as impracticable.

The book, in other respects, is an excellent example of the new style of Commentary. No scholarly student of the Old Testament

should be without it. Professor Moore deserves our best thanks and congratulations upon the completion of a work that has entailed upon him vast toil, and has conferred upon us a real boon. I trust that the auspicious alliance of British and American scholars in Biblical studies may result in giving us other works from the same pen.

HERBERT E. RYLE.

A Study of the Five Zoroastrian Gáthás, with Texts and Translations, the Pahlavi, Sanskrit and Persian Commentaries, etc.

By Lawrence H. Mills, D.D. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus (or of the Author, Oxford). Pp. xxx. 622. Price, £1, 10s.

Le Zend-Avesta.

Traduction nouvelle avec commentaire historique et philologique, par James Darmesteter. Paris: E. Leroux (Annales du Musée Guimet. Tomes xxii.-xxiv.). Price, £2, 11s.

THE books which give a title to this paper have a feature in common which calls for mention before we proceed to consider their subject. They are works of colossal labour, and they appeal directly to an exceedingly small circle; they are very bulky volumes and costly in printing, Dr Mills's book especially so; and we could hardly have hoped to see either of them but for the generous help which the English and French Governments respectively have bestowed upon the undertakings. There are few literary objects more entirely deserving of state help than such as these, which represent the unremunerative toil of many years, cheerfully undergone in order that others may reap the fruits, bringing out of the treasure-house of the original researcher new lore which may largely influence the religious controversies of the day.

Dr Mills's book throws open the workshop in which he produced his translation of the oldest Zoroastrian Scriptures in the *Sacred Books of the East* (vol. xxxi.) eight years ago. The *Gáthás*, or Hymns, of Zoroaster (*Zarathushtra*) are by far the most precious relic we possess of oriental religion, the only sacred literature which in dignity, in profoundness, in purity of thought and absolute freedom from unworthy conceptions of the Divine, could ever for a moment be compared with the Hebrew Scriptures. By their side the myrio-theistic puerilities of the Veda, or the equally childish ritualism of the later Parsee scriptures supply a striking foil to what is manifestly the work of a deep and earnest thinker, a prophet with the soul of a martyr. Unhappily the proper understanding of the

Hymns is beset with unparalleled difficulties. Problems of age and authorship surround us, compared with which the varying judgments of Old Testament critics seem like unanimity. Problems of interpretation arise to an unlimited extent in the field of these obscure, fragmentary, corrupted texts, and rival schools of Comparative Philologists and Traditionalists have not yet altogether composed their differences. Dr Mills attempts to give us the tools wherewith we may approximate to the meaning of the texts as they stand. He prints with the Avesta text the old Pahlavi Commentary, deciphered and translated, besides the Persian and the exceedingly difficult Sanskrit of Neryosangh. Pahlavi is a language of extraordinary difficulty, which very few scholars indeed can decipher, much less translate; and the student of the Gâthâs who comes to his sufficiently thorny task armed with nothing but Zend and its Indo-Germanic congeners, owes a great debt to Dr Mills for thus supplying him with the interpretations of the old Rabbins of Zoroastrianism. Dr Mills's own reputation, supported by the hearty approval of such scholars as Justi and Darmesteter, will sufficiently vouch for the character of this part of his work, in which I am unable to follow him. But indeed a technical examination of his *apparatus criticus* to the Gâthâs would be entirely out of place in this Review. My object is rather to show the great importance of the subject to students of theology, and to encourage them to examine for themselves the material with which Dr Mills has provided them. For more popular purposes the translation in the *S.B.E.* will probably serve; but for real investigation the companion volume is necessary, giving as it does a clear idea of the multitudinous difficulties and ambiguities of detail found in these ancient texts, as well as Dr Mills's own comments *in extenso*. There is of course a great deal of matter in various unknown tongues, but it will not at all embarrass the scholar who comes to the book to learn the characteristics of Gâthic Zoroastrianism.

Professor Cheyne has from time to time accustomed students of O.T. theology to the doctrine that the beliefs in a resurrection and in angels and demons were learned by the Jews from the Persians. Dr Mills firmly holds this view, even believing that the Pharisees were originally the *Parsî* party and thence got their name. It is a pity that he has not space to elaborate his views on this subject.¹ The reader who turns from Dr Mills to the work of the great French scholar will probably come away with the conviction that certainty is unattainable in Zend learning. Professor James Darmesteter—whose name we cannot mention without a sigh for the early death of an Oriental scholar of genius almost unsurpassed in the annals of

¹ Dr Mills has summarised his argument in the *Nineteenth Century* for Jan. 1894.

France—seeks in the last volume of his monumental translation of the Avesta to prove that the Gâthâs were built largely upon Philo, and date from the first century of our era. The immense weight of his authority will no doubt be a welcome relief to many who would rather think of other religions as borrowing from Israel than *vice versa*. But in the world of experts Darmesteter finds not a single backer, and his brilliantly reasoned paradox would probably have been abandoned by its author had fate allotted him the additional generation of life which we might have hoped for him. As, however, Dr Mills, with the best German scholars, fixes the Gâthâs well back in the second millennium B.C., and almost every age between this and Darmesteter's date has been favoured by scholars of repute, it is sufficiently clear that the problem of Zoroastrian influence in the history of Judaism cannot be solved till Avestan scholars have come to something like agreement.

This is not the place to discuss the question which lies at the root of all use of the Avesta to interpret Judaism. But as Darmesteter's theory puts the whole Avestan theology—with a significant exception to be noticed later—outside the development of Judaism, which is to be parent rather than brother or child, I may be doing some service to Biblical students if I dwell a while on the parts of the question which interest them. It will be enough to say that Darmesteter builds upon the unquestionable connection between the six "Amshaspands" or archangels of Zoroastrianism and the Greek counterparts in Philo. Taking Philo to be the originator and not the borrower, Darmesteter assigns the whole growth of the Avestan religion as we have it to a great Iranian revival under the Arsacide and still more the Sassanian kings. Some older elements he acknowledges, and among them the doctrine of the resurrection, so that Professor Cheyne's theories are not hopelessly upset even by Darmesteter's date for the Avesta. There are a great many considerations to which the brilliant theorist has given scant attention, but it will suffice to mention one. The Gâthâs are written in an exceedingly archaic dialect, in most respects as archaic as that of the Rigveda itself. The earliest parts of the latter have recently been assigned on astronomical grounds to the twenty-eighth century B.C. Whether this stand or no, there are few scholars indeed who would consent to take off more than ten centuries from the long tale. Now, even granted that Darmesteter may be right in supposing that Gâthic was a dead language to those who used it, the long survival in Asia of so extraordinarily primitive a dialect is hard enough to believe. And when we find a much later type of dialect, the ordinary Zend, used for the rest of the Avesta, we naturally ask what conceivable cause could have produced this almost contemporary composition in *two* languages which must have

been long dead. Moreover, in putting the Gâthâs and the later Avesta so near each other he rides roughshod over difficulties which every other student has felt insurmountable. There is hardly a trace of myth in the Gâthâs, hardly a trace of sober narrative in the later Avesta. The prophet of the Gâthâs is purely human, preaching, suffering, persecuted, without a trait in character or history which is not perfectly historical, if internal evidence can ever decide. What *can* a mythical theory do with a man whose name, on Darmesteter's own interpretation, means "having yellow camels?" The childish marvels connected with the Prophet in the later Parsee Scriptures show by themselves that the Gâthâs speak of a real man, or at the least contain a far older story.

Perhaps I may sketch at this point the theory of Iranian religious history which more and more commends itself to me. For a detailed argument I may refer to two papers in the *Thinker*, vol. ii. p. 308 and p. 490. The new facts adduced in the three years since I wrote seem to me perfectly adapted to a place in the theory. I conceive Zarathushtra to be a historical reformer who appeared in Bactria before 1000 B.C. The Iranians to whom he came professed a religion essentially identical with that we find described by the inscriptions and Herodotus as prevailing among the Persians of the days of Darius. There was one supreme deity—"Ahura Mazda," "Wise Lord"—but a number of nature-powers received worship, though as markedly inferior to him. Evil spirits were acknowledged, with "Drauga"—"Falsehood"—at their head. Zarathushtra came as a reformer, but not a revolutionist. Ignoring the subordinate deities, and striving to inculcate monotheism by insisting on the infinite greatness and holiness of Ahura Mazda, he explained the problem of evil by the conception of an Evil Power, Angra Mainyu ("hurtful spirit"), who chose evil in the beginning and made all things evil. The duty of man was to wage unceasing warfare against the evil power, which at the last would be finally conquered, and shut up for ever in Hell with all who took his part, when the faithful should be translated to endless bliss in Ahura Mazda's "House of Song." The Gâthâs represent for us this profound religious philosophy, one which bears the impress of a single mind of extraordinary genius and earnestness. They show that the Prophet had only limited success in his own lifetime, and that he was persecuted with the utmost fierceness. After his death the old Iranian nature-worship returned, but Zarathushtra was made into its high-priest. Meanwhile the new doctrine began to filter into Media, where Iranians (*Ἀριζαυτοί* in Herodotus, = *Ariya-zantava* in old Persian—i.e., "men of Aryan race") lived in the midst of a predominantly non-Aryan population. A sacred tribe, the *Mayoí* (Herod. i. 101), after the abortive attempt of the pseudo-Smerdis to

overthrow the Iranian Achaemenids and restore the power of the native races, found a new path to influence in the religion which their stronger neighbours held. The Magi followed a strictly Shemitic type of cult, with a kind of Dualism of its own, a dark and mechanical system which had sufficient surface resemblance to Zarathushtra's philosophy to make the transference easy. The fusion of Iranian and Shemitic religions was made easier by popular etymology, for *Zara-ushttra* (the probable Persian form of the prophet's name) could obviously be interpreted as "seed of Istar." From this Shemitic infusion came the ritualism of the *Vendidad*, and I fancy two customs which ancient testimony unanimously attributes to the Magi—viz. the exposure of the dead to be devoured by vultures, and the practice of marriage with a next-of-kin. Finally, I think it can be shown that the Avestan religion as we have it was established in Persia by Artaxerxes Mnemon, whose revolutionary changes are attested both by his own short inscription and by Greek writers. It is noteworthy that the names of Ahura Mazda, Angra Mainyu, and Zarathushtra first appear in Greek writers (through a *Persian* medium, not *Zend*) during his reign.

Without enlarging on this theory, I will simply mention the points at which it touches the history of Judaism:—(1) Cyrus's religion is not Zoroastrian, but unreformed Iranian Mazda-worship. This would not prevent his frankly recognising Merodach or Jehovah. Moreover the Jews cannot have come in contact with Zoroastrianism for at least a century after Cyrus. This disposes of the idea of "anti-Parsism" in Second Isaiah (Kohut in *Z.D.M.G.* xxx. 716 *sq.*), improbable already on other grounds. As Cheyne well points out, the Babylonians had a Dualism of their own, which we have seen to be essentially the link between the Magi and the Iranian religion on which they fastened. (2) Darmesteter's strong point, that the Avesta and the later Parsee books contain a cosmogony and history of primeval man strikingly like that of Genesis, is now easily accounted for. Genesis takes us back in many points, as we know,—and therefore we may infer in many others,—to ancient traditions of the Shemitic races. If the Magi were Shemites, they presumably inherited the same traditions. The parallel formulae of Leviticus and the *Vendidad*—"Jehovah said to Moses," "Ahura Mazda said to Spitama Zarathushtra"—might be also relics of a traditional view of Shemitic ritual and its origin. Darmesteter ignores the old find of a *Zend* parallel to the *אשר אהיה אהיה*, which Professor Max Müller lately resuscitated: the *Zend* phrase has no real resemblance at all. (3) Two pre-exilic references to the Magi and their cult are explained at once. The title *Rabmag*, in Jer. xxxix. 3, 13, is the native Babylonian designation of

the official head of the sacred caste, long before Magi had anything to do with Zoroastrianism. And for the first time, as I think, we can make Ezek. viii. 16, 17 intelligible. It is incredible that Zoroastrian worship should have been found in the Temple before the Exile—almost equally incredible that it should have been regarded as a worse “abomination” than the Tammuz cult. But suppose this to be Magism in its pre-Zoroastrian condition, and the difficulty vanishes. The passage then becomes a confirmation of what may be asserted on other grounds, that the *barsom* of the Parsee priest—the “branch,” or bunch of tamarisk twigs, “held to the nose” during the ritual—is an importation, and not an original feature of Zoroastrian worship.¹

Without following this line further, I should like to point out some of the fruitful fields of investigation which will probably well repay investigators who have a first-hand knowledge of Jewish literature to bring to what they will find in Dr Mills's book. First and foremost comes the doctrine of Immortality, on which the Gâthâs are all-important. Their teaching was admirably summarised in a popular article by Dr Mills himself in the above-cited volume of the *Thinker*, p. 104. Hardly less important is Zarathushtra's teaching on the problem of Evil, which is practically identical with that of Christianity, except that the Iranian sage is generally supposed to cut the knot which Christianity leaves alone, by declaring that Evil began in endless time. Yet *Yasna*, 30. 6, might be plausibly held to suggest that there was a time when the evil spirit first made his choice of evil. Future rewards and punishments are very clearly delineated in the Gâthâs. The holiness, the unity, the spirituality of God, the moral choice of man, the call to vigorous service, the essential connection between religion and ethics, the extension of goodness from works and words to thoughts—all these and more features of Gâthic religion may well have had a stimulating effect upon Jewish thinkers, if we can find a channel by which they could have been brought within their ken. The later Avesta may be examined for the rise of hierarchies of angels, the doctrine of *fravashis* or guardian spirits, the developed conception of organised evil in the spirit world, &c. How much of Zoroastrian influence may be found even in the New Testament—there are remarkable surface parallels in the Apocalypse²—I need not forecast, but there will be plenty to repay research in later Apocalyptic literature, and in heretical writings. Direct borrowing—

¹ The *word* is of course Aryan, for it occurs in the Veda. But the *thing* is obviously different, the Vedic *barhis* being straw placed on the ground.

² Such as the close *parallelism* between good and evil : the evil trinity answering to the divine, &c.

like that of the *Aeshma daeva* in the Book of Tobit—is less to be expected than an almost unconscious development of essentially Jewish ideas under the stimulating influence of Zoroastrian surroundings. The Jews were not at any time after the Captivity very eager to adopt foreign religious teaching, and it is utterly improbable that they deliberately took over doctrines wholesale from a book which contained so much, especially in ritual, utterly alien to their modes of thought, strongly tainted moreover with the old Iranian polytheism which Zarathushtra had vainly hoped to destroy. But it is very easy to see how the Jews in a Zoroastrian atmosphere should have realised that the whole system of their own faith logically demanded acceptance of a doctrine of Immortality, which had been suspected by men of faith in earlier times. The existence of Evil did not at first perplex the minds of Israelites, who were easily satisfied that Jehovah created everything, and therefore all must be for the best. So naïve a belief could not last, and we can hardly wonder that the conception of a Satan should have been evolved by Jewish thinkers who had grown accustomed to hearing all evil assigned to the working of an adversary eternally opposed to the good God. The new conceptions were not inconsistent with Judaism. The seeds slept in the soil, and Zarathushtra was privileged to water them: the increase was given by the One God of Jew and Gentile alike. To my mind, many of the most serious difficulties of Revelation are dispelled by these evidences that God had His prophets outside the favoured people, and left not Himself without witness among Gentiles long before Christ came. I am urging Biblical students to read Dr Mills's presentation of Zarathushtra, not that they may discover Christianity to be a plagiarism—like the omniscient novelist who lately discoursed on the “new (!) heterodoxy” in an evening paper—but that they may find familiar truths in unexpected places, and once more

“yield all blessing to the name
Of Him that made them current coin.”

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

Communication on the Lewis Palimpsest, the Curetonian Fragments, and the Peshitta.

THE interesting and venerable codex of Syriac Evangelia,¹ which was discovered in the Library on Mount Sinai, has been called by some writers after the name of the locality in which it was so long

¹ See *The Four Gospels in Syriac*. By R. L. Bensly, J. R. Harris, F. C. Burkitt. With Introduction by A. S. Lewis.

concealed ; but, not to mention the obvious objection to employing the title *Sinaiticus* for two distinct MSS., one a Greek codex, the other a Syriac, it is only fair to the discoverer that her name should be perpetuated in the same way that Cureton's will always be in connection with a similar discovery. Let us agree to use the title *Lewis MS.* ; and since it is a palimpsest,¹ the symbol *Lp.* will be appropriate. I may add that this symbol will be employed in a collation which, as I am informed, will be published ere long by a member of my own University. He has kindly communicated to me a summary of the conclusions at which he has arrived. From these, supplemented by my own observations, I will tabulate, as follows, some of the results of the comparison of *Lp.* with the Curetonian (*Sc.*) and the Peshitta (*P.*).

1. (1) *Lp.* and *Sc.* are united by the title *Mēpharreshē*, which, though occasionally applied to the Peshitta Psalter, seems not to occur in connection with Peshitta Gospels. We may provisionally accept the translation which is now in favour—"separated," in contrast to "mixed up," in a Harmony.

(2) *Lp.* and *Sc.* contain a large amount of common text. In many places there is an actual identity of language, and a line for line agreement.

(3) *Lp.* and *Sc.* represent a similar Greek Text, that which is called "Western" being, broadly speaking, the basis of both.

2. *Lp.* and *Sc.* differ from *P.* as follows :—

(1) While *Lp.* arranges the Gospels with *P.* in the familiar order, *Sc.* has the order *Matthew, Mark, John, Luke.*

(2) *Lp.* (not *Sc.*) omits, against *P.*, the last twelve verses of *St Mark.*

(3) *Lp.* and *Sc.* in many passages combine to differ from *P.* in (α) omissions of words and clauses, (β) inversions of verses, (γ) the language employed.

(4) *Lp.* and *Sc.* differ in different ways from *P.* in statements connected with the Nativity. (α) *Sc.* emphasizes the doctrine of the Virgin Birth by expressions which imply the perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Theotokos ; while (β) *Lp.* gives a naturalistic account of our Lord's parentage. Moreover, in our opinion, the heretical savour pervades the whole book. Space does not suffice to set out the passages which have been collected by an able writer to the *Church Times* of January 11th last. It is true that the book has not been systematically corrupted, but more changes have been

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. xxi., it is said that the MS. was suspected to be in parts doubly palimpsest. As the Gospel text is of the fifth century, this would be an instance of a palimpsest of very remarkable antiquity. It is, however, added that the hydrosulphide of ammonia failed to bring up the writing. Possibly letters showing through the vellum were mistaken for another hand.

made than can readily be explained away. It is natural that Mrs Lewis, in her Introduction to her Translation, should deny that her *protégé* is the work of a heretic. This we do not affirm, but we cannot disguise the plain traces of heretical corruption.

3. *Lp.* and *Sc.* differ from one another in many important particulars.

(1) In the placing of paragraphs and principal stops.¹

(2) In Syriac readings, and that far more than any two Peshitta MSS. are known to do.

(3) *Lp.* is remarkable for the omission of passages found in *Sc.* and all authorities.

(4) The text of *Lp.* is marked by brevity of expression, so that, on the whole, it is a shorter text than that of *Sc.*

(5) *Lp.*, in a large number of places, agrees with *P.* against *Sc.*

(6) The Greek Text underlying *Lp.* is slightly less "Western" than that of *Sc.*

In reference to (5), it must be noted that *Lp.* has not been adapted to *P.* The differences are too great and obvious to permit such a supposition.

From the preceding observations it appears (1) that the text of the new Syriac Gospels is of the same type as the Curetonian, but that each text has its own distinctive features, each its own peculiar readings; (2) that the Peshitta text has much in common with both, but is also widely divergent from both. The interval between them is not reduced by distance of time. When the Lewis and the Curetonian MSS. were written, the Peshitta was related to their texts in the same manner as it is to-day; for we have it now in the same form in which it was read at that period. It has always been regarded as the national version of the Syriac-speaking Church, being accepted and venerated by Jacobites and Nestorians alike. What place, then, is to be assigned to the two erratic codices, the new Lewis MS. and the Curetonian?

In seeking an answer, we put aside all other Syriac versions besides the Peshitta, for the Lewis MS. has no relations with them, and we may also limit our enquiries to the Gospels, for nothing has yet been discovered to suggest that any other part of the New Testament was ever extant in Syriac in the form of the Lewis-Curetonian text. It is *à priori* highly probable that the Gospels would be treated differently from the Epistles by the ancient Syriac translators. In rendering the latter into Syriac there was a definite piece of Greek to be turned into Syriac. To add, or curtail, would have been foreign to the purpose of faithful translation. The Gospels,

¹ Although ancient Greek and Latin MSS. were written continuously, and stops are rarely found, even the oldest Syriac MSS. have the words separated, and are furnished with a system of punctuation.

indeed, are records, but there were also other records besides our Canonical Gospels. St Luke, in his opening words, expressly says so. What is there to forbid the supposition that the translators of the Gospel story into Syriac were also, to some extent, historians, and imported into their work phrases, even paragraphs, from Syriac records of the preaching of Apostolic men? In doing this, there would have been nothing necessarily dishonest. I do not say that this course was followed, but the possibility, we may say probability, of it is an important consideration in the attempt to account for the different texts of Syriac Evangelia. The supposition would apply to divergent texts of the Acts, if there were such; but the case of the Acts is not now before us.

I suppose no one will doubt that Christianity was introduced into Syria at a very early date. The plan and procedure were the same in that as in other lands. It was, in the first instance, the proclaiming of the words and deeds of Jesus the Christ. The language of Syria was very closely related to the vernacular of Palestine; for I take leave to assume that some Semitic dialect, and not Greek, was the language of our Lord and His Apostles. It may be further asserted, as highly probable, that before the Pauline Epistles were written, some part at least of the story of Jesus was circulating in Syria, whither it would be carried by more than one convert during the twenty years, or more or less, which elapsed between the Resurrection and St Paul's first letter to his Thessalonian converts. Again, it is not to be denied that some of the stories told by the first preachers, some of the Lord's words delivered by them, were quickly committed to writing—some to perish, others to be preserved.

Until recent years it has been held that the Peshitta represents the earliest Syriac records which have survived. Some of the Syriac writers have assigned to it a place of honour equivalent, rather than subsidiary, to the Greek Gospels. Besides the Peshitta, a Harmony of the Gospels, the Diatessaron of Tatian, was much used in Syria in ancient times. The actual Syriac text is not now available; but who knows that it does not lie safely concealed in some Eastern library, ready to be revealed when Mrs Lewis travels that way? But we already have access to an Arabic translation of the Diatessaron, and to a commentary upon it by the great Syriac writer, Mar Ephraim, who died in 373. The importance of this Harmony to our present subject is, that there seems to be a close relation between its text, as far as we can judge without having the actual language before us, and the Lewis-Curetonian text. What account can be given of the connection between the Diatessaron, *Lp.* and *Sc.*, and of *Lp.*, *Sc.* and *P.*? What was the origin of these versions?

On the appearance of the Curetonian Fragments, fifty years ago,

the text was hailed as an older, and therefore more interesting, version than the Peshitta. The new Syriac Gospels have been welcomed as another, and more complete, "Old Syriac" Text. Such is the estimate formed of *Sc.* and of *Lp.* by writers whose names would occur to any student of New Testament criticism. Yet I will brave the risk of a charge of heresy and enquire, Did this "Old Syriac" really exist? or is it an hypothesis? What is the evidence?

1. The "Old Latin" is thought to furnish an analogy. We have concluded that Gospel records were extant in Syriac in very early days. The translation of the Gospels into Latin was probably as early; certainly the New Testament was read in that language at a very early period, though exact dates cannot be given. In the time of Jerome there were found to be considerable differences in the codices. He undertook a revision, and produced the Latin Vulgate, under the authority of the Bishop of Rome. But the older texts were still copied, and were allowed to influence Jerome's new text, so that now, competent authorities say, there hardly exists a pure copy of Jerome's Vulgate.

From this an analogy is drawn. It is argued that a revision on similar lines took place in the East. The period assigned is the latter part of the third century or the fourth century. Later than the fourth century it could not have been; for the Peshitta text was then substantially what it is now. This is proved by the antiquity of MSS., by the quotations in Mar Ephraim, who died A.D. 373, and to some extent by those in the works of Aphraates, who wrote about A.D. 340. Now Jerome's work on the Latin texts was begun in A.D. 382. It would therefore follow in time the revision of the Syriac. But Jerome, as far as I know, never said that he borrowed the idea of his critical work from Syrians. And it is improbable that they had any example to set him, for in literary and critical works they were, for the most part, imitators; they adapted and improved, but were rarely inventors. Moreover, no allusion to such revision has been discovered in the remains of ancient Syriac literature, and these remains are not inconsiderable in extent.

Again, a comparison of Syriac and Latin MSS. exhibits a striking difference. We have spoken of the mixture of texts in Latin MSS. There is nothing of the sort in Syriac copies. We possess a solid body of codices, in themselves constituting a library, products of many different scriptoria, and written at different periods; but all presenting the same Peshitta text, unaffected by external influences. I do not lay stress on the fact that the only remains of what is called the Old Syriac are the Lewis and Cureton MSS.; but I remark as more significant, that the Peshitta copies are free from

traces of revision ; and this would not lose its force if other copies like Mrs Lewis' should come to light.

2. It is said that the Lewis and Cureton is an older form and style of translation, and that the Peshitta has been produced from it by critical emendation. As a general statement this is inexact. Individual passages can be variously explained, but there will still remain many features which indicate that the Lewis-Cureton texts belong to a later age, such as harmonising tendencies, dogmatic statements, special views of Gospel history. I may refer to the summary by Dr Waller in *Scrivener's New Testament Criticism*, ed. iv. Since he wrote, the Lewis MS. has strengthened his position. He would say of it, that it cannot be the representative of the oldest text of Syriac Evangelia, because it is heretical, and therefore unprimitive. Truth came before error, and the Canonical Gospels preceded unorthodox corruptions. The Lewis and Cureton MSS. cannot be called "MSS. of Old Syriac texts" without qualification, and ought not to be quoted as such. At the utmost it can only be said that each contains more or less of Old Syriac elements. This seems proved by the discovery of the Lewis MS., because of its differences from the Curetonian, and because it frequently sides with the Peshitta against the Curetonian. The editors hold that the Lewis MS. is older, and presents an older text than the Curetonian. It follows that much in the Curetonian is more modern than the Peshitta text.

In some former studies on these subjects, I said that I admitted there might have been a version or versions which preceded the Peshitta, but that they had perished as complete works, and that the extant Curetonian was certainly not the parent of the Peshitta. It is satisfactory to find that the recent discovery of another MS. of the same type has justified my opinion. We shall not find the origin of the Peshitta in the Lewis MS., and we did not in the Curetonian. The task for some one is to eliminate from both the later elements, and consider how far the residuum can really be the basis of the Peshitta, or whether it was not itself taken from the Peshitta, seeing that, as we have said, the Peshitta existed long before the Lewis or Cureton's MSS. were written.

In conclusion, we will collect admitted facts, and indicate the almost certain inferences which may be drawn from them.

1. The first preachers of the Gospel in Syria, whosoever they were, did not go with a dozen camel loads of Lewis MSS. They delivered oral messages ; though it is not to be denied that if any books of the New Testament were already written, they may have taken copies with them.

2. The intercourse between Edessa and other towns of Mesopotamia, and Antioch, would facilitate the introduction of Christian

books into Syria, as soon as the existence of Syrian Christian communities created a demand. St Luke (i. 1) intimates that, even before the early date of his writing, many narratives had been drawn up. If some of these were in Greek, surely some also were in the Semitic vernacular. From the similarity of this dialect to the language of Edessa, such vernacular records would find a ready access to the Syrian converts.

3. It is not improbable that Syria was in part Christianised even before the Canonical Gospels were written. It may be taken for granted that copies of the Gospels found their way into such a town as Edessa at a very early date.

4. Before the year A.D. 170 or '80 a Harmony of the Gospels had been composed by Tatian. Now it must be clearly recognised that the history of this work is still obscure, and that it is hazardous to draw inferences from its contents and text until we have the work itself before us. Still, I think we may affirm—

a. That it was based upon the Canonical Greek Gospels.

β. That it existed in a Syriac form, whether it was originally drawn up in Greek or not.

γ. That its Syriac text corresponded, in some respects, rather with the texts of the Lewis and Curetonian codices than with the Peshitta.

5. The various opinions that have been in vogue about Aramaic records as a groundwork to our Synoptic Gospels, have no direct relation to the question of the origin of the Syriac versions. But a side light comes from them. If such records were current in Syria, they would have been of the greatest assistance to the early translators, on account of the intimate relation between the idioms of such compositions and the Syriac language. It will not be denied that much can be said for the opinion that St Matthew wrote in a Semitic dialect as well as in Greek. Cureton thought that the St Matthew in his MS. was based on this Aramaic Gospel. It is now seen that the Curetonian Gospels are all translations. The same is true of the new Syriac Gospels. They are not even Semitic works, touched up from the Greek. Isolated passages might be used to prove that the Lewis palimpsest and the Curetonian contain reminiscences of Aramaic expressions, but, on the whole, no argument can be derived from the phraseology to contradict the view that they are versions, like the Peshitta.

6. We now pass out of the mists of hoar antiquity to two historical facts of the fifth century.

i. Rabbula, who was Bishop of Edessa from 411-435, finding that the Harmony composed by Tatian was used in his diocese to the exclusion of the Holy Gospels, ordered that the work should everywhere be superseded by what he called *Mepharreshê* Gospels. We

have already spoken of the meaning of this title. In Rabbula's order it can hardly mean anything but "Separated Books," in contrast to the "Mixed Narrative of a Harmony."

ii. But the popularity of the Diatessaron was great. A quarter of a century later, Theodoret, famous in the Nestorian controversy, who, from about 423 to 457, was Bishop of Cyrrhus, some 25 miles from Edessa, S.-W. towards Antioch, removed 200 copies which he found in his diocese.

7. We pass over an interval of 1400 years. In the nineteenth century two books come from the East, each bearing the title *Mepharreshê*, a title almost peculiar to them; in the case of *Evangelia*, not found with any other texts. Either of these two codices may have been written in the year of Rabbula's order; neither can be much later. The Lewis palimpsest is ascribed by the editors to that era. Are the Lewis and Cureton MSS. relics of copies made by order of Rabbula?

Since the Peshitta existed in its present form in the days of Rabbula, and has always been the national version of the Syriac Church, it can hardly be doubted that he intended that copies of the Peshitta should be substituted for the Diatessaron. They had not before, as far as we know, been called *Mepharreshê*, and have never been so called since. The term is used by Rabbula, not as a title, but attributively. It marks their origin in contrast to the mixed work they were to succeed. But it would easily become a title for copies subsequently made, which exhibited the same text; and it survived to the tenth century, for the Syriac writer, Bar-Bahlul, quotes a place from *the Mepharreshê*. Copies made in the fifth century may well have been extant in his time.

On the other hand, Peshitta MSS., belonging to an older family, and standing on a pedestal of their own, as the version received in Edessa, needed no qualifying epithet.

But why were not the copies made by Rabbula's order of the same text as the Peshitta? To ask a question about an event in ancient days is easier than to account for the doings of men whose names are unknown, whose locality is uncertain, whose era we can but surmise. However—

1. The fact that Aphraates, the Persian, does not so exclusively adhere to the Peshitta text as Ephraim the Edessene did, suggests that the Peshitta was not universally current in Syria at that time—not exactly, in fact, a vulgate. The wide-spread popularity of the Diatessaron has been mentioned. It might be, probably was, difficult to procure copies of the Peshitta, in obedience to Rabbula's order. Yet the Peshitta of Edessa would be the standard for the new copies. A codex would be borrowed for a short time, to be passed on to another Church by the next caravan. The copies

would have to be made by men long familiar with the phraseology of Tatian. Recourse might be had to Greek copies, and independent attempts at translation made. Heretical influences were not wanting. At least the scribe of the *Lp.* endeavoured to enforce views about the Incarnation which he certainly did not derive from Tatian, and which are incompatible with orthodoxy. With such causes at work, what was lacking to give conditions favourable to the production of texts like Mrs Lewis' and Cureton's?

2. But some may contend that these MSS. are not originals of the fifth century, but copies of third or second century codices. That is only to shift their origin to another time of confusion. Then, also, there were the harmonistic readings of Tatian; there were Aramaic records, not yet obsolete; heretical influences had been at work from the beginning; many and various corruptions of texts happened in very early times. You cannot name the men who transcribed the Lewis and Cureton MSS., or indicate the scriptoria whence they issued; but you can see a soil well fitted to produce interpolated and unorthodox texts, without resorting to the hypothesis that such texts were the *Evangelia* of the Syriac Church, and afterwards superseded by *Peshitta Evangelia*, by means of a revision of which there exists no record.

G. H. GWILLIAM.

The Saviour in the Newer Light : A Present Day Study of Jesus Christ.

*By Alexander Robinson, B.D., Minister of the Parish of Kilman,
Argyleshire. Edinburgh : Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1895.
Pp. 386. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

If the author's aims and hopes of his first literary offspring are realised, this will be an epoch-making book. It comes to supply a great desideratum, for "there has not yet been written in our language any satisfactory full account of Jesus as he lived on earth from the point of view of modern thoughtfulness." The four Gospels are out of the question—mere compounds of dramatic story, ideal representation, myth, legend, and superstition, with a few grains of history. There are indeed some British books on the proper lines, but they are incomplete. They have all been "published too soon." Mr Robinson's book comes to fill the vacant place. It is characterised by all the attributes of modern thought. Here you find none of those "abominable superstitions which

have perverted the Gospel or good news of Jesus Christ into a gospel of damnation." Here you find no countenance to that unthinkable dogma that Jesus was both God and man. Here you find all due scorn for those magical fancies called miracles, with which "ecclesiasticism" and "dogmatism" have degraded the life of Christ. Here you find the supernatural birth and the resurrection of Jesus from the dead relegated to their true place—devout imaginations. Nevertheless, the book presents you with "all the essentials of Christianity," only "built up more securely." It shows Jesus teaching the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and that is enough for "modern thoughtfulness." It thus gives us "the Saviour in the newer light," and no one will be so heartless as to ascribe to it the fault of all English books on the subject of earlier date—surely it has *not* been "published too soon."

In support of his views the author claims, without qualification or abatement, the support of all the sound criticism of recent years. There have been, it is true, "extravagances" in criticism, both earlier and later, but somewhere or other there is a "mature" criticism, whose judgments cannot be impugned. And this mature criticism, while it tears to rags the historical character of the Gospels as a whole, and the traditional view of their origin, has been able to find a few morsels of truth in the heterogeneous compound, by means of which the author is enabled to present the Saviour "in the newer light." He has "abstracted from the doctrinally manipulated statements of the Gospels the truly historical material." He has done so especially with the fourth Gospel, where "there is infinitely greater manipulation caused by early ecclesiastical doctrine than in the other three." One naturally asks, What is the wonderful criterion by which Mr Robinson has been able to make this exact separation of wheat from chaff? We are told quite frankly, it is "general critical consideration; but a special criterion recognised is life-likeness." He forms his own idea of what Jesus is "likely" to have said and done, derived from a combined view of the Gospel accounts, and all that does not square with this idea is thrown overboard. Yet with this most flexible, most arbitrary, this ridiculously uncertain criterion, he tells us that he has come to ascertain a body of "facts of supreme importance;" and as the world is very ignorant of the real facts, he has written this book to make them known. "With the thoughtful Biblical students of modern times," he has tried "to make known accurately what the historical Jesus was, by clearing away from thoroughly trustworthy material those doctrinal additions with which early ecclesiasticism obscured the material while it preserved it."

It will occur to everyone acquainted with the modern contro-

versy as to the four Gospels to ask, Where did Mr Robertson get this view of the "mature" results of criticism? On what ground does he claim that his book expresses "the main body of those views that are advanced with ever greater unanimity by modern criticism?" If there be any approach to unanimity in the critical world of to-day, is it not in the conservative direction? We cannot, in this brief notice, go into the wide question of the four Gospels, but we will take the most important one, the fourth, and ask, With what truth can our author assert that the fourth Gospel is no longer regarded as a real history, but has been "hurled down irrecoverably from the high pedestal on which piety used to place it"? Have any of our English scholars participated in this demolition of the Johannine tower of Babel? Let us take our greatest masters of New Testament criticism, the late Bishop Lightfoot, Bishop Westcott, Professor Sanday of Oxford, and Professor Salmon of Dublin. All of these have given special attention to the fourth Gospel, and with what results? Bishop Lightfoot's Essay ("Internal Evidence for the authenticity and genuineness of Saint John's Gospel"), delivered as a lecture eighteen years before, was revised for publication on the very eve of his death, and, in discussing the question of authenticity and genuineness, he comes to a very clear and decisive conclusion, and does not show a trace of sympathy with those who disparage the historical character of the book. His closing words are alike striking and beautiful. "I believe from my heart that the truth which this Gospel more especially enshrines—the truth that Jesus Christ is the very Word incarnate, the manifestation of the Father to mankind—is the one lesson which, duly apprehended, will do more than all our feeble efforts to purify and elevate human life here, by imparting to it hope and light and strength—the one study which can fitly prepare for a joyful immortality hereafter."

Bishop Westcott's Essay, in the Speaker's Commentary, has always been regarded as a work of singular ability, and one considerable section of it brings out the "historical exactness" of the Gospel. Professor Sanday, some years ago, laid his main stress on the internal evidence, and did not then regard the external as conclusive; more recently, in view of late additions to the evidence, he thinks the external as well as the internal thoroughly decisive. Professor Salmon, whose "Historical Introduction to the New Testament" is a work of the highest rank, is equally in favour of the Johannine authorship and credibility of the Gospel.

And who is there in England on the other side? The author of "Supernatural Religion"—a defeated champion, under whose banner no one would feel safe; Dr Samuel Davidson, whose first Introduction to the New Testament is a sufficient refutation of

the second; and Dr James Martineau, who is not a professional critic, but who, while not accepting the Johannine authorship, has the strongest conviction that the whole book was written by a single author. In Scotland, and in Mr Robinson's own church, there are against him Drs Milligan, Charteris and Gloag, and their views are shared by Dr David Brown and Dr Marcus Dods. For America, we need but name the late Dr Ezra Abbot; and for French-speaking countries, that venerable and most distinguished critic, Professor Godet. Surely Mr Robinson must be furnished with a magnificent array of authority from Germany, when, by a magnificent sweep of his arm, he can drive off the field the scholars we have named as men deficient in "modern thoughtfulness," and not worthy to be compared to the "free and unprejudiced class of scholars" who have "disproved the fourth Gospel's right to be called in general a source of history."

And who are these mighty men of valour—these German champions? He names but five: Keim, the two Holtzmanns, Wittichen and Pfeiderer. "These be thy gods, O Criticism, that have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage!"

We have no space to prosecute this subject further; it must suffice to refer to the admirable Bampton Lectures of Professor H. W. Watkins, of Durham, entitled "Modern Criticism considered in its relation to the Fourth Gospel." In that volume will be found a careful epitome of the views of every German scholar of note in recent times on the fourth Gospel. Many of them are by no means pleased with the traditional view, but as little are they able to agree on any other to take its place. Some find one, and some two or more original documents, and an editor; some count the discourses Johannine but not the narrative, and others the narrative but not the discourses; to some it appears an ideal representation of Christ as He appeared to be in the second century; in short, we find little trace of that "ever greater unanimity of modern criticism" which Mr Robinson boasts of, and much to justify Dr Watkins's motto, "Not even so did their witness agree together."

Mr Robinson's great object, like that of all other rationalists, is to account for Jesus Christ and His boundless influence, on principles purely natural. To do this, he lays his main stress on His work as teacher. But to clear the way, it is necessary to get rid of His miracles. This costs him little trouble. First, he gives the Gospel miracles (as they are recorded) the nick-name of "magical" acts, and scorns them accordingly. Then he tells us that "Jesus himself disliked the popular notion of His actions that called them miraculous in the sense of magical"; the fact being, that while

Jesus deemed "Himself," that is, His person, life and teaching, His great credential, He not only maintained the validity of His miracles as proofs of His divine origin and mission, but denounced the severest woes on Chorazin, Bethsaida and other places for disregarding them. What we call miracles were only wonders, according to our author, arising from the high moral and intellectual authority with which Jesus spoke and acted, His powerful influence over weak and nervous persons, and a certain acquaintance with medical prescriptions which He must have attained in His early years at Nazareth. *C'est tout!* When, according to the Gospels, Jesus said to the paralytic let down from the roof, "Son, thy sins be forgiven thee," that was a mere exclamation "for the moment," and "meant just that God would surely relieve the suffering man." His way of disposing of the exclamation of Thomas, when he saw the risen Saviour, is equally nonchalant. The words "My Lord and my God" "may have really been uttered by Thomas in some conversation in which he was charged by the others with want of faith in Jesus, because he hardly looked at the matter in the same way as they did." And so with most of the so-called miracles. As if the bearers of the paralytic would have climbed to the roof with their burden, uncovered the roof and let down the sick man in his bed, merely that he might get a kind word from Jesus! As if the whole dramatic incident of Thomas, his absence on the first evening, his gruff assertion of the only condition on which he would believe, the memorable and most gracious compliance of Jesus with his terms unreasonable though they were, and the passing of his unbelief into triumphant faith—had no more foundation than a remark of the apostle in a dispute with his brethren! And this is history revised and improved. This is the outcome of "modern thoughtfulness"!

In truth there is nothing in rationalists more amazing than the easy credulity with which they accept explanations of stupendous facts—explanations based on the most frivolous and ridiculous causes. None of them ever has grappled, or can grapple fairly with the place of prominence which miracle holds in the four Gospels, or dispose of the vital connection it has with the whole narrative. The vast number of supernatural acts—half of Mark's Gospel consists of them; the great variety of the kinds of miracle; the place of some of them, such as the supernatural birth and the resurrection from the dead, as corner-stones of the Christian religion; the important events that sprang out of them, such as the conspiracy to kill Jesus after the raising of Lazarus; the incidental way in which they are introduced, as when Herod desired to see Jesus in the hope that he would work a miracle; and the way in which Jesus staked His credit on them, especially when He foretold His resurrection—all such things show that in the Gospels the miracle

holds the very first and most vital place, and is not to be removed by any *coup de main*.

And how does Mr Robinson dispose of the resurrection? It is a fact beyond all question that a few days after the death of Jesus on the Cross, His bodily resurrection became somehow an immovable article of faith to every man and woman of His followers, and was maintained so firmly that they would have died rather than renounce it. On the strength of His resurrection, their cowed and timid spirits suddenly bounded up to the highest pitch of courage, and forthwith, like a band of heroes clad in impenetrable armour, they sallied forth preaching His gospel, and defying all the powers of earth and hell. This undeniable fact is one of which rationalists can give only the most pitiable explanations. How does Mr Robinson explain this strong, unhesitating, unanimous belief? Of course he does not believe in the bodily resurrection. He would say,

“ Now he is dead, far hence he lies
In the lorn Syrian town ;
And on his grave, with shining eyes,
The Syrian stars look down.”

He seems to hold that “his spirit,” after being kept for a time “bound to the tomb” (whatever that may mean), continued in some way to live on earth, but—mark his wonderful escape from the difficulty—“details regarding the resurrection of Jesus are beyond the purpose of this book.” As if the question of the resurrection were a mere matter of detail, not needing to be considered seriously in an exposition of the life of Jesus! Did he learn this from Strauss, or from Keim, or from Pfleiderer, or from any rationalist writer who has tried to account for Christ on rational principles? If there were nothing else against him, the single fact of his shirking the great question of the resurrection is a death-blow to his whole contention.

Following other rationalist writers, Mr Robinson ascribes a great part of the miracles that we find in the gospels to misconceptions of the words of Jesus on the part of the writers, and to a tendency to substitute the real for the ideal, and to translate assertions of principle into alleged matters of fact. He makes great use of that very convenient canon of interpretation already adverted to—summarily rejecting every statement that has to him an unlikely look. How does he deal with the resurrection of Lazarus? He makes Jesus, in his convincing way, assure the sisters of no more than this—that their brother's life was not ended. Of course His conversation with Martha implied and plainly taught that his body would be raised from the tomb; but no such conversation could ever have taken place! What

happened was this. "On His way back from the grave He talked musingly over the loss of Lazarus, as we may gather, and let His musings lead on to His telling a most thoughtful, imaginative story. It was, we may believe, something like what we read in the sixteenth chapter of Luke; but we must believe it has been in Luke slightly tampered with." Then we have an elaborate description of the way in which the story in John of the resurrection of Lazarus arose out of the parable in Luke of Lazarus and the rich man. And it was for this, it would seem, that "the chief priests and the Pharisees gathered a council, . . . and from that day forth they took counsel together for to put Him to death." Not for vindicating His claim to Divine Sonship by a stupendous miracle, but for talking musingly of a future life, and telling an imaginative story of the resurrection. In other words, the deadly resolution of the Pharisees to kill Jesus was come to in consequence of His emphatically asserting their own favourite position in opposition to the Sadducees as to the resurrection and the life to come!

Gospel history, revised and corrected, is indeed a wonder, if not a miracle.

But we must hasten to say something on Mr Robinson's representation of the teaching of Jesus. Founding on certain "sample discourses," he says they "ring with two words. The one is FATHER; the other is BROTHER, or, as the case may be, SISTER. They are full of two eternal truths. The one is the Fatherly relation of God to men; the other is the purpose, in men's receiving life, that they should be brothers and sisters to each other. The one is the truth of the *infinite care of God for man*; the other is the truth of the *infinite responsibility of man to man*." Now we are free to say that, viewed in themselves, there is much in the illustration which these truths receive in this book that is both refreshing and beautiful. There is a glow of feeling and enthusiasm over the teaching of Jesus on these points which is a great contrast to the hardness of Strauss and the frivolity of Renan. But the conception of Christ's teaching which is conveyed by the exclusive place of influence which these truths hold, and by their relation to other truths, is most imperfect, most misleading. Did Jesus make nothing of SIN in His teaching? Did He say nothing of sin as something needing to be forgiven, or of the sinful heart as needing to be renewed, or of His own blood as about to be shed for the remission of the sins of many? Was not the religion of Jesus Christ a religion for sinners, demanding on the part of everyone repentance and contrition, and making this contrition and the faith to which it leads the foundation of all that is fragrant and beautiful in the after-life of trust, obedience and love? We are taught in this book that God is the Father of all alike, and that in

the end all will share His kindness. No account is taken of the change of relation which sin has caused between God and man. King David has not ceased to love Absalom, but since Absalom slew his brother, he cannot be on friendly terms with his father. God continues to have a fatherly affection for His sinful children, but sin has forfeited all the claims of children, and exposed them to the punishment of criminals. No account is taken of the work of Christ in restoring the lost relation and the forfeited inheritance. Mr Robinson would no doubt draw his pen through that text which the dying Melancthon found to be the joy of his deathbed, as many another has found it to cheer him in life and in death—"As many as received Him, to them He gave power to become children of God, even to them that believed upon His name."

But what can Mr Robinson make of those passages, which are neither few nor obscure, in which Jesus refers to the retributions of the future, and the doom of the impenitent and unbelieving? What, for example, can he make of the parable of the sheep and the goats? It is easily disposed of. Only one saying in that parable is genuine. "Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of all My brethren, ye did it unto Me." The rest is not only unauthentic, but "as unlike the spirit of Jesus as anything we can well conceive." And this is just a specimen of the consummate nonchalance with which he treats the Gospel record. When commenting, for example, on the statement (Luke xxii. 24), "And there was also a strife among them which of them should be accounted the greatest," he dares to say, "Now this statement in itself is outrageous."

On just one other point we are desirous of examining the position of Mr Robinson—the dynamic power which he ascribes to the teaching of Jesus on the Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. He represents the effect as having been quite extraordinary. Though he limits the public ministry to two years, he finds that during that time Jesus, by His admirable way of setting forth these truths, captivated the people of Capernaum, drew to Himself an enthusiastic band of delighted followers, and laid the foundation of that unparalleled influence for good which He has ever since exercised over the wide world. Now, in the first place, this teaching was not new; it was already contained in substance in the Old Testament, especially in such psalms as the 23rd, the 103rd, and the 15th. In the second place, it is not the promiscuous multitude but the thoughtful few that commonly respond to such teaching. In the third place, it is repeatedly stated, and it stands to common sense, that it was the miracles that attracted the multitude. And in the fourth place, what drew the select few was the persuasion that Jesus was the

Messiah, and that He had the power not only of revealing the Father, but of drawing men to Him as adopted sons, and thus making them partakers of salvation.

The notion that the whole influence of Jesus was due to His teaching gifts and His charming manner is one that will not stand investigation. Alike on the very surface, and at the very bottom of New Testament history, it is plain that the special relation between Jesus and His sincere followers was not merely that of scholars to a teacher, or of servants to a master, or of friends to a friend, but was emphatically that of sinners to a Saviour. And in the end of the day, when they came to see at what a price their salvation had been purchased, their attachment was all the greater. How came it that the great burden of the apostolic preaching was, that God had "exalted Jesus to be a prince and a Saviour, *for to grant repentance unto Israel and forgiveness of sins?*" How came it that Peter, after setting forth the unprecedented crime of His murderers, magnified the grace of God by declaring, "Unto you first, God having raised up His Son Jesus, sent Him to bless you *in turning away every one of you from his iniquities.*" How are we to account for the glorious stedfastness to Jesus of the noble army of the martyrs? How for the sublime visions of the Apocalypse? How for the conception of Jesus as GOD-MAN, which filled the soul of the Christian Church from the very beginning—the Incarnate Son who suffered on the cross, the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, the mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh? Was not all this due to the sense of obligation which all felt to Jesus as the author of redemption, a sense of obligation so overpowering that it could not be restrained from breaking out in the sublimest of anthems—"Worthy is the Lamb that was slain!"

That this was the conception of Jesus Christ that prevailed from the very first is abundantly evident from this among other considerations, that when Saul of Tarsus was converted, this was the grand thought that filled his soul. And this was only from six to ten years after the death of Jesus. The men that attempt to rectify our Gospel history have to explain the fact, that somehow an entirely false conception of Jesus and of his religion got hold of the Church immediately after He disappeared from earth, and that this quite false version of Christianity is what has transformed the world and given its actual lustre to the religion of Jesus. For eighteen centuries men have been utterly deluded about Christ, who He was and what He did for men. At last, in the end of the nineteenth century, a rift has appeared in the cloud, and by-and-by, the mists of error will all disappear, and it will be seen that Jesus of Nazareth was simply the best and wisest of men—nothing more.

We cannot but regard this book as wholly denying Christ, and wholly subverting the Christian faith. Mr Robinson may apply the word "divinity" to Christ, and the word "supernatural" to his life, but he would be the first to own that he does not so apply these words in their current, accepted sense. It seems to us one of the strangest features of the case that a Minister of the Christian Church, one who has subscribed to the Westminster Confession of Faith, should not only promulgate such views, but deem himself quite justified in doing so. That, however, is a matter that touches his relation to his own Church, and on which, therefore, we will say nothing. We part from him, deeply regretting that one possessing such talents and enthusiasm should not have devoted them to a worthier cause.

W. G. BLAIRIE.

Les Origines de l'Episcopat.

Etude sur la Formation du gouvernement ecclésiastique au sein de l'église chrétienne dans l'empire romain (Première partie).
Par Jean Réville. Paris: E. Leroux; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 538. Price, 10s.

THIS fine large monograph, the first instalment of a complete study of the Origins of the Episcopate, is not only strong in philosophic grasp and in vivid realisation of all the conditions of Christian life in the first century after Christ—apart from which a certain kind of learning does here indeed seem to make men mad—but it is equally strong in the exhibition of detail. The period handled covers hardly a century, and yet 524 well-packed pages are devoted to it. For the author is aware that "the virtue of a study of this sort lies above all in detail." The true method must be more and more rigorously inductive, even though its first result is to show that "there was not one single governmental type at the beginnings of the Christian Church." Our review must accommodate itself to this profusion of detail by summarising M. Réville's findings very much in the words of his own *Conclusion* (pp. 521-4), and then proceeding briefly to estimate the degree in which he has succeeded in proving certain doubtful points.

Like most modern students he distinguishes broadly between the organisation of the Mother-Church of Jerusalem, with the Palestinian Churches more or less attached, and the extra-Palestinian communities in general. In the former "there prevailed the *légitimiste* principle of Government of the Church by the relations of the Messiah according to the flesh, in expectation of His glorious Return." In the latter, "the ecclesiastical organisation arose

gradually, in a spontaneous way, without copying this or that existing fixed type—whether that of the Jewish synagogue, or those of the private or public religious associations of Græco-Roman society—but by conforming to the general conditions regulative of the being of all religious guilds (*collèges*) of the period. Within this general setting the needs peculiar to Christian churches produced the differentiation of a certain number of organic functions specifically Christian in character. But this was not achieved in all Churches in the same manner, still less at the same time, since the conditions of existence were not the same for all.”

From the first there was, broadly speaking, a distinction of (1) spiritual or religious and (2) administrative functions. “The former were at the start exercised almost solely by believers possessed of a *charism* or natural gift—of ‘prophecy,’ of ‘teaching,’ or of ‘edification.’ In the primitive community—sovereign, entirely democratic—the Christian people was sole judge of the teachings with which the Spirit of God inspired certain of the disciples of Christ. From the first, however, there arose in each Church a group of believers more zealous than the rest, taking more to heart the business of the community, and distinguished by the ardour and persevering devotion of their piety.¹ These are the *proïstamenoi* or the *presbyters*, that is, the spiritual notables, the Christians of the old stock (*de vieille roche*), and not simply the most aged members of the community. These presbyters soon came to form a closed body, a church council or a presbyteral council, into which one had to be admitted. They exercised in particular the cure of souls. As they were of a more ardent piety, they were appealed to by preference where any one wished to share in the spiritual benefits of piety. Thus the presbyteral dignity soon came to imply a religious superiority. As every decision of the primitive Christian community passed for inspired by the Holy Spirit, their election to the presbytery early conferred on them a superior authority. Finally, since their functions led them to catechise believers, they tended more and more to monopolise the instruction and edification to the detriment of the charismatic or inspired class of persons, prophets and *didaskaloi*, who were considered as an element of disorder.”

“Episcopal functions, on the contrary, were originally of the administrative order. They were from the first distinct from the presbyteral functions, although they were often, perhaps oftener than not, performed by presbyters. The *episcopoi*, whose assistants

¹ Here the reader is asked to recall the experience of the modern mission-field, and then to read 1 Cor. xvi. 15, 16 with Rom. xii. 4-8 (οἱ πολλοὶ . . . ἔχοντες χάρισμα . . . ὁ παρακαλῶν . . . ὁ μεταδίδους . . . ὁ προϊστάμενος . . . ὁ ἐλεῶν) and 1 Thess. v. 11-22.

and deputies in some sort were the *diaconoi*, were to begin with the financial administrators, the stewards of the community, charged with the control of the services and with the execution of the decisions arrived at by the sovereign community, whether directly, or before long on the motion of the presbyteral council, when this latter became the regular adviser of the association. But in guilds essentially devoted to the spiritual life, as were the Christian Churches, administrative control came speedily to imply that of discipline. Thus the *episcopoi* were the guardians of discipline, and, once it began to shape itself, guardians also of the tradition on which the association was based—a tradition doctrinal, moral, ritual. At the same time, by the very fact of the conflict existing between their mission and the activity of the charismatic persons or those claiming *gnosis*,¹ they were led, like the presbyters, to assume the functions of instruction. The more the struggle between new tradition and *gnosis*, or prophetic individualism, waxed keen, the more the powers of the *episcopos* tended to increase."

"Whilst originally there seems to have been almost everywhere a plurality of *episcopoi* in each community, from the beginning of the second century the episcopate takes on the singular number in the Churches of Asia Minor. Here the *episcopos*, without having as yet a Catholic character, became more and more the representative of local ecclesiastical unity, the personification of his community, the ensign of fidelity to Christ and to God. Nevertheless, he holds his authority from the community which nominates him, and he cannot use it save in harmony with the presbyteral council, of which he is in some sort the executive power. This type of monarchical episcopacy makes its appearance in the Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch, but it is there presented in the state of becoming rather than as an already established reality. The Episcopate, in the singular, does not yet exist in the West, where the principles distinctive of the Catholic ecclesiastical system develop themselves, in the first instance, at Rome, without there being as yet a sole *episcopos* in that city."

"Such," concludes our author, "is the skeleton of the organism. It becomes living only when these various functions are replaced one after another in the various environments amid which they were developed. It is to the ever more precise discrimination of these primitive homes (*foyers*) of Christianity that historians must devote all their strength." These are wise words, and they imply two things: (1) A profounder study of the Græco-Roman environ-

¹ Apparently this is a prime factor lying behind the Corinthian troubles implied in *1 Clement*.

ment as reflected in many out-of-the-way authors, but in the new light cast by the revived study of archæology, brilliant instances of which are to hand in Dr W. M. Ramsay's recent works; (2) a more rigorously objective exegesis of the New Testament and other early Christian literature, based on *the context and that alone*, without any sly glances at the ecclesiastical relations of our own day: in cases of doubt, the genius of primitive piety to count heavily in the balance. The rest of the space at our disposal shall be used for the purpose of seeing how M. Réville's conclusions emerge from and return again naturally into his exegesis of the documents.

But how does M. Réville date his documents? His views, while both sober and solid, are of the radical order. In both respects he reminds one most of Weizsäcker. In the *Acts*, he sees a manifest tendency to "place under the authority of the Apostles ideas and tendencies contemporary, not with these apostles, but with the author of the *Acts*." Possibly, Ramsay's new work on *St Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen* may serve to put a somewhat different complexion on the aim at least of Acts xiii.-xxviii., and may contribute incidentally to modify any too unfavourable verdict as to the "contemporary character" of the bulk of even chs. i.-xii.¹ But, after all, the *Acts* must be judged through the Pauline Epistles, and here M. Réville uses as genuinely Pauline only the four great Epistles and *Philippians*, 1 *Thessalonians*, and *Philemon*.² As to the "Catholic Epistles," he finds in *James* a "little evangelic treatise" (its title, which alone makes it seem an epistle, not being original) emanating c. 75-100 from the Galilean or Syrian communities, whence also came the body of the evangelic tradition preserved in our Synoptic Gospels. 1 *Peter* is regarded as written at Rome (c. 80), after the death of Peter: but the trials in view

¹ In view of the present interest in the *Acts*, M. Réville's analysis of its sources may be of service. (1) A series of legendary traditions, obscure and already misunderstood by the compiler (i.-v.); (2) *Souvenirs* of the first struggles in the Jerusalem community between those of stricter and those of freer attitude to the law and its ritual (e.g. vi.-viii.); (3) Fragments of a Life of Peter (e.g. ix. 32-xi. 18, xii.); (4) Second-hand narratives of Paul's missionary activity; and (5) First-hand bits of evidence, few in number and of moderate extent, for certain incidents of Paul's missionary journeys. Our *Acts*, the work of the very intelligent compiler of the third Gospel, would thus originate c. 80-100 A.D., probably a little before the Pastoral Epistles, and exemplify along with these the first efforts of the Churches to give themselves a regular organisation (pp. 43-44).

² He lays 2 *Thess.* aside as not bearing on his study, and *Ephesians* and *Colossians* as "of an origin too uncertain" to be usefully consulted. For these latter he refers to Holtzmann, not rejecting them decisively, but holding that they bear, at least in part, the traces of a later hand (p. 99).

do not imply any fresh state-policy : and *Hebrews* is taken to belong to the same place and to much the same date. The Johannine writings he assigns (p. 207) to the end of the first century—though not to John himself—holding (against the Tübingen school) that their exact type of thought, with its evangelic mysticism, hardly survived into the next century. The later *gnosis* was of another and more abstract type. Of course, all re-dating of documents means that there are fewer fixed points in common from which to compare notes. But it must be said, in all candour, that M. Révillé reaches his results by a temperate consideration of all lines of evidence, and not merely by that of the organisation implied in each—which would here mean arguing in a circle. In fact, a merit of his treatment is the way in which he shows the correlation of the various factors at work in the developing Church life. It is, as he says, “important to fully grasp the fact of the precocious blossoming out of *gnosis* in the Christian Church (c. 75-100), in order to explain the development, also precocious, of the Episcopate” of the Ignatian Epistles.

In chapter I. he states his problem ; and, after surveying the inadequate solutions of Church Confessions and of modern criticism, he asks : “Were the functions of Presbyters and Bishops entirely distinct from the first, in such wise that in certain communities there were presbyters without bishops, in others bishops without presbyters, in yet others both bishops and presbyters, but with quite different missions?” To this set of queries he returns an affirmative answer. Our task, then, will be to show that this raises more difficulties than it removes ; and that the hypothesis of a gradual differentiation within a body of presbyters or their equivalents in strictly Gentile Churches (*προϊστάμενοι, ἡγούμενοι*) is adequate to explain the emergence, first of groups of bishops and deacons, and then of a single bishop or pastor whose pre-eminence is the signal for despoiling his late colleagues of their second or special title of “bishops,” rather than “presbyters.”

M. Révillé shows very finely that the root idea, whether of *presbyteroi* or of *proistamenoi* is that of spiritual “notables,” usually the men of weight and zeal among the first converts in a locality, who take the lead informally, and then are ratified in their functions and made a closed body by the voice of “the Assembly.” To them he assigns “the cure of souls,” relative both to individuals and to the society as a whole ; also “the preparation of the decisions of the sovereign popular assembly and the anticipating of dangerous measures.” To supplement this body there arise not only *diaconoi*, with the care of material wants of all sorts, but also *episcopoi*, to “execute the decisions of the assembly” and to “control the use of the common resources.” It is from such control or

"oversight" that they derive their title (ἐπίσκοποι, rather than the more usual ἐπιμεληταί, because of a prevalent usage in the LXX). M. Réville, however, hastens to add that we must not take these typical distinctions too literally. Later on, at least, we may imagine "the control being confided to presbyters, and the cure of souls being certainly at times exercised by bishops" (179, cf. 164); while at all times bishops might also be presbyters. Why, then, should this not have been the case from the first, when all was so fluid and untechnical? The negation of this, and the consequent difficulty of finding distinctive work for such a plethora of officers in the simple relations of primitive Gentile communities (the Jewish ones seem to have managed easily enough with the simple expedient of a presbyteral body), land our author in some perplexity. For he cannot suggest (p. 165) "in what relations the bishops of Philippi stood to the leaders and advisers (προϊστάμενοι) of the little Church." Nor can one as yet see what real answer he could give to the following queries: (a) Why should "disciplinary control arise from the administrative responsibility of episcopi," rather than from the *religious* care of souls belonging to presbyters? Hatch and others found in discipline the most essential function of the presbyteral body (see 1 Clem. i. 3 and lvii. 1). (b) M. Réville assumes, rather than proves, that to the presbyters fell the duty of *catechesis*. Why then should they not develop into the guardians of the doctrinal tradition no less than the men originally appointed to be practical administrators? (c) Why, on his theory, are there no traces of friction between two such parallel yet distinct orders, while yet jealousy did arise when the monarchical bishop actually came to constitute a definite order to himself? (d) What became of his fellow *episcopoi* when one of their order became sole *episcopus*? Indeed, it is hard to see how this theory does other than complicate the problem of the emergence of the single bishop, even though we take due account of all the offices¹ which would tend to converge on one gifted *episcopos*, for the sake of order and continuity. (e) What proof have we that there were ever presbyters who were not, as described through their special function or gift,² either *episcopoi* or *diaconoi*? Is not this the real secret of the *non-mention* of presbyters in so Jewish a document as the *Didaché* (xv. : cf. Phil. i. 1), when we compare it with the kindred "Epistle" of James (v. 14). (f) For what proof also is there, in face of

¹ The fact that presbyters are in the earliest stratum of the *Kirchenordnung* styled "fellow-initiates of the bishop" (συνμύσται) at the Church's Altar of Alms, suggests that the bishop derived from them along the line of cultus.

² See Acts xx. 17, 28, ὑμᾶς (πρεσβυτέρους) τὸ Πν. τὸ Ἅγιον ἐπισκόπους, where the predicative use of ἐπ. is most valuable as a link between πρεσβ. and ἐπισκ. as titles.

1 Cor. xvi. 15 f. (εἰς διακονίαν ἔταξαν ἑαυτοὺς . . . ὑποτάσσειν τοῖς τοιούτοις), that *diaconoi* were originally only assistants rather than colleagues, in one (presbyteral) body, to the *episcopoi*?

Other and minor points of exegesis cannot now be noted. But even though our author has given a doubtful turn to certain facts by his desire to keep *presbyteros* and *episcopos* unduly apart, and this perhaps owing to a tendency to let the "Diaspora" element count too little in the ideas and instincts of Churches on Gentile soil, we have yet to thank him for the most rigorously scientific discussion of early organisation as yet to hand. His method in the grouping of his sources, at once chronologically and geographically, is a real contribution to clear thinking on the subject. His insistence on the fact that Ignatius' bishop, far as he still is from the "Catholic" type, is more an ideal than a *fait accompli*, is most timely. The true "Old Catholics" are those who go behind the diocesan bishop to the congregational or city bishop, the common basis of all the great ecclesiastical polities of Christendom.

VERNON BARTLET.

Philo About the Contemplative Life; or, The Fourth Book of the Treatise concerning Virtues.

Critically edited, with a Defence of its Genuineness, by Fred. C. Conybeare, M.A., late Fellow of University College, Oxford. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Demy 8vo, pp. xvi. 403. Price, 14s.

THE treatise on the *Contemplative Life* deserves all the care which has been lavishly bestowed upon it by its latest editor. Whether it was written by Philo about the year A.D. 25, or by a pseudo-Philo at the close of the third century, it is a document of Church History; and if the latter hypothesis is adopted, it gains rather than loses in importance. The well-known description of the Therapeutae which it contains attracted the attention of Eusebius, who perceived a likeness between the customs of the Therapeutae and those of Christian monks and nuns; and it is to Eusebius rather than to Philo that the Therapeutae owe their place in ecclesiastical history and ecclesiastical controversy. The Therapeutae, according to Eusebius, were the Alexandrian converts of Saint Mark, men of Hebrew stock, however, who continued jealously to observe most of their national observances. Philo did not call them Christians because the name had not yet been everywhere proclaimed; but he knew them to be so, having himself associated with the Apostle Peter in Rome. Mr

Conybeare remarks with justice that the chapters of Eusebius on the Therapeutae make evident the complete absence of anything like records in the days of Eusebius of the early fortunes of the Church. "We feel," he writes, "how impenetrable is the darkness which broods over the origins of Christianity as soon as we go outside the New Testament." The identification by Eusebius of the Therapeutae with Christian ascetics was eagerly accepted by Jerome, Epiphanius and later writers; it became a standing article in the apology for monasticism that Philo had borne witness to the existence of monks and nuns among the converts of Saint Mark. Perhaps we owe to this delusion the preservation of the voluminous works of Philo which thus escaped the fate which has overtaken most of the Jewish Alexandrian writers. As Mr Conybeare points out, it was because Philo was regarded as the historian and apologist of the earliest monks and nuns, and of the Apostle Mark's first converts, that in subsequent ages monks were found willing to undertake the arduous task of transcribing his works.

The weakness of Philo's supposed historical testimony to an early Christian monasticism did not escape the notice of the reforming party in the sixteenth century. A controversy arose regarding it, in which Baronius, the Jesuit Nicolas Serrarius, and Bellarmine defended the traditional opinion, which was assailed by Joseph Scaliger, Daillé and others with such success that after a time the trustworthiness of the testimony of Philo to early Christian asceticism was tacitly abandoned even by Romish scholars.

In our century the controversy has been revived in a somewhat different form by Professor Grätz, and F. Lucius, a theologian of Strasburg, who published in the year 1880 a work entitled—*Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der Askese*. Lucius returned to the Eusebian view of the Therapeutae, whom he regarded as Christian ascetics; but he did not accept the *Contemplative Life* as the work of Philo, maintaining that it was a tendency writing composed at the end of the third century under the name of Philo as an apology for monasticism. The view of Lucius was accepted almost at once by a number of distinguished scholars, among whom were A. Hilgenfeld, A. Harnack, E. Schürer, and Edward Zeller. The last-named veteran scholar formally recanted his previously expressed views, in favour of the theory of the younger man, and E. Schürer wrote that the investigations of Lucius had placed the spuriousness of the treatise beyond the possibility of doubt. The main purpose of Mr Conybeare's edition is to combat this theory, which has found so many distinguished supporters, and to restore the *Contemplative Life* to a place among the genuine works of Philo. It is impossible to speak too highly of the zeal and learning with which Mr Conybeare has performed his self-imposed task;

and, if we may venture to express an opinion contrary to the consensus of so many authorities, he has made out a case, if not for an immediate reversal of judgment, at all events for a reconsideration of the evidence on the strength of which Lucius was permitted to gain an easy victory. Mr Conybeare is a ripe and good scholar, but unfortunately not so persuading as he might have been had he pleaded his cause in a less intemperate fashion. He writes in a spirit of boisterous indignation, and is as vituperative as a controversialist of the sixteenth century. Another grave fault in his advocacy is his unfortunate tendency to multiply arguments. These fall upon the reader as thickly as snowflakes, till he is inclined to seek any shelter to avoid them. But if a judicious selection is made from Mr Conybeare's crowd of arguments, it will be seen that he has presented a strong case, and with great learning. The most forcible argument in favour of the genuineness of the *Contemplative Life* is afforded by its close resemblance in diction and spirit to the acknowledged works of Philo. The large number of illustrative quotations from the latter, printed in Mr Conybeare's edition below the text of the *Contemplative Life*, enable the reader to judge of the force of this argument ; and he will probably come to the conclusion that, if the writer was a pseudo-Philo of the third century, he possessed a skill in the art of literary personation to which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find another example in the whole compass of pseudepigraphic literature. The external evidence in favour of the treatise is also of considerable weight. According to Lucius it was written about A.D. 300 ; but fifteen years later Eusebius uses it without suspicion. The Armenian version cannot be later than 420 ; and in the Latin version we have another witness of the same age ; and Mr Conybeare argues with much force that the Armenian and Latin versions which we possess must have had behind them a history so long that their convergence with the Greek MSS. must be placed at a time long anterior to 300 A.D. There are, moreover, considerable antecedent improbabilities in the theory of Lucius. It seems a somewhat roundabout method of defending Christian monasticism to put a description of it in the mouth of Philo the Jew ; but if a writer had done so, would he not have made his description recognisable by the general reader ? If the "holy symposium" pictured by the pseudo-Philo is intended as a description of the Agapé and Eucharist, it is so veiled that few can have understood it, until Eusebius came to their help with his exegesis. It is certainly more natural to understand it as a description of the Pentecostal festival. There is not much force in the remark of Lucius that the author of the *Contemplative Life* describes luxury of such a character as could not have existed in Alexandria during the first century, as it must have taken the Greeks and

barbarians at least a hundred years to imitate the luxury of Rome which first reached its acme under the Empire. Alexandria was but a few days' sail from Rome, and no two ports in the Mediterranean had such constant intercourse. There is more force in the argument *e silentio*. The Therapeutae are not mentioned by any writer except Philo; Josephus, who describes the Essenes, is silent about the Therapeutae. Mr Conybeare, however, gives reasons for his conclusion that the sect existed but for a short period, and that when Josephus wrote they had faded away. Much weight is given by Grätz to the presence of female ascetics among the Therapeutae, although we learn from Josephus that the Essenes carefully avoided the society of women. But ascetic societies always begin with the repudiation of female companionship; after a time, however, woman, in a spirit of holy rivalry, claims a place in the devout life, and there arise female communities who are permitted to share in the prayers and hardships of men. In Palestine the ascetics are all men, but it is not improbable that in the more advanced and liberal atmosphere of Alexandria women should have been permitted to share in the hardships of the devout life. For other arguments and counter-arguments we must refer our readers to Mr Conybeare's learned pages. We conclude by quoting his spirited indictment of the theory of Lucius.

"Let us, then, before quitting this part of the subject, sum up the various characteristics which the readers of Lucius' pseudo-Philo must have possessed, in order that the forgery should appeal to them. Firstly, they must have been diligent readers of Philo, or they would not have been so well acquainted with his style as to realise that this, in all other ways unauthenticated, treatise was his. Secondly, they were to be Sabbatarians of a pre-Christian and an anti-Christian type, and were to be *Μωϋσέως γνώριμοι* and lovers of the Jewish Law. Thirdly, they were to be archæologists, or they would have been offended at the recumbent position in the Eucharist. Fourthly, they were to be Aquarii or Hydroparastatae. Fifthly, they were to be Hierakitae and approve of joint-establishments of monks and nuns. Sixthly, to appreciate the forger's masterpiece, they must have been tinged with Stoic thought, or they could not have understood the frequent references in the D.V.C. to the law of nature. Seventhly, they must have been moderately tinged with Pythagorean learning, or the passage at 481. 25 foll. would probably have annoyed them. Eighthly, they must have united with the above intellectual peculiarities a certain gift of clairvoyance, or they would not have seen that a sect, which could be described by Philo, a contemporary of Jesus Christ, as being already at the time of his describing them a very old sect, with very old *συγγράμματα* written by their old time founders, was no other

than the early Church, and the said founders no other than the Apostles. Or are we to regard it as a proof of the extreme subtlety both of the forger and his readers, that this touch was introduced into the pseudepigraphon! Ninthly, these fourth-century readers, whom this forgery was destined to deceive, must have possessed extreme magnanimity, otherwise they cannot have cared to learn that the early Church was a *αἵρεσις*. But after all, did not the forger take the Hierakitæ for his model? Tenthly, these same readers must have had some of Lucius' own insight, or they could not have realised at once that when Philo talked of Law he meant the Gospel; when of Jews, that he meant Christians; when of the Sabbath, that he meant Sunday; when of the Pentecostal meals, that he meant the Eucharist. Did ever forger look for so many requirements in his readers, or presuppose in them the union of so many various parts?"

Mr Conybeare's argument, with its vast array of heads and particulars, is unfortunate in form, reminding one of the sermon to which Dugald Dalgetty listened with so much impatience. But there is reason and force in his pleadings, and unless some better answer can be made to them than Lucius has offered, scholars will hardly venture in the future to speak of the *Contemplative Life* as a work whose spuriousness has been demonstrated beyond all possibility of doubt.

JOHN GIBB.

Philo and Holy Scripture; or, The Quotations of Philo from the Books of the Old Testament, with Introduction and Notes.

By Herbert Edward Ryle, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 352. Price, 10s. net.

THIS work is described by its author as an attempt to collect, arrange in order, and for the first time print in full all the actual quotations from the Books of the Old Testament to be found in Philo's writings and a few of his typical Paraphrases. Professor Ryle deserves the thanks of his fellow-labourers in the fields of exegesis for a work the composition of which must have been something of an ascetic exercise. Many who would have been deterred from turning over the leaves of the voluminous works of Philo can now ascertain, at a glance, what Philo has to teach regarding the canon and text of the Old Testament during the first century. The fact which stands out most prominently in the quotations of Philo from the Old Testament is the pre-eminent position of the Penta-

teuch. To the Jews of the Diaspora, as to the Jews of Palestine, the Pentateuch was already a Bible within the Bible, and Philo exhausts his vocabulary in finding laudatory epithets to bestow upon its author, whom he names the Hierophant of sacred rites, the best beloved of God, the all-wise, and even the omnipotent. While the Alexandrian mystic thus gave the place of honour to the least mystical of the books of Scripture, he appears to have lightly esteemed other books which might readily have furnished him with matter for his theosophic musings. He neither quotes nor mentions Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Lamentations, Ezekiel, or Daniel. We cannot, however, conclude from his silence that the unmentioned books had no place in Philo's Canon. With regard to Ezekiel, its position in Ecclus 49. 8 between Jeremiah and the Minor Prophets guarantees its canonicity two centuries before Philo. It is different with Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and Daniel, which were the latest books received into the Canon, and Professor Ryle thinks it improbable that their canonicity was fully established in Egypt in the time of Philo.

The quotations are arranged according to books, and the editor has supplied notes in which attention is directed to the variations of the text of Philo from other texts of the Greek Bible. The importance of Philo's quotations to the student of the text of the Old Testament is due to the circumstance that he used MSS. older by two centuries than the oldest which we possess. These MSS. did not come, as all others do, through Christian sources, but exhibit the text of the Synagogues of the Diaspora before the influence of the Church made itself felt either on the text or on the interpretation of the text.

Philo's quotations from the Greek Bible likewise possess an interest for the student of the New Testament. They present the phenomenon in an exaggerated form, of loose and apparently careless quotation, which has created perplexity in the pages of New Testament writers. He frequently gives the sense of a passage in his own words. He condenses many passages which he quotes, and he introduces variations either from a slip of the memory or through preference for a more familiar word having the same meaning; and lastly, he introduces rhetorical amplification and allegorizing interpretation into his quotations. To this it may be added that a large number of his quotations are so much interspersed with paraphrase and comment that no confidence can be felt as to the actual text which he employed. The loose method of quotation in the New Testament has sometimes been ascribed to the want of literary habit on the part of the writers. But it is to be found to a greater extent in Philo, who was a voluminous writer, and one of the most

cultivated men of the age. It was the universal custom of antiquity to pay no regard to verbal accuracy in quotation, and—what appears to us less excusable—to introduce their own thoughts into passages quoted. Writers on philosophy and religion allowed themselves a greater license than did others. The bondage of the letter was to them intolerable, as it checked the current of thoughts and emotions; and they often compelled ancient writers to give utterance to their own ideas. Philo's manner of quotation does not agree well with his rigid doctrine of verbal inspiration; but doctrines of inspiration, however rigid in theory, usually yield to the exigencies of popular religious teaching, and those who hold them frequently take liberties with the text of Scripture from which scholars who hold laxer theories would recoil.

We would venture, in conclusion, to express a hope that this volume may not prove the last of the author's studies in Philo. It has recently been remarked by Professor Sanday that any future advance in New Testament exegesis is to be looked for chiefly through a continuous and careful study of the Jewish writings between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D. Professor Ryle has already made an important contribution to the understanding of those writings in his excellent edition of the Psalms of Solomon. Were the writings of Philo edited with the same care by himself, or by some equally competent scholar, we should possess an important aid to New Testament study; for Philo is helpful not only as regards the language of the New Testament, but because of the light which he throws upon the doctrinal conceptions and the exegetical traditions of the Synagogues of the Diaspora, by which the writers of the New Testament were more influenced than by the Schools of Palestine.

JOHN GIBB.

Bishop Heber : Poet and Chief Missionary to the East, 1783-1826.

*By George Smith, C.I.E., LL.D. London: John Murray. 8vo,
pp. xv. 370. Price, 10s. 6d.*

HEBER, as Dr Smith reminds us, ruled over the vastest of dioceses, for, while his see took its name from Calcutta, he held himself commissioned to be "missionary metropolitan of Asia, Africa, and Australia." This largeness of subject might have ministered to that gasping comprehensiveness (as of one straining after dim imperial distances and an incommensurable range of space) which has so often first attracted and then fatigued the homely wits of home-keeping men, when listening to eloquent representatives of the

East. It has not done so in the present case. Dr Smith has skilfully fitted his subject into the frame, or rather into the scaffolding, of a progressive providence. The expansion of England, before and at the time with which he deals, so obviously called for an expansion of Christian and missionary responsibilities, that Heber's large commission is felt to have been barely adequate. And the three years of life, which were all that remained to the Bishop after his consecration, were devoted exclusively to India, and indeed to becoming acquainted with the India of the time, as it tumbled, bit by bit, into the hands that now hold it. There is a fascination in all the details—*e.g.*, in learning the results of what had happened only "two months before the crowning victory of Waterloo."

"A hill country of the size of Switzerland, but even more beautiful, and a million of trusty Highlanders, were added to the British Empire. There Heber now found himself, after the toils and the exposure of the plains, during seven months of the hot and rainy seasons of 1824, in the shadow of thirty snow peaks, all much loftier than Mount Blanc, and three of them rising to 26,000 feet. There he was in the centre of the land of the great rivers which form the Ganges system, near the sources of the glacier-born streams, up which thousands of Hindoos daily toil from the parched plains below seeking for God, if haply they may find Him in the ice-bound solitudes, and there wash the conscience clean."

And this was but one of many doors, suddenly opened for victors who chose to enter in. But Heber was our first man to do it as a missionary bishop in the East. His predecessor was Bishop Middleton, of whom his biographer writes: "It is not unusual to imagine that the President of our Asiatic Church is chiefly to be regarded as a sort of head missionary, and that his principal duty is to encourage and keep alive the work of conversion among the natives. To this view of his office Bishop Middleton firmly and most justly *opposed himself* in the very outset of his administration," and his nine years of office were spent in contendings and disputings with the Company. Heber "was exactly the opposite, alike in the wise and Christian spirit which he showed to the civil authorities, the catholicity with which he welcomed the co-operation of Dissenters, and the frank enthusiasm which led him from the first to magnify his office by proclaiming himself the chief missionary."

It follows that his work, short as it was, must ever be memorable in the development of the Church of England. But the man himself was singularly representative, both of that old Church and of its new function. Born in the subdued purple of Anglican culture, he early charmed every one by an unexampled union and harmony of personal gifts. After his death Archdeacon Corrie gave expres-

sion to the quaint complaint: "Such was the natural amiability of his character that it was often difficult to say whether he acted from nature or from grace." It is a difficulty which neither England nor Oxford has ever felt as serious; and having been at that University "beyond all question or comparison, the most distinguished student of his time," his contemporary, Sir Charles P. Grey, long after testifies: "The name of Reginald Heber was in every mouth; his society was courted by young and old; he lived in an atmosphere of favour, admiration, and regard, from which I have never known any one but himself who would not have derived, and for life, an unsalutary influence." He was saved largely by the missionary devotion which early found expression in his hymns as Rector of Hodnet. Besides "From Greenland's icy mountains" (written in a few minutes on a Saturday in 1819 for the service of the following Whitsunday morning), about thirty of Heber's fifty-seven hymns still hold a place in the front rank of popular approval and use. And it is a curious fact—recalling what had happened at the Reformation in Scotland and elsewhere—that many of them were suggested to the ear of the poet by old Scottish tunes. In each case the music was the mother of the song. "Brightest and best," for example, came from "Wandering Willie"; "The God of Glory" from "Banks of Doon"; "The World grown old" from "Logie o' Buchan"; and "Thou art gone to the grave" from "Auld Robin Gray."

A. TAYLOR INNES.

Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien.

Drittes Heft. Paralleltexte zu Lucas, gesammelt und untersucht von Alfred Resch. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. ix. 847. Price, M.27.

THIS third volume of a truly monumental work will certainly enhance Dr Resch's reputation, and will put him in the foremost rank, if not in the foremost place, among students of early Christian literature. It takes up, in order, more than 500 passages in the Gospel of Luke; and in each case exhibits in full "the extra-canonical parallel texts" gathered from early church literature. "Quotations from our Gospels" we may not call them, for it is part of Dr Resch's theory that there was an *Urevangelium* in very wide circulation alongside the canonical gospels, composed originally in Hebrew, but afterwards translated into Greek, and that it was from this document that several of the oldest codices obtained, directly or indirectly, their remarkable readings, and that it was also used by

the Apostles and the early Church Fathers. Dr Resch's criteria for determining whether the Fathers are quoting from the canonical gospels or the *Urevangelium* are these: if a passage in a Version or in one of the Fathers presents a Hebraistic idiom where our Gospels do not; or if, instead of quoting our gospels *verbatim*, it presents the same meaning in synonymous phraseology, this is regarded by our author, in perhaps some thousands of instances, as a clear indication that the "parallel-text" is drawn from the Hebrew *Urevangelium*, and even as furnishing a guide to the restoration of the Hebrew text. As to the insufficiency of this criterion I have protested more than once in the pages of this magazine (*cf.* Vol. v. 38), and therefore forbear to make further comment.

The documents on which our author chiefly relies, as preserving the readings of the *Urevangelium* are Codex Bezae, the Curetonian Syriac, with now its companion Lewisianus, the codices of the Vetus Itala, and, in the present volume, though almost ignored before, the Palestinian Lectionary. The agreement of all or any of these fixes the text of the primitive Gospel infallibly.

The object which Dr Resch has in view in this connection is thus quite distinct from that of Westcott and Hort and other exponents of textual criticism. Their object is to restore the Greek text to the condition in which it came from the hands of the canonical writers. Dr Resch aspires to get behind the synoptists to the document which they used in common, and which they somewhat modified and re-arranged so as to suit the purpose they had in view.

While our author is full of praises as to Luke's accuracy, considering him as the real historiographer of the New Testament, the one most free from *Tendenz* and most carefully following his "sources," he yet thinks that he notes in him a decided disposition to abridge the "source," especially towards the close of a narrative or discourse. This disposition is so constant that Dr Resch raises it to the dignity of a "law," and calls it "the Law of Parcimony," and on pages 838-40 (as I discovered, with mingled feelings, after having carefully collected them in the course of my reading) he gives a Verzeichniss der interessantesten Textkürzungen which occur in the third Gospel. The items in this list of abbreviations produce very varying degrees of conviction: running over the entire gamut from complete assent to complete dissent. No one will doubt, *e.g.*, that in several cases where Matthew gives a longer account than Luke, Matthew gives the complete saying of our Lord and Luke is the abbreviator, *e.g.*, in the Lord's Prayer (Luke xi. 2-4, R.V.), and in the account of the Temptation (Luke iv. 4). Almost equally certain is it that Luke omitted from his "source" the words preserved in Matthew, "and causeth his sun to shine on the evil and the good" (Luke vi. 35); "if the mighty works had been done

in Sodom, &c." (Luke x. 15); "and the servant as his lord" (Luke vi. 40; Matthew x. 25); "on these two commandments hang the whole law and the prophets" (Luke x. 27; Matt. xxii. 40); and "as Jonah was in the belly of the whale," &c. (Luke xi. 30; Matt. xxii. 40).

But when Dr Resch claims, for the *Urevangelium*, words found in early literature, but not found in any Greek codex, and reckons these as "abbreviations" by Luke, we naturally pause and think. We subjoin a few specimens, *italicising* the words which we are told that Luke *omitted* from his copy of the primitive Gospel.

Luke iii. 21. *And fire was kindled in the Jordan.* So Justin.

iv. 3. *Why art thou hungry?* if thou art the Son of God, &c.

ix. 23. Let him take his cross every day *rejoicing*.

x. 16. He that heareth you heareth Me, *and he that heareth Me heareth Him that sent Me.* He that rejecteth you rejecteth Me, and he that rejecteth Me, &c.

xi. 4. Lead us not into a temptation *which we cannot bear.*

xii. 5. Fear Him who is able *to save* and *to destroy.*

xii. 31. But seek the Kingdom of God and its righteousness, *for these are great things; and the little things concerning this life, these shall be added unto you.* So Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 6.

xiii. 33. I must to-day and to-morrow *have care*, and the next day I must depart, for it cannot be, &c. So Diatessaron.

xv. 5. He lays it on his shoulders *and carries it to the fold.* So Didasc. ii. 20, and Const. ii. 20.

xvi. 10. *If ye have not kept the little, who will give you the great?* So Clem. Rom. ii. 8 and Iren. ii. 34.

xvii. 1. *Good things must come, and blessed is he through whom they come; likewise σκάνδαλα must come, but woe to him through whom they come.*

xx. 25. Give to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, and to God *what ye owe restore to Him.* So Eph. Syr.

Codex Bezaë is attracting a great amount of attention at the present time—and deservedly so. It may be interesting therefore if we give a few readings of this MS., which Dr Resch considers to preserve genuine readings of the *Urevangelium*.

Luke iii. 10. What must we do *that we may be saved?* So v. 12-14.

v. 10. *Be not catchers of fishes, for I will make you fishers of men.*

ix. 26. Whosoever shall be ashamed of Me *and Mine.*

Luke ix. 55. Rebuked them *and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.*

xi. 2. Thy name be hallowed *on us.*

xiii. 7. *Take the axe and cut it down.*

xiii. 8. I will dig round it and put *a basket of dung* to it.

xv. 21. *Make me as one of thy hired servants.*

xvi. 19. *And he spake also another parable.* (That of Dives and Lazarus.)

xviii. 4. Afterward he *came to himself and said.*

xx. 34. The sons of this age *are born and beget, marry, &c.*

xxii. 16. *Until it is eaten new* in the Kingdom.

xxii. 28. Ye who continued with Me in My temptations *have grown in My service as he that serveth.*

There is nothing inherently improbable in any of these readings of Codez Bezzæ; all they lack is sufficient evidence.

We will now adduce a few instances in which Resch undertakes by his principles to restore the true text of the *Urevangelium*, when it is diversely modified, and sometimes lost in our canonical Gospels. In Luke ix. 62 we are told that the complete original text read, "No man who has put his hand to a plough and looks back can make the furrow straight. So no one who looks back is fit for the Kingdom of God." Luke xi. 2, "When ye pray use not vain repetitions like the rest; for some think that by their much speaking they shall be heard, but when ye pray, say, Our Father." Luke xvi. 16 originally read: "The Law and the prophets announced beforehand the Kingdom of God until John: from that time is the Kingdom of God reached through violence (Durchbruch), and to the violent (Durchbrechern) the Kingdom belongs." Dr Resch explains this passage by the use of the Hebrew word פָּרַץ to "break through;" and if it were not that this word has the same meaning in Aramaic, I should really be compelled to admit that Luke found *this* passage in Hebrew. But I venture to think that Dr Resch has not realised the full value of his identification. פָּרַץ = to "break through," "use violence"; but the participle of this verb is used of those who have broken through the fence of the law, "the sinners," "the publicans and harlots," who in Matt. xxi. 32 are said to go into the kingdom before others. Therefore, when Matt. xi. 12 says βίασται ἀπράξουσιν αὐτήν, the re-translation shows that the βίασται are the law-breakers, "sinners." This is modified by Luke xvi. 16 into "Everybody violently-enters into it;" and when Luke uses εὐαγγελίζεται for βιάζεται in Matt., he read אֵתְּפִירָא for אֵתְּפִירָא. So that the passage furnishes us with an instance of paronomastic parallelism, so dear to the Semitic mind:—

"The Kingdom of God is violently-broken-into
And the law-breakers seize it."

Other original readings of the Semitic gospel, according to our author, are: "Master, what good shall I do, &c. Why speakest thou to me of the good. There is one who is good" (Luke xviii. 18, 19). "Every one who has left all for My name's sake shall receive manifold and eternal life" (Luke xviii. 19). "This generation shall not pass away before the destruction receives its commencement" (Luke xxi. 32).

Our author has adopted Mr Conybeare's theory as to the authorship of Mark xvi. 9-20 by Ariston of Pella; and in the present volume he finds for this worthy a suitable sphere of activity, *circ.* 140 A.D., in amplifying Luke's condensed sentences, filling up his omissions and otherwise modifying the genuine Lucan text. It was probably Ariston, being a Jewish Christian, who altered Luke iii. 22 so as to read, "Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee;" and who introduced from the Logia the words, "Ye know not what spirit ye are of," which Luke had omitted in ix. 56. From the same "source" he supplied some of Luke's omissions in the Lord's Prayer, Luke xi. 4; and inserted the words, "There came an angel from heaven strengthening him" (Luke xxii. 43); and he is also made responsible for the insertion of the statement that the stone at the sepulchre was one "which twenty men could scarcely roll" (Luke xxiii. 53).

Dr Resch expresses more unfalteringly than in his second volume his conviction that the *Urevangelium* was in Hebrew and not Aramaic. He is quite conscious that he stands now in a small minority, but this does not make him any the less courageous in his attacks on every one who may differ from him. Passing by his running fire on myself, I will briefly direct attention to the passages in which he assails others who hold the Aramaic hypothesis. On page 83 Credner is the object of his animadversions; on page 230, Dr Chase, who has said respecting the Lord's Prayer that "it may be taken for certain that the Prayer was originally in Aramaic;" on page 425, Paul Ewald, for having styled Resch's various translations "worthless synonyms"; and on page 687, Wellhausen; while of the efforts of Chwolson and the Jewish professor, Dr Kaufmann, to explain Luke xxii. 7, Matt. xxvi. 17, by re-translation into Aramaic, he says they remind him of the remarks he has made about myself in Heft I.

It is to me a matter of deep interest that in the present volume Dr Resch recognises the antiquity and value of the text preserved in the Palestinian Lectionary. This valuable document was rarely quoted in his previous volumes, and even here his use of it is some-

what fitful. On pages 87 and 93 it would have strengthened his case much had he noted that Syr-jer reads, "Be ye merciful as your Father is merciful, and compassionate is He" (Luke vi. 35). On Luke vii. 45 he failed to note that the reading of Ephraim, "A kiss of salutation thou gavest not to me" is a conflate reading from the Greek: "A kiss thou gavest not to me," and Syr-jer, "A salutation thou gavest not to me." Among so many other variants there are some *unique* readings of the Lectionary which we might have expected Dr Resch to cite. *E.g.* on Luke vi. 35, "Lend and do not lose hope"; x. 1, "And he designated also his seventy disciples"; xii. 20, "This night they are drawing thy soul from thee"; and on xxi. 19, "For indeed by your endurance ye are gaining your souls"; while on Luke xxiii. 43 he omits to notice that the Lectionary gives the same reading as *Acta Pilati*, "To day thou art with me in Paradise."

It is an important part of Dr Resch's theory that the apostles Paul, Peter and James made use of the Hebrew primitive gospel. He even holds that it is to this that Paul refers when in 1 Cor. xv. 3 he says, "Christ was raised the third day, according to the *Scriptures*." Many of the instances cited by our author as indicating Paul's acquaintance with the words of Jesus are profoundly suggestive. *E.g.* when he traces the connection between faith and salvation in Rom. i. 16, 1 Cor. i. 21, to Christ's words: "lest they should believe and be saved" (Luke viii. 12); and derives 1 Thess. i. 6, "Having received the word in much affliction with joy," from Luke viii. 13. Equally justifiable is the connection he seeks to establish between the Pauline doctrine of Redemption in Rom. viii. 32, 1 Tim. ii. 6, and the words of Jesus in Matt. xx. 28, curtailed however in Luke xx. 27; and also between the doctrine of the atoning efficacy of Christ's death as taught in Eph. i. 7, Col. i. 14, and the words of Jesus at the Supper, *εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*. With equal reason does he derive 2 Tim. iv. 18 and 2 Peter ii. 9 from the petition "Deliver us from evil"; and 1 Cor. i. 22, "The Jews seek signs," from Luke xi. 29; and James i. 6, "Let him ask of God," &c., from Luke xi. 12; and 1 Peter i. 13, "Girding up the loins of your mind," from Luke xii. 35. Even more striking is the connection which Resch points out between Luke xxi. 24, "And Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled," and Rev. xi. 2 and Rom. xi. 25. In two cases the derivation is concealed by variant translation from the Semitic "source." (1) Luke x. 27, "On (*ἐν*) these two commands is *hung* the whole law." Gal. v. 14, "In one word is *fulfilled* all the law." Dr Resch explains the difference as arising from confusion between *תָּלָה* and *כָּלָה*. Why not between *תָּלָה* and *כָּלָה*?

(2) Matt. vi. 20, "Lay up treasures (θησαυρούς) where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt." James v. 2, "Your riches (πλοῦτος) are corrupted, your garments are moth-eaten, your gold and silver are rusted." Dr Resch clearly sees (p. 330) that "treasures" and "riches" are variant renderings of a Semitic original, but as the Hebrew furnishes no assistance he is silent. Whereas in Aramaic ܚܝܬ = a "treasure," and in the Palestinian dialects it also denotes "silver and gold," "riches."

We feel bound to express disapprobation at some of Dr Resch's supposed quotations in the Epistles from the primitive Gospel. It is surely a *ὑστερον πρότερον* to infer that Paul drew the words, "He will not suffer you to be tempted above what ye can bear" (1 Cor. x. 13), from the *Urevangelium*, because Jerome and some others in quoting the Lord's Prayer say, "Lead us not into temptation which we cannot bear" (page 240): and that he quoted from the "source" the figure of the thief in the night, because Epiphanius connects this figure with Luke xii. 36a. Equally precarious is his derivation of Rom. xiii. 7, "Give to all their dues" from the rendering in Ephraim of Luke xx. 25, which Resch considers a genuine Logion: "Give to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, and to God render to Him what ye owe"; but our author reaches the *ne plus ultra* when he says that when Paul uses the word *ἄφρων* in 1 Cor. xv. 36 he was quoting Luke xii. 20. This is an excess of zeal.

In a work written by one who is both a scholar and a sincere Christian, there are, scattered everywhere, elucidations of Scripture passages which well repay careful perusal: but his most valuable remarks are those on the Lord's Prayer, the Parousia, the Lord's Supper, the Passion and the Resurrection. We will now offer a few words on each of the subjects.

1. In his observations on the Lord's Prayer Dr Resch alludes to the paucity of allusions to it in the earliest church literature—Justin never mentioning it—but shows how the discovery of the Didaché threw light on the darkness by quoting it, and enjoining that it be offered three times a day. He quotes with approval that part of Chase's work, "The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church," in which he shows a parallelism between the parts of the Prayer and the Temptation, but as to the "birthplace" of the prayer he prefers the scene of Christ's Baptism (John x. 40) to Olivet: and thinks that the prayer "breathes the breath of the place where Jesus, through His Baptism, and after His Temptation, began His work"; and from which He was about to go to Jerusalem. He supports the originality of "Hallowed be Thy name *on us*" from the Jewish Prayer-Book; and maintains that the variant "Let Thy Holy Spirit come on us and cleanse us" was used in connection

with Baptism : but thinks that Chase's contention that there were three forms of the Prayer—one for the laying-on of hands and for Baptism, one for morning and evening, and one for the Eucharist—is set aside by the Didaché ; while as for the Doxology, he finds the earliest trace in 2 Tim. iv. 18, "To whom be the glory for ever." Then comes Didaché viii. 2, "Thine is the power and the glory for ever." Then Syr-cur to Matt. vi. 13, "Thine is the kingdom and the glory for ever." Then Ap. Const. iii. 18, which gives the ordinary three-membered Doxology. (Pp. 225-243.)

2. As to the Parousia, he maintains that a comparison of the three synoptic accounts shows that material from other parts of the *Urevangelium* is introduced by each evangelist into his account of the great eschatological discourse just before the last passover. Dr Resch therefore undertakes a threefold task—(1) to eliminate the material which did not originally belong to the Discourse—with Luke as leader ; (2) to present from the three Synoptists the discourse in its original entirety ; and (3) to gather from extra-synoptic sources, sayings which, in our author's judgment, originally belonged to the Discourse (pp. 571-2). Luke xxi. 8-36, with its synoptic parallels, was designed to answer a *double* question, proposed to our Lord by the disciples, which is preserved in Matthew, Mark, but obscured in Luke : "When shall these things be ? (*i.e.* the destruction of the Temple), and what is the sign of Thy coming, and the consummation of the æon ?" The reply made by our Lord recognises the twofoldness of the question, though probably the disciples themselves conceived of the catastrophe at Jerusalem and the Parousia as coincident. This is clearly to be seen from Luke xxi. 24, "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." This is not found in Matthew or Mark, but Resch contends for its originality, and regards the *εὐθὺς* of Matt. xxiv. 29 as unauthentic. The genuineness of *καποὶ ἐθνῶν* is attested by Rev. xi. 2, xii. 14, and by Rom. x. 11, xi. 25. Our Lord thus clearly recognized an intermediate period between the fall of Jerusalem and the Parousia : but whether, as filling in this period, our Lord on this occasion foretold the coming of "schisms and heresies" (1 Cor. xi. 19), of wolves in sheep's clothing (Matt. vii. 15), and of the Man of Sin (2 Thess. ii. 3 ff), may reasonably be doubted. A revised version of the whole discourse is given on pages 607-10.

3. As to the Lord's Supper, Dr Resch makes a valuable contribution in reference to the date of its occurrence ; and decides that it must have been the evening before the Passover, and that the crucifixion was the antitype of the slaying of the Paschal Lamb, and took place at the same time. If the Lord's Supper took place when the rest of the Jews were eating the Passover, then Jesus was

crucified on the first and great day of the feast; and though some expressions in the Synoptists identify the Supper with the Passover, there are others in which they clearly imply that Christ was not crucified on a Feast-day (pages 613-8). Further, Luke mentions two cups over which Jesus gives thanks. As to the first cup, Resch adopts the reading of Syr-Sin in Luke xxii. 17, *μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι ἐδέξατο ποτήριον*—making this the last cup of the ordinary paschal meal. When the ordinary paschal meal was quite over, then came the new ordinance to commemorate the new covenant. With regard to the words spoken by Christ on this occasion, Dr Resch despairs of tracing the divergent accounts of Matthew and Mark on the one hand, and of Luke and 1 Cor. xi. on the other, to a common "source": but he ascribes to Jewish sympathies the omission of the word "new" in Matthew and Mark before "covenant." This "tendency" is still more marked in Codex Bezae, which omits the second cup in Luke xxii. 20, and respecting the bread merely says, "This is my body": while in the Didaché all mention of the atoning death of Christ is omitted in the words used at the Eucharist (pp. 628-38). Dr Resch controverts Prof. Harnack's thesis that water was extensively used instead of wine at the Eucharist, showing rather that water was often mixed with the wine (p. 648). He considers 1 Cor. xi. 26 a genuine logion, though only preserved in this Epistle. He does not regard it as merely an observation of the apostle's.

4. In commenting on the passages which refer to Christ's trial and death, Dr Resch insists that five accusations were made against Christ at Pilate's bar. Three only are mentioned in our Gospels, but two others, extra-canonical, are held to be equally genuine. They are these—(1) perverting the nation, Luke, Marcion; (2) destroying the law and the prophets, Marcion, *Cod. Colb., Acta Pilati*; (3) forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, Luke, Marcion; perverting the women and children, *Cod. Colb., Marcion*; (5) saying that he himself is Christ the King, Luke. As to the drink which was given to our Lord on the cross there are five variants—*οἶνος ἐσμυρισμένος* in Mark xv. 23; *οἶνος μετὰ χολῆς*, Matt. xxvii. 34; *ὄξος*, Luke xxiii. 36; *ὄξος μετὰ σμύρνης*, Syr-jer to John xix. 29; *ὄξος μετὰ χολῆς*, Barnabas vii. 5. The confusion of "myrrh" and "gall" is doubtless due to *ܡܝܪܪܗ* = myrrh, and *ܟܠܝܬܐ* = gall, either in Hebrew or in Aramaic.

5. In the narratives of the Resurrection Dr Resch is perplexed with *ὄψις σαββάτων* in Matt. xxviii. 1, and votes it an impossible reading. He maintains that the *Γαλιλαία* of Matt. xxviii. 7 was not the northern province but *ἡ περιχώρος* = *ܡܬܚܐ* of Jerusalem, the Mount of Olives; and that it was there that Christ

was seen of 500 brethren at once. He has not seen Dr Chase's explanation of *ουλαμμαους* for "Emmaus" in Codex Bezae, *Syro-Latin Text*, p. 109. Several years ago, in collecting the eccentricities of this Codex, I noted, as Dr Chase has done, that the peculiar word before us is due to reading Lomadh for Ee in a Syrian codex (p. 769). On five occasions, in speaking of the two men that were walking to Emmaus, Origen calls them Simon and Clopas. This identification certainly arose from a possible interpretation of Luke xxiv. 33-4 with the alteration of one letter. "They returned . . . and found the eleven assembled, . . . saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon." Who said this? If we read *λέγοντας*, it was the eleven. If *λέγοντες*, it was the two arriving visitors; and if they reported, "The Lord hath appeared to Simon," then Simon was one of the two. Resch defends this interpretation and Origen's inference. In Luke xxiv. 25 our author prefers the reading of Syr-cur and Marcion, "O fools and slow of heart in believing all that *He* spake (*ἐλάλησεν*) to you," and sees in the connection of "suffering" and "glory" in Luke xxiv. 27 an indication of the deep influence which was produced on Simon's mind by Christ's discourse, and which comes out in 1 Peter i. 11, "the spirit of Christ testified beforehand the sufferings which were (in store) for Christ, and the glory that should be afterwards." The five appearances of the risen Lord referred to in 1 Cor. xv. Resch identifies as follows. The first, "to Cephas," is the visit to Emmaus. The second, "to the Twelve," is the event narrated in Luke xxiv. 36-43. The third, "to above five hundred brethren at once," is identified with Luke xxiv. 50, 51, immediately before the Ascension. "Then," fourthly, "he was seen of James." This, by an intricate process of reasoning, is claimed to refer to Thomas (John xx). The word Thomas means "twin," and was used of either of two members in the apostolic band, who were twins. As the result of a comparison of many lists of the Apostles, Resch concludes that James, the (son) of Alphæus, and Judas (the brother) of James were twins, and were both known also as Thomas, the twin. The fifth appearance, "to all the apostles," is identified with Acts i. 4-11.

Having thus endeavoured briefly to direct the attention of Biblical scholars to the principal features of this truly valuable volume, I will repeat with additional emphasis the words with which I closed the review of the previous volume—that it is a work which will long be indispensable to the student of Textual Criticism and Ecclesiastical History.

J. T. MARSHALL.

Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels.

By the Rev. Paton J. Gloag, D.D., author of a Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, an Introduction to the Pauline Epistles, &c. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Demy 8vo, pp. xviii. 298. Price, 7s. 6d.

THIS book worthily crowns a series of volumes of Introduction to the New Testament which have occupied Dr Gloag for the past twenty-five years, and which reflect credit on the Biblical scholarship of Scotland. It is distinguished by the same merits as its predecessors—by wide reading, sober handling, and clear exposition. Dr Gloag candidly confesses that, in the course of studies extending over so many years, his views on not a few points have changed; but still more noteworthy is the distinct change of atmosphere from the time when the earlier volumes were written under the stress of the Tübingen theory, and when the rights of criticism were doubtfully acknowledged, to this closing volume in which he claims to have exercised "strict impartiality and candour." Those who hold by a verbal inspiration may still be shocked by discussions on authorship, sources, mutual relations, etc., but scholarship is not now hampered as it was a quarter of a century ago.

There may be disappointment to some in finding that this new volume on the great question of New Testament criticism does not profess to furnish any complete solution; but the book is not so much an original study as an introduction to the question. From this latter point of view, it has exceptional value. So much has been done in recent years on various lines, that a volume of this kind, compact, judicious, bringing the discussion down to the magazine articles of 1895, was greatly needed; and it may be warmly commended alike to those who are beginning the study of the subject, and to those who have not been able to keep themselves abreast of its later developments.

The book is carefully planned, so as to cover the whole ground. Its four sections deal with "General Introduction" and the three Gospels in turn, each section taking up the questions of genuineness, authorship, sources, design, language, integrity, time, place and contents. For a complete harmony of the Gospels, reference is made to the many already in existence; but due attention is drawn to the threefold narrative, the twofold narrative, and the sections in which the three Gospels are independent of each other. An interesting feature will be found in the discussions on the exegetical or textual difficulties presented by such passages as Matt. ii. 15, "Out of Egypt have I called My Son"; Matt. ii. 23, "He shall be called a Nazarene"; Luke ii. 14; Luke xxii. 42-44; Mark xvi.

9-20. There are also lengthy dissertations on the Census of Quirinius and the Genealogies of our Lord. On this latter question, Dr Gloag's opinion is that in St Matthew's Gospel we have the genealogy of Joseph, and in St Luke's that of Heli or Mary. Has he noted, among recent discussions, the very careful Appendix C. of Père Didon's "Jésus Christ," in which the close relationship between Joseph and Mary, asserted by Irenaeus, Tertullian, and later Fathers is accepted? Didon's conclusion is: "A ce titre on peut dire que l'une est la généalogie naturelle de Joseph, l'autre sa généalogie légale; mais que l'une et l'autre sont la généalogie naturelle et légale, tout à la fois, de Marie et de Jésus."

Many will turn with interest to pp. 187-202, where, after a review of the arguments for and against, Dr Gloag, evidently attaching great weight to the recently-discovered use of the passage in Tatian's Diatessaron, sums up in favour of regarding the last twelve verses of St Mark as an original and integral part of that Gospel.

On the main problem of the Synoptic Gospels, that of their origin and mutual relations, an excellent digest of the theories advanced from Eichhorn down to the present day will be found on pp. 22-71. The handling is perhaps lacking in the firmness which the advocate of a particular theory would have shown; and indeed the abundance of ingenious and plausible suggestions has grown somewhat bewildering. The summing up, however, on pp. 66 ff. is both judicious and instructive. When will the last word be said on a series of facts which must have puzzled Tatian, the first harmonist, and puzzles scholars still? These facts in sum are, that there are four accounts of the life and ministry of Jesus Christ, all fragmentary, incomplete, and in great measure without chronological sequence; that three of these go over much the same ground, using at times language practically identical; that the same three have also sections independent and divergences of expression which make it difficult at certain points to combine their narratives into one. How are these facts to be accounted for? The information external to the Gospels is so slight, as to complicate rather than simplify the problem; and the testimony furnished by the Gospels themselves has been made to support a multiplicity of theories. Oral tradition there must have been at first; in the circumstances, such tradition would crystallise into definite form, and quite possibly into cycles of narrative for the instruction of converts. The change to documentary records is only a step, and the emergence of one or more lengthy compilations presents no difficulty. Looking alike to the probabilities of the case and to the facts furnished by the internal evidence, most scholars are now agreed, that the three Synoptic Gospels were based on two lengthy documentary records, that their narrative was supplemented from other documentary sources and

that some material as well as verbal colouring was derived direct from oral tradition.

But how to disentangle the various elements, and how to define precisely the relations of dependence or independence among the Gospels, is the perplexity of Biblical scholars. There are still lines, however, along which further investigation might gather contributions to a final solution. Thus the relation of the first Three Gospels to the Fourth in their selection of subject-matter has been strangely left out of consideration. A careful study of the order of the respective narratives might determine one or two points; it is curious that, with the exception of three breaks which admit of ready explanation, the order in St Mark only departs from that of St Matthew to agree with that of St Luke; it is never independent. An exact determination of the amount of verbal agreement where the narrative is threefold and where it is twofold might fix more clearly certain mutual relations. A study of the verbal divergences in the common narratives would show the possible influence exercised by the mental characteristics and doctrinal position of the writers. Did not Dr Sanday also suggest once that some divergences, at least in verbal expression, might be due to the inexactitude of early copyists? As likely, however, as any means of solving the problem would be the discovery of some MS. of the apostolic or sub-apostolic age. Meantime the problem fascinates and baffles.

DAVID HUNTER.

Homiletik.

Vorlesungen von D. Th. Christlieb, weil. Ord. Professor der Theologie und Universitätsprediger in Bonn. Herausgegeben von Th. Haarbeck. Basel: Jaeger & Kober. Pp. viii. 356. Price, M.4.

THIS volume contains the course of lectures on Homiletic delivered by the late Professor Christlieb during his twenty-one years' tenure of the chair of Pastoral Theology in the Protestant Faculty at Bonn. The lectures have been carefully edited by the Rev. Th. Haarbeck, under whose superintendence the "Johanneum," or School for the Training of Evangelists, founded by Christlieb shortly before his too early death, has continued to prosper. The editor's task has not been easy. Christlieb followed the usual German method of dictating a brief sketch of his lecture, to be afterwards extended in free discourse. In some cases the latter part, which of course forms the greater part of the lecture, exists only in notes. Then, although the lectures have continued in the main as originally written, numerous

marginal notes bear testimony to unceasing efforts to enrich and improve them, and these notes have had to be incorporated by the editor. At the best, Christlieb's style is far from being easy and graceful; in some of these lectures as here published it is peculiarly involved. But there is no difficulty or uncertainty as to his conception of Homiletics. He utterly refuses to restrict the term to "preaching to believers." He thinks that Schleiermacher, by emphasising the distinction between *Mission* and *Cultus*, and making preaching a part of worship in which the believer finds his faith expressed, his emotions stirred, and therefore is edified, has failed to take note of fundamental facts as to the constitution of existing congregations. Christlieb rightly emphasises the mixed character of ordinary congregations. With special reference to the state of matters in Germany, he says that even among members of the Church some never had faith, some have lost it, and some are in danger of losing it. The preacher must have regard to all these as well as to the believer who is to be edified. Preaching must be more than mere *cultus*: it must include a *mission* element, at least to the extent of being evangelistic. "Every pastor must be an evangelist." Christlieb, however, would not include in Homiletic the discussion of missionary methods in the full sense of that term. He is no doubt right in thinking that, in view of the tremendous difference between the presuppositions of the heathen and those of the unconverted in Christian communities, it is impossible with any advantage to combine the consideration of the two kinds of work. And yet the state of affairs in many parts of Christendom suggests a grave doubt whether the distinction has not been too rigidly insisted on. The work of the Christian preacher, according to Christlieb, is "to direct the world to the way of blessedness, to call the unconverted to repentance, and to confirm believers in their faith." Neither *κηρύσσειν*, nor *διδάσκειν*, nor *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* gives a full account of it; all three must be combined with or in *μαρτυρεῖν*. The preacher is no mere orator or teacher, though he may and ought to use for his purpose any rhetorical or didactic skill he may have. He is above all a witness; he speaks from personal knowledge and experience; the essence of his work is *martyretic*. All these and other points which need not be specifically mentioned are fully discussed in the *prolegomena* and Chapter I. Manifestly Christlieb's views as to the essential character and purpose of preaching are much nearer those that prevail among us than the views usually to be found in German manuals on Practical Theology. Probably this is due in part to his seven years' pastorate in London, and his consequent familiarity with English methods and manuals. The remaining three chapters of the book are devoted respectively to the personal qualifications of the preacher, the subject-matter of preaching, and the form and delivery of the

discourse. It is unnecessary to follow these in any detail. They prove abundantly what we know otherwise, that Christlieb was "a man of the Bible and of practical life." He is decidedly conservative, but he is not one of those who can find the Gospel in every text or even in every book of Scripture. The preacher ought to have regard to the needs of his hearers, and he must ever be faithful to the fundamental articles of the faith, but he is not at liberty to make any application of a text which is not based on sound exegesis. Christlieb applies this principle to the topical as well as to the expository discourse. He objects to very short texts, because they are apt to need pressing or eking out; and he objects to very big texts, because they cannot be fully dealt with, and are apt to cause confusion. The two great virtues in dealing with a text are, to be faithful to it and to exhaust it. As to the length of discourses, Germans might put up with half an hour or even an hour, and "to a Scotsman an hour and a half is in many cases even yet not too long," but Christlieb commends Luther's rule: "Begin sharp, speak out, stop soon." The method of delivering discourses is determined very summarily. "Reading" is the English method, and many English preachers read so well that their hearers hardly note the difference between it and free delivery. But in Germany "reading" can be recognised only as an exception, and that too only in the case of those who are aged and whose memory has failed. "Preaching is an act, a free personal action, a testimony from the heart, not a reading which changes public worship into a prelection, and puts a sheet of paper as a wall of partition between speaker and hearer." These lectures are an interesting variation in the somewhat prosaic uniformity of German manuals on Homiletic. But they are also valuable for fulness of learning and thoroughness of discussion and suitability for practical purposes. And to many not the least of their recommendations is the fact that they give within moderate compass a reasoned statement of the principles which enabled the lamented author to make so deep a mark as a Court and University preacher and as a Christian worker.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

The Christian Doctrine of Immortality.

By Stewart D. F. Salmond, M.A., D.D., Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Aberdeen. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 703. Price, 14s.

UPON the author's aim let three things be said. First, the philosophical standpoint is expressly excluded. Thus the wide range of Natural Theology, so-called, is put aside. For there are rational

proofs of a future existence, such as are met with in Augustine's *De Immortalitate Animæ*, and in Fénelon's *Letters*, and in Bishop Butler's famous *Analogy*; and there are scientific arguments for a future life, such as made *The Unseen Universe* so fascinating; and there are grounds for a belief in the future based upon such instincts and longings as are given in Garrett Horder's *Intimations of Immortality*. And a large literature has gathered round these "natural" and "philosophical" arguments, Ezra Abbott, in his *Literature of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, giving more than seven hundred titles devoted to this branch of the subject. But this aspect of the theme, the philosophical speculations derived from physical science, from psychology, from ethics, and from general analogy, forms no part of Dr Salmond's treatment. Secondly, in speaking of "the Doctrine of Immortality," the phrase is used, in a wide sense, to include the main problems of the Doctrine of the Last Things. Thirdly, the stress is laid throughout upon the teaching of the Bible. The book is pre-eminently a study in Biblical Theology. When ethnic traditions are considered, they are simply adduced to emphasize the originality and character of the Biblical positions. Doctrinal conclusions, again, are arrived at solely on Biblical lines. "The present inquiry," says Professor Salmond, "limits itself to the question, What is the witness of Scripture on the subject: the words of Christ are to me the highest authority, beyond which I seek no other." This large volume, then, a fuller statement of the thirteenth series of the Cunningham Lectures, is principally a Biblical, and incidentally an Ethnic and Dogmatic, study of Eschatology.

Such is the author's expressed aim. And the aim has been ably carried out, with full knowledge of the latest literature, with calm and balanced judgment, and with an admirable patience. Upon its subject the book steps at once into the first rank, and even into the first place. Everywhere it shows that *distinction* which is the mark of greatness.

The volume contains six Books, an Appendix, and Indexes. The First Book treats of the Ethnic Preparation, in seven chapters, dealing successively with Savage, Indian, Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian, and Greek beliefs in a future life. The Second Book, the Old Testament Preparation, considers, in five chapters, the negative aspect of the question (what the Old Testament does not say, that is); the positive aspect (what the Old Testament does teach); the distinctive notes of the Old Testament teaching; the special doctrine of the Poetical Books; and the doctrine of the Prophets. The Third Book gives Christ's Teaching, in six chapters, which successively grapple with our Lord's teaching on His Second Coming, the Last Judgment, the Great Resurrection, the Inter-

mediate State, and the Final Destinies. In the Fourth Book, containing three chapters, the teaching of the Apocryphal literature, of James and Jude, of the Epistle to the Hebrews, of the Apocalypse, and of Peter and John, are dealt with. The Pauline Doctrine occupies the Fifth Book, in three chapters. In the Sixth Book the Doctrinal Conclusions are drawn. This last book has four chapters, headed—"The Contribution of Christianity to the Hope of Immortality," "Doctrines of Annihilation and Conditional Immortality," "Restorationism and Allied Doctrines," "The Alternative Doctrine." The general conclusion of the whole study may be expressed in the author's own words as follows:—"The result has been to confirm me in the conviction that the teaching of Christ and the whole burden of the Christian Revelation make the present life decisive for the future." Be it observed, however, that the author adds—"This result has not been reached without an acute sense of the attractiveness of other views of man's destiny which are held by many earnest men, and of the limitations which the God of Revelation has placed upon our knowledge of the future life." In the Notes of the Appendix some interesting points in ethnic and Biblical religion are dealt with, such as the reference to the religion of Egypt in the recently discovered *Apology of Aristides*, and the doctrine of the soul's pre-existence as found in the *Wisdom of Solomon*.

Completely satisfactory views upon the Ethnic Doctrine of Immortality cannot be at present reached, possibly they never can be reached. The reasons are twofold. On the one hand, if the present condition of the *Naturvölker* permit us, after great industry and circumspection, to gather the opinions current amongst them, it is next to impossible, in the absence of written records, to penetrate to the origins of their beliefs, customs, and traditions. On the other hand, almost equal difficulties beset the discovery of the origins of the great historical faiths, seeing that these beginnings also are prior to the extant records, albeit some interesting stories of the earliest times are fossilized in the strata of language. Hence it is as dangerous as tempting to state what must have been if any rigid theory of evolution be accepted. Nevertheless, Dr Salmond's chapters on the Ethnic Doctrine of Immortality, being carefully done according to the light of the best present knowledge, are well worth attentive reading. The questions especially elucidated are, first, as to how far the mind of man had advanced towards a doctrine of immortality apart from Judaism and Christianity; and second, as to what advance is made in Judaism and Christianity beyond the Ethnic doctrine. The numerous facts so lucidly marshalled cannot be recited here: the conclusions arrived at may be recapitulated.

These conclusions are, in the main, threefold. The first is that, as far back as we can penetrate, there is a testimony of the heart to a belief in a future life, the evidence being clear as to an instinctive faith in some sort of future existence, witness especially the earliest Vedas of India, the most ancient records of the Nile Valley, and the Accadian traditions of Babylonia. The second conclusion is that from remote times, and even amongst rude peoples, there has been a testimony of the intellect to a future life; for constant attempts have been made to conceive the state of the dead in their supramundane home, and thus by speculation to sustain the prophetic voice of the human heart, witness especially the remarkable developments of the Hindu and Greek faiths. The third conclusion is that there has also been a testimony of conscience to a future life, inasmuch as rudimentary convictions concerning rewards and punishments in the worlds to come are discoverable at a comparatively early period, as in the religion of Egypt, and also inasmuch as beliefs of some purity, definiteness, and continuity showed themselves at a later date. Interesting, however, as these conclusions are, and sure as is the evidence afforded of a co-operation of the intuitive, rational, and ethical faculties in the framing of a working belief in a future life, that belief at best was vague, uncertain, largely contradictory, and widely incredible.

From the Ethnic preparation for the Christian doctrine of Immortality our author passes to the Hebrew preparation. From the contribution of sentiment and reason, that is to say, he advances to the contribution of experience and inspiration. In this Old Testament preparation an interesting examination is first given of the ideas which are foreign to the Old Testament (common as they were in the Ethnic Faiths), such as Final Extinction, Absorption into the All, Metempsychosis, the Pre-existence of Souls, the Eternity and the Essential Evil of Matter. Thus it is clearly shown that from the outset the Old Testament presents an independent view of the future, "equally free from the gross and extraordinary ideas with which the hope of an after-existence was overlaid in some races, and from the refinements of philosophy by which it was vitiated in others." Next follows, as interesting an examination of those great fundamental postulates of the Old Testament which could not but affect the evolution of the doctrine taught therein, by providing a distinct, simple and intelligible *analogia fidei*, namely, the doctrine of God, monotheistic and ethical, and the doctrine of man, his origin, constitution and destiny. Here come in invaluable studies of the Old Testament conceptions of "life," and "death," and "Sheol." In the next place, the distinctive note of the Old Testament preparation is emphasized, viz., that "the Old Testament

view of the future had that at its foundation which the Ethnic beliefs had not, and that the light which was in it, unsteady as it was at first, and shadowed even to darkness, moved on in a course of enlargement and advance towards the perfect day." The growth of the presentiment of immortality, and thus the persistent transcending of ethnic conceptions, throughout the Poetical Books, especially the Psalms and Job, and the gradual growth of a more positive belief in a future resurrection and judgment throughout the Prophetical Books, with their suggestive Messianic hopes of a coming king and a coming kingdom, are carefully traced. Further, attention is called to the necessary limitations of this Old Testament preparation. "The Old Testament knew not the place which Christ went to prepare. The things which are unseen and eternal, the inheritance of the saints in light, the transcending glory of the heaven to which Christ has risen, were not among its certainties. But God, His nearness, His fellowship, the joy of life and the highest weal in Him, were its first and most assured realities. In these is eternal life." One criticism I offer here, not without diffidence. Whilst in this Old Testament Preparation the facts and the implications of the Old Testament doctrine of God have been admirably drawn and insisted on, has similar weight been given to the facts and implications of the Old Testament doctrine of Man? For instance, has adequate emphasis been laid upon the inferences justly derivable from the Old Testament views of the dichotomy of man's nature, of the creation in the Divine image, and of man's conditional mortality? The last phrase is used deliberately. Controversy has familiarized us with the phrase "conditional immortality": but is not the Biblical postulate man's conditional *mortality*? Such a postulate meets us at the very outset of the Old Testament. Created in the image of God, death would only pass upon man if man disobeyed the Divine command; death, that is to say, was conditional upon sin. This view of man's original state seems to me to underlie, not only the religious teaching of Genesis, but the Old Testament doctrine of Death and Atonement, nay, the New Testament doctrine of Regeneration and Redemption. Now, if such a postulate does underlie the Old Testament teaching, then the Old Testament doctrine of man demands a more pronounced doctrine of immortality at the very initiation of human history than Dr Salmond paints. In depicting the evolution of any doctrine so much depends on the relative fulness of the revelation given in the initial stages.

The Book on Christ's Teaching seems to me the freshest and most masterly of the whole investigation. The reserve which characterised that teaching, its originality, its practical relation to

present life and duty, its popular and untechnical expression, its minute connections with the Old Testament positions, its use of the current religious vocabulary, its subordination of the whole to the supreme idea of the Kingdom of God—all these features of our Lord's teaching are presented in a manner beyond praise. In my view there is nothing equal to it in theological literature. The subjects treated of—the Return of Jesus, the Intermediate State, the Resurrection, the Judgment, Heaven and Hell, are infinitely difficult; probably as yet no two inquirers would altogether agree upon results; my own opinion would differ from Dr Salmond's here and there, and especially upon the Intermediate State; still I can utter nothing but praise for the clearness, precision, conciseness, tone, scholarship, and unity of these chapters.

The same remarks seem to me to apply to the Book on the Apostolic Doctrine, including the thorny Millenarian question of the Apocalypse, and the Petrine references to the Spirits in Prison and the Preaching to the Dead; and also to apply to the Book on the Pauline Doctrine, including the long-standing problems concerning the Rapture of the Saints, the Man of Sin, and the Resurrection Body.

In the final Book—of Conclusions—a good summary of results is given (showing the trend of ethnic surmise, and the trend of Christian revelation), and then the three stupendous doctrines of Final Doom,—of Annihilation, of Restoration and of Continuous Retribution—are reviewed. In cautious language Dr Salmond declares for the last. "The doctrine," he says, "that man's immortality is determined by the spiritual attitude to which he commits himself here, that the moral decision made in the brief opportunity of this life is final, and that the condition consequent on it in the other world is one of eternal blessedness or the opposite, is a doctrine of almost overwhelming grandeur. It gives so incalculable a value to the short opportunity of the earthly existence, so measureless a dignity, so vast a power for good or for evil to man's nature, so limitless a sweep to the prerogative of will which makes his sovereignty. There is at least nothing small or fallacious in it. It is almost appalling in its magnitude. It answers best to the teaching of Scripture. With all its solemn import it is also truest to reason and to experience. To an extent which can be claimed for no other view of man's future, it grapples with the real problems of God's providence, the dark enigmas of life, and the mysteries of man's moral nature."

For some time my own convictions have been deepening that finality of opinion upon these awful and profound questions is not yet. The advance in mastery of any science, not excluding theology, is from the simpler doctrines to the more complex.

Until, therefore, more assured and detailed conclusions have been reached in the Doctrines of God and His Attributes, of Man and his nature, of Sin and its consequence, of Salvation and its corollaries, of the Church and its powers, of the Last Things and their order, I do not see how final conclusions can be come to upon the doctrine of the last of the Last Things. Perhaps, even, the reserve of our Lord and His Apostles has been of such a nature as to prevent definitive conclusions at any time, being sufficient for warning and encouragement, but inadequate for full doctrinal statement. If, however, as seems to me probable, the present diversity of view is temporary and not permanent, final conclusions will ultimately be arrived at, I suspect, as the closing effort of a Comparative Theology which has given due weight, upon the momentous subjects concerned, to all the declarations of philosophy, of the ethnic faiths, of the Bible, and of the History of Christian Doctrine. In the journey towards such a goal, this book of Dr Salmond's appears to me to mark an epoch.

ALFRED CAVE.

Die Philosophie der Geschichte.

Von R. Rocholl. Zweiter Band. Der positive Aufbau. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. xvi, 612. Price, M. 12.

THIS, though a second volume, is complete in itself. It has three divisions, the first and third being concerned with the philosophical or formal notions of the subject, the second with the scientific construction of its material. The first volume, which appeared in 1878, was entirely critical. The positive result for the author is that he adopts, along with a certain attitude in philosophy, a "logic of history" which permits of his being freely eclectic in the formation of his own system. Indeed, though he is very decided in his selection of theories of language and race, there seems to be no reason why quite different theories should not equally well suit his logic. For that reason, and because the theories which he does adopt are mainly argued by quotations from authorities and with only minor criticisms, a reviewer's interest is in the first and third rather than in the second division. At the same time it has to be said that it is the second division that deserves by far the greatest praise. Though written in a manner which we associate with America rather than Germany, the extent and variety of reading and, more than anything, the arrangement of so much material into

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a consecutive and readable story, easily secure a reader's admiration. To have put into 400 pages a sociology of the human race from the time of an ideal "first man" through the various aspects of his "fall" and restoration up to the present is a feat that must withstand every serious objection, if it is interesting as well as fairly general and coherent. The value of such an account in a philosophy of history is, however, as matter of illustration rather than of demonstration. The author claims it as an inductive argument justifying a hypothesis to the extent of making it no longer hypothetical. But what is essential in the hypothesis is really more certain than many of the scientific theories which are selected to support it. These are concerned with the state of things in prehistoric times,—more especially as regards a golden age of human language, religion, and consciousness generally.

The hypothesis by which Rocholl explains the progress of history and which is thereby deduced or justified is, to use his own term, the doctrine of "the church." The essential part of it is the existence of the universe for the sake of spirit, and the revelation of the ideal of history in the Son of God. In this way there is secured a measure for the causes of progress and decay. Man, the author says, consists of body, soul, and spirit. The first two are natural, the last super-natural. The history of man is the history of these three factors: that is to say, of his control over nature, of his intellectual and social relations, and of his relation to God. When any one of these factors is neglected, the others are liable not merely to arrest but to over-growth or disease. The proper ordination is that the interests of the body—all sorts of material interest—should subserve those of the soul, and both the spiritual or religious interest. And similarly in history. In short, the history of the world is to be explained in exactly the same way as the history of the individual. If there is plan in the development of an individual, and if consequently there are laws of his progress whose breach means decay, so there is plan and law in history. And yet as all men are different, having different themes to work out, so different nations have their own individualities, and their own themes.

There is nothing new or distinctive in this, and in one form or another it would be admitted by all. The argument is an analogical one, and it is perfectly admissible, for the simple reason that the factors are the same. The author declines any more drastic theories and readily admits the impossibility of answering the questions put by those who object to any philosophy of history. He argues only that there is a plan, that it is of the nature described, and that the phenomena which seem to oppose it are to be taken as only partially understood. Why there are countless uninhabited worlds, why enormous numbers of creatures are born to perish without a chance

of living, why there is stagnation in barbarism or Chinese harmony, why there is even retrogression,—to these questions the author declines to make any answer from the teleological point of view. But, arguing always in the same way, he insists that there are similar unknown depths and half-seen phenomena in the human mind without our denying, on their account, an ideal plan upon which it is constructed, which it has so far realised and which it may have so far sinned against. But he will not support any of the theories, usually suggested by the term “philosophy of history,” objecting to their materialistic or pantheistic character. Apart from bringing his account into correspondence with the Biblical account and his view of the relative ordination of the factors of history into correspondence with the doctrine of the kingdom of God, he cannot be said to have placed himself with one theory more than another. The philosophical ground upon which he argues may be called Lotze’s, but the exposition is more wordy and rhetorical than demonstrative. The most suggestive parts are connected with a variety of analogical arguments, and if these do not carry far they make for clearness and unity. In short, this is a book to which neither the historian nor the philosopher will be in haste to offer great praise, but philosophies of history are as a rule addressed rather to the general reader, and it would not be easy to mention another in which within the same compass there is such a variety of interest, and so much touched upon which might be followed up elsewhere. Finally, the style of the book is unusually light.

W. MITCHELL.

Hedonistic Theories : from Aristippus to Spencer.

By John Watson, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Queen's College, Kingston, Canada. Glasgow : James Maclehose & Sons. Crown 8vo, pp. 248. Price, 6s. net.

PROFESSOR WATSON says that “What is here presented to the public has been in manuscript for several years, and I have been induced to publish it now as a needful supplement to the ethical part of my *Outline of Philosophy*.” We are glad that he has been induced to publish this valuable work. It has a value as a historical and expository work, apart from the philosophical point of view from which he criticises the various theories of Hedonism. That point of view may itself be criticised, but whether we accept it or not, the worth of his historical exposition abides. We know nothing finer than the exposition of the “Influence of the Sophists on Greek philosophy.” It makes the course of Greek thought of

Hedonism intelligible, even luminous. There is first a vivid picture of Greek life and thought, and a description of the influence which their civic conditions had on their morality and religion. "The form of religion was under the control of the people, and its acceptance or rejection was regarded as a part of their political function." The fact that Greece was a crowd of little city commonwealths, each independent of all the others, that the basis of each civic state was slavery, the proportion of slaves to citizens being so large that the Macedonian ascendancy had destroyed the basis of Greek society, these things are set forth with great lucidity, and their bearing on the development of Hedonism admirably shown. But the main impulse to Hedonistic thought arose from the fact that the Sophists called in question and denied the postulate which lay at the foundation of the Greek view of life. "They acted as a solvent of Greek thought by destroying men's faith in what had been accepted as a sort of divine revelation of what was right and just. The main idea common to them all was that customary morality was not absolute, but was a fair subject of discussion and criticism. The very simplicity of Greek thought made it peculiarly liable to scepticism the moment the sanction of a supposed divine authority was withdrawn from it."

The Sophists were so far cosmopolitan, they may have belonged to any of the cities of Greece, and they could not feel the power of those sanctions which an Athenian or a Spartan felt with regard to the laws and religion of their respective cities. "The Greek state could only survive so long as its citizens had implicit faith in their own as the only form of constitution." Having thus led us to understand the historical situation, Professor Watson traces with a firm hand the beginnings of sceptical thought, first generally, then with particular reference to Hedonism. We have a characteristic Hegelian touch in the statement of the Law of Progress, which is as follows: "1, Construction; 2, Destruction; 3, Reconstruction." On this we can only say that it is too delightfully easy and simple to represent adequately the manifold processes of this complex world. Accepting it provisionally, we find that it does so far enable us to understand the development of Greek thought. The Cyrenaics had a precise doctrine, and thus had made an advance on the Sophists, who had none. Aristippus held that life had only one end, namely, pleasure. He reduced all knowledge to feeling, and that the pleasure of the moment was the only end of life. From the rude simplicity of Aristippus, the incompetency and inadequacy of which is demonstrated in the criticism of Professor Watson, we pass to the more advanced stage of Hedonism represented by Epicurus. "The sole original contribution of Epicurus to the theory, the supposition that the atoms have a power of spontaneous deflection, is not

such as to call forth much respect for his scientific temper. In fact, so far from saying, with M. Renan, that Epicureanism was 'the great scientific school of antiquity,' we must say that the founder of the school was as unscientific as he was unspeculative. The basis of all science is the inviolability of natural law, and this very inviolability seemed to Epicurus to be even more objectionable than the supernatural interference with the course of nature, since the gods may be propitiated, while Fate or Necessity is deaf to the prayers of men. The atomic doctrine he therefore introduced merely to banish the gods from the sphere of human life." We may give the conclusion to which Professor Watson comes through his study of Epicurus: "Thus the selfish view of life which underlies the Epicurean doctrine leads to the destruction of moral law; just as the denial of purpose in nature has as its consequence the sovereignty of chance."

From Greece he passes to England, rather a great leap, and one not quite consistent with the promise of the title of the book. How are we to interpret it; as an assumption that there were no Hedonistic thinkers in the interval? or that they may be neglected? As a matter of fact, the advocates of Hedonism with which he deals are Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Bentham, John Stuart Mill, and Herbert Spencer. These are representative men and may be taken as typical thinkers who are in the English succession. But what of France, of Germany, and of international philosophy? Has there been no Hedonism beyond our borders? While we mildly protest against this neglect of foreign thinkers—thinkers, also, who have had a measurable influence on the development of English thought—we receive with gratitude the statements of the views of English Hedonists from Hobbes to Spencer. By the way, why is Sidgwick not here?

We are sorry that space forbids us to follow in detail the exposition and criticism of these successive thinkers. We can only say that the statement of their view is full, clear, adequate, and fair. It is a great boon to the student of ethics to have so masterly a sketch within his reach. For it will teach him much as to the process of ethical thought in England, it will also give him a splendid example of what a philosophic statement ought to be. One of the qualities to be praised in this book is the absolute clearness of statement, the limpid simplicity of style, and the perfect lucidity of his thought. He here deals with the highest topics which can occupy the human mind, and he has made them so plain and intelligible that the man in the street, if he only will give attention, can understand. This is one of the greatest feats ever accomplished by a philosopher. If we were asked what book on ethics we would put into the hands of a beginner

in philosophy, with the view not only of giving him knowledge which he could speedily assimilate, but also with the view of inspiring him with a desire of knowing all that can be known on it, we would choose this book above all others. It would give a beginner confidence in philosophy, would persuade him that philosophy can do something, that it can help to enlighten the intelligence and guide the life. This book helps a man to understand that philosophy is not a thing of the closet and of the chair, it is in most intimate relation with all human interests, and can help to make them all more intense, more real, and more worthy of a rational being.

JAMES IVERACH.

The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages. Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other Original Sources.

From the German of Dr Ludwig Pastor, Professor of History in the University of Innsbrück. Edited by F. J. Antrobus, of the Oratory. London: Kegan Paul; Vol. III., pp. lviii. 424; Vol. IV., pp. xxv. 535. Price, 24s. net.

THE previous volumes of this translation were reviewed at some length in the *Critical Review* (Vol. II., p. 234). We were then compelled reluctantly to conclude that the expectations raised by the title-page were not borne out by the contents. "Either the Secret Archives of the Vatican contain nothing likely to modify to any serious extent the results already established for this period, or it is too soon by many years to begin to re-write history on the strength of their discovery."

The further instalment of Dr Pastor's history, contained in Vols. III. and IV., only confirms the opinion then expressed and defended. Those serious drawbacks, which seemed fatal to any claim even to stand alongside other works of established reputation, appear even more unmistakably here. We drew attention to the unfortunate lack of proportion in the treatment of subjects of primary and of secondary importance. That is still provokingly manifest, and it is accompanied by an inexplicable change in the perspective of the whole. The former volumes treated of the Popes and events of a hundred and fifty years (1305-1458). In the next two the same space is allotted to five-and-twenty years—the Pontificates of Pius II., Paul II., and Sixtus IV. There is no discoverable reason for this change of scale. The former period included the Captivity of Avignon, The Great Schism, The Councils of Basel and Constance.

It presented the important figures of Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V. The latter period is marked by no great event, by no figures of the first rank. Yet the scale is suddenly enlarged six-fold. The new matter "drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican" may be somewhat more extensive than the trifling quantity found in the first two volumes. So far as can be judged from the notes and appendices, it is of no greater importance. Some new light may be shed on the details of Papal policy, but most of it falls on trivial matters of domestic life at the Vatican. Had Dr Pastor taken the obvious and desirable course of publishing first his new material, it would have been seen at a glance that it did not require a new history to incorporate it.

The earlier volumes were received in many quarters with such unstinted acclamation that we feel compelled to repeat the opinion that, apart from "new material," the book is one of small value. It shows neither width of grasp nor depth of insight. It is profoundly indifferent to the great moral and religious issues which were involved in the history. Dr Pastor seems to have no eye for the movements of thought which lie below the surface and predict the future. To him a Reformer (*e.g.*, Gregory Heimburg) is simply a nuisance, a self-willed and unprincipled disturber of the tranquillity of the Vatican. The Turkish question becomes little else than a thread on which to hang narratives of the visits of foreign potentates to Rome, and of the futile peregrinations of the Pope. Dr Pastor writes from the point of view of a Major Domo of the Vatican. He expatiates at portentous length on the details of each Papal election, the meals, costumes, and intrigues of the cardinals, the personal habits of each Pope, and the splendour of every ceremonial. And to make room for these trivialities such matters as the struggle with France over the Pragmatic Sanction, or the silent conflict between the monarchical theory of Councils to which the Popes clung, and the democratic theory represented by Heimburg and Sigismund, receive very inadequate treatment.

The book is free from any overt special pleading. The author chronicles the immoralities of one Pope and the treachery of another, and contents himself with emphasizing, on the other hand, their liberality or their scholarship. If the Roman Church claims to have its mediæval period judged by standards that are frankly Pagan, it must cease to claim unbroken continuity with the Apostles. The more it insists on that continuity as belonging to the *esse* of the Church, the more is it bound in all its representatives to judge that period, and the men who were part of it, from the standpoint of absolute righteousness.

As a gossipy chronicle of certain Popes who contributed little or

nothing to the development of the Church, these volumes may serve a purpose. But if they are put forward as serious or scientific history, they fail to stand the test either of comparison or of investigation.

Two minor points appear to be new or unfamiliar. The Turkish navy in 1470 was largely manned by *Jews* and Greeks, "who were then deemed the best seamen." In administering the Communion to Frederick III., "under the species of Bread only," Paul II. departed from the usual custom. When the Pope celebrated for laymen, it "was usual to give the Chalice in all such cases to those who communicated with him."

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

Lucius Annæus Seneca und das Christenthum in der tief gesunkenen antiken Weltzeit.

Von Michael Baumgarten, weil. Professor und Dr der Theologie. Nachgelassenes Werk. Rostock: Wilh. Werther's Verlag, 1895. 8vo, pp. viii. 368. Price, 6s.

THIS posthumous work of the late Professor Baumgarten labours under the disadvantage of not having received its author's own final revision. The present work only claims to be an excerpt from a much larger mass of material. This material had been corrected and revised by the author in 1887, but he does not seem to have intended to publish it as it stood. It is not only a study of Seneca's life and work, but of the whole spirit of the age in which he lived. It is marked throughout by a very earnest spirit, but one cannot help thinking that the author's standpoint is somewhat too rigid. Seneca is held up indeed as a type of the best which that age, lacking the spirit of Christianity, could produce, but his weaknesses are somewhat harshly judged. The highest point of Seneca's performance was, in the author's opinion, the constancy which he displayed at his death. This is faint praise—much like Hallam's apology for Cranmer, "His fame has brightened in the flames which consumed him." The first chapter contains a full account of the conflicting judgments which have been expressed as to Seneca from the time of his contemporaries to the present day. The critics have always been divided into two camps, those who honestly admired the man, and those who as heartily detested him. The one dark spot in Seneca's life is undoubtedly his apology in the Senate for the murder of Agrippina, which Gibbon (i. 230) justly contrasts with the opposite conduct of Papinian, who, when urged by Caracalla, after the murder of his brother, to offer a similar apology on his behalf, replied that it was "easier to commit than

to justify a parricide." Yet Tacitus does not go beyond remarking that Seneca's conduct in the matter brought him into ill odour. Seneca might have chosen death with honour by refusing to defend Nero, and if we judge him by our Christian standard, we certainly cannot but condemn him. But Baumgarten thinks he is self-condemned by his own insistence (in the *De Irâ, e.g.*), on the duty of never doing evil that good may come. Yet Seneca would probably have urged that he was laying down maxims for the conduct of individuals, and not for the conscience of statesmen. In that age political morality was at a very low ebb, and Seneca's moral principles would have been utterly impracticable in politics. What compromises public men have sometimes to make even now! It is hardly fair, then, to judge Seneca's action by his own standard of individual morality. From the political point of view, what good would it have done, had Seneca given up Nero after the murder of Agrippina? Tacitus remarks that Thrasea did not further the cause of liberty when he openly showed his disapproval of the compliance of Seneca by walking out of the Senate House. Hence it may fairly be inferred that he held that Seneca would not have furthered the cause of liberty by defying Nero. Other contemporary writers took a more sinister view, especially Dio Cassius; but even Niebuhr, who was no admirer of Seneca, admits that Dio's judgment is unfair and exaggerated. Mommsen also thought badly of Seneca. In fact, in reply to Baumgarten's request for an opinion, he wrote "one cannot think badly enough of him." With all respect to such deservedly high authorities, I venture still to preserve some veneration for Seneca's memory. Schiller compares him to a reed shaken by the wind in his alternate flattery and mockery of the Emperor Claudius. But here again his conduct is perfectly intelligible. Banished to the unhealthy island of Corsica, by well-timed flattery and the good offices of Agrippina he induced Claudius to recall him. Presently, when Claudius was dead, he wrote a lampoon on the deified Emperor ("*Ludus de Morte Caesaris*"). After all this was only a bit of innocent fun. And as for the flattery, surely one does not need to have recourse to casuistry to make out a case for Seneca here. Is every man who pays a high-flown compliment to be accused of tampering with the truth?

More interesting perhaps to most readers is the question of Seneca's relation to Christianity. He was of course a contemporary of St Paul, but all are now agreed that the so-called "correspondence between St Paul and Seneca" is spurious. Baumgarten does not refer to Bishop Lightfoot's interesting essay on "St Paul and Seneca." The many striking parallels to Christian thought in Seneca's writings, which led Tertullian to speak of him as "*sæpe noster*," are possibly explained by the fact that Seneca was in the

habit of allowing his slaves to dine with him, and conversed freely with them. It is highly probable that through them he learned much of the tenets of Christianity. Certainly he deserves the title of a "Christian Pagan," which Sir Roger L'Estrange, author of an old book, "Seneca's Morals" (published in 1729), bestows upon him. After reviewing the various judgments of ancient and modern writers on Seneca, the author proceeds to contrast in the two following chapters the bright and dark sides of his character, of which I have already said enough. The rest of the book is only loosely connected with Seneca. In the fourth chapter the author describes with great learning the remarkable hold which the worship of the Emperors had on the popular mind. He considers this idolatrous worship of the creature, together with the "Baal-cultus" or false glamour which Pagan religion, and in particular the Phallic mysteries, threw round sensual vice, the two great "lies" with which Satan blinded the hearts of the Pagan world. This chapter is well worth reading. Chapters v., vi. and vii. describe the conflict between this corrupt spirit of the world and the spirit of Christianity, as displayed in the heroism of the martyrs, and the final victory of the Christians at the publication of the Edict of Milan, 313 A.D. (*ut daremus et Christianis et omnibus liberam potestatem sequendi religionem, quam quisque voluisset, &c.*, see p. 347). This conflict the author represents as a conflict between Christ and Cæsar. The last of the pagan Cæsars, Diocletian, appears to have been imbued with a fanatical belief in his own divinity, which accounts for the virulence of his persecution. Its failure to shake the strength of Christianity probably convinced him that there was another Power more truly divine than himself. The popularity of Cæsar worship at the time of the rise of Christianity is a striking phenomenon. It reveals a true instinct of religion in the hearts of the people, misdirected until at last it found its satisfaction, not in the worship of Cæsar, but in the worship of Christ. This is one of the central ideas of the book, and so the last chapter is fitly headed "Cæsar—Christus."

J. H. WILKINSON.

The Two St Johns of the New Testament.

*By James Stalker, D.D. London: Isbister & Co. Cr. 8vo,
pp. viii. 285. Price, 6s.*

Die Nachfolge Christi und die Predigt der Gegenwart.

*Von Johannes Weiss, a.o. Professor der Theologie in Göttingen.
Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895. Pp. 183. Price,
M.3.*

DR STALKER'S book is introduced to us with a sentence from Mr Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary art*:—"In devotional pictures we often see St John the Evangelist and St John the Baptist standing together, one on each side of Christ." The study of John the Apostle, which occupies the first and larger half of the book (pp. 1-185) appeared in *Good Words* for 1895, and for Sunday reading nothing could be more admirable than these twelve short, vigorous chapters. Dr Stalker has not brought forth from his treasury many things that are new, but the old facts and the familiar lessons are stated with practical force, and with that deftness of expression of which Dr Stalker is an acknowledged master. Perhaps the book is too full of lessons. Even children of a larger growth do not take quite kindly to stories with morals, and the author's endeavour "to sink his mind into the fragments of biography supplied in the Gospels, and feel for the character behind," would have been more successful, from the reader's point of view, if suitable moral reflections had been inserted with a more sparing hand. At the same time, these reflections are for the most part so pointed and profitable that it is not difficult to forgive the preacher and to listen in meekness. An example may be given of the skill with which Dr Stalker applies the facts of John's life to the needs of to-day. Speaking of the commission to John and his brother apostles to heal sicknesses and cast out devils, he remarks that "the spirit of this direction is applicable to all times. When we send out medical along with preaching missionaries, when nurses are trained to be servants of the Church, when hospitals are opened by Christian liberality, when alms are given to the poor, when, in connection with churches and missions, wholesome recreation is provided for mind and body, we are following this indication of the mind of Christ." The twelve chapters are entitled:—The disciple whom Jesus loved, His first meeting with Jesus, At home, One of the Twelve, One of the Three, His besetting sin, The disciple who loved Jesus, St John and the Resurrection, At home again, In the Pentecostal Age, In

Patmos, His writings. Naturally no attempt is made to discuss the critical questions connected with the Johannine writings; but Dr Stalker endeavours to set before us a conception of the apostle that shall fit equally well the author of the Fourth Gospel and the writer of the Apocalypse. The Apocalypse, he maintains, is undoubtedly the first of St John's writings; the book itself gives an account of the Apostle's call to the work of authorship. The Gospel was written a whole generation later. A prolonged residence in Ephesus had improved John's knowledge of the Greek language, and the fall of Jerusalem had created something like a revolution in his mind. "In the book of Revelation he is still entangled in Jewish imagery, hopes, claims, and modes of thought, but in the Gospel he has moved out into the wide and sunny ocean of humanity." Moreover, as Plato idealised his master, being conscious that his own thoughts were legitimate developments from those of Socrates, so perhaps to some extent the same may have been the case with John; but if so, "the freedom with which he acted was due to the certainty of his own inspiration. In His lifetime Jesus had said, When He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth, and St John was so satisfied that in his own experience this had been fulfilled, that he could freely give the sense of his Master without painful scrupulosity about its form."

The study of the Baptist (pp. 189-285) is similar in character and aim to the longer study of the Apostle. There is the same blend of vigorous description and pointed exhortation. An interesting chapter on the baptism of our Lord is an expansion for practical purposes of what is put so tersely and well in the author's short "Life of Christ." John's testimony to Jesus, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world," is discussed both in the second half of the volume and in the first; the chief views are effectively stated, and a brave effort is made to combine them all. One wonders whether the secret of this remarkable utterance might be sought in the personal intercourse which John would enjoy with Jesus on the evening after His baptism.

Professor Weiss has published, in very much extended form, a lecture delivered to the "Wissenschaftlicher Predigerverein" in Hanover. A whole-hearted believer in the theology of Ritschl, he reviews, from the standpoint of that theology, the essential elements of the Christian faith, with the view of discovering how best to preach Christ to the many who are estranged from supernatural religion. In the first part (pp. 1-101), which is described as historical, the endeavour is made, by means of a very careful if

somewhat arbitrary examination of the Synoptics, the Fourth Gospel, and the other New Testament writings, to ascertain what was meant by being "a disciple of Jesus" during Jesus' earthly life, and what was meant by "believing on Jesus as Lord" after His death and resurrection. The second or dogmatic part (pp. 102-183) treats the question, how far at the present day our Christian life depends for its existence and advancement upon a personal relation to the living Christ. The most interesting section of an interesting book is where Prof. Weiss discusses the views on this subject of Ritschl, Hermann, and Kaftan. His practical conclusion is that we are justified in asking from the unbelieving world of to-day a minimum rather than a maximum of faith. "Die Nachfolge Christi" is to be the burden of modern evangelism. If a man is willing to do the will of Christ, then, whatever be his difficulties about Christian dogma, and however far at first he may come short of the primitive Christian faith, let him be welcomed as a member of Christ's spiritual body and assured of the love of God. At the door of the Church of Christ, the Apostles' Creed must give place to a simple vow of allegiance. ROBERT A. LENDRUM.

John Knox : A Biography.

By P. Hume Brown, author of "The Life of George Buchanan."
In two volumes. London: Adam & Charles Black. Demy
8vo, pp. xx. 358, xii. 336. Price, 24s.

John Knox als Kerkhervormer.

Door P. J. Kromsigt, Predikant te Scherpenisse. Utrecht: A. H.
Ten Bokkel Huinink. Demy 8vo, pp. xii. 360.

JOHN KNOX, the man to whom Scotland owes more than even Germany does to Luther, looked to the future for his vindication. The times of change and hot and strenuous conflict in which he was called to play the foremost part, were not times favourable to just judgments of any of the prominent actors in the struggle of the nation between things old and things new, and least of all of him who was the central figure and most commanding personality. Nor did the Reformer's appeal to the calmer and more adequate verdict of a later generation find a very prompt reply. For two centuries and a half he remained without the fairer and larger recognition which he anticipated, not wholly understood even by those who were most grateful to him for his work, and miserably misjudged by others.

It is in our own century that his vindication has come, and it has come with power and from several very different sides. Literary men like Carlyle, Froude, and Louis Stevenson have joined in it with M'Crie and the theologians. Men of other nations than our own have taken an important part in it. There have been of late, too, many tokens, some of them of a very remarkable kind, of a fresh rush of interest in all that relates to Knox. Among other additions to the growing literature on the Reformer and his work we have had quite recently such books as Mr G. Barnett Smith's *John Knox and the Scottish Reformation*, and the attractive and appreciative *Life of John Knox* contributed by Mrs Florence A. Maccunn to the series of *English Leaders of Religion*. Holland has also made its contribution, one of a suggestive and interesting kind. Mr Kromsigt's book is an able and somewhat elaborate study, exhibiting a gratifying and most creditable acquaintance with the whole Reformation movement in Scotland. With much fulness and in a pleasing style it goes over the events in Knox's career, the various stages in the conflict between the old Romish faith and the new Protestantism, and the difficulties and complications with Mary and the barons and Elizabeth. In the closing chapter Knox's theological position is reviewed, and some of the things which distinguished him from the other great Reformers are noticed. His doctrine of the Word of God is carefully compared with that of Luther, and also with that of Calvin. His idea of the Church, his conception of the relations between the Church and the State, his views of the Sacraments, of ordinances, of the rights of the people, are also briefly stated and intelligently examined. Mr Kromsigt closes his interesting and judicious study of the great Scottish Churchman by accepting Mr Froude's estimate of him, as "the one man without whom Scotland, as the modern world has known it, would have had no existence."

Mr Hume Brown's work, however, is of a far higher order. It is a work of original research, which makes considerable additions to our knowledge of Knox and his times. It is by far the most important contribution that has been made to the subject since the publication of M'Crie's *Life of John Knox*. M'Crie's book is the classical book, and is likely long to remain such. But Mr Hume Brown has had materials to work upon which were not available in M'Crie's time. He has had the benefit of much that has been written on Humanism, on the condition of society and the state of learning in Scotland, on the relations of Scotland to England and to France, and on Scottish history generally. He has had the advantage of seeing the results of the inquiries made by the late Professor Lorimer and others into Knox's life in England, the connections he had with the English Court and with prominent men among

the English Clergy, and the influence he exercised upon the English Reformation. Above all, he has had access to important State Papers and to the collection of Knox's works so splendidly edited by Mr Laing. He has had an admirable preparation for this work in the studies of which the fruit appeared in his excellent *Life of George Buchanan*. He has made the best use of all his materials, new and old, and has been able at some points to correct M'Crie, at other points to supplement him. Mr Brown's *Biography*, therefore, will by no means supersede M'Crie's *Life* or take materially from its value. But it is its proper complement, and will rank as one of the two outstanding histories of the Scottish Reformer and the Scottish Reformation.

The opening chapter furnishes a good example of the thoroughness of Mr Hume Brown's work. He goes into a minute examination of the questions of Knox's birthplace and lineage. He disposes of the idea that the Reformer was descended from the Ranfurly family as a claim for which "no evidence has been produced that deserves serious consideration." He holds it probable that Knox was born in the parish of Morham, one piece of evidence in support of this being the fact that the churchyard of Norham was the burying place of the Knoxes; another, and one of more importance, being the statement in a charter dated 1598, that "William Knox in Morhame and Elizabeth Shortes, his wife, were infeft in subjects at Nungate of Haddington." The views which connect the birthplace with the Gifford-gate of Haddington, or with the village of Gifford, are shown to conflict with the facts that the gate was not in the estates of the Earls of Bothwell, and that the village was not in existence at the time in question. This is followed by a chapter of great interest on Knox's education and studies. A graphic account is given of the University of Glasgow and of John Major's teaching. A just contrast is drawn between Knox and Latimer, and some excellent things are said of the scholastic element in the Scottish Reformer, which marked him off somewhat sharply from the great Reformers of Germany, Switzerland, Geneva, and England. Mr Brown dwells upon the curious fact that, though he spoke often of the Schoolmen with the utmost contempt, and though the breach which he made with the ancient Church and all its ways was so complete, there remained more of the Schoolman and less of the Humanist in Knox than any other Reformer of the first rank. "Alike by the themes which he handled, and his manner of handling them," says Mr Brown, "Knox is essentially a Schoolman himself. Like them, he made of a religion a body of abstract dogmas, on which he exercised his intellect with the same keen regard to the traditional rules of dialectic." Mr Brown is rather in-

clined to exaggerate the importance of this as a peculiarity of Knox. He seems to us also at times to overstate the dialectical element in Knox, and to give a too limited view of some of his main doctrinal positions. In the case of Knox's doctrine of Predestination, for example, he connects it in Knox's thinking too exclusively with his idea of the one attribute of the Divine Omnipotence, while he brings out very clearly the central place which it had in his whole theological system. But apart from this, the case as regards Knox's relation to Scholasticism and his dialectical proclivities generally is substantially as Mr Brown so forcibly puts it.

All that concerns Knox's preparation for his work, his connections with Wishart and others, his life in St Andrews and in the galleys, his ministries in Berwick and Newcastle, his last years in England, his visits to Dieppe and Geneva, the Frankfort troubles, his relations with Calvin, Bullinger, and other Continental Reformers, the occasion and the effects of his *First Blast*, his visits to Forfarshire and Ayrshire, his appearances at Perth and Scone, his sermons, letters, and declarations at the crisis of the struggle, his debate with the Abbot of Crossraguel, his difficulties with the politicians, his controversy with Kircaldy of Grange, his connections with Moray, the circumstances of his last illness and death—this is all told in a way that makes us feel at every step that we are on sure ground.

Nowhere have we so complete and satisfactory an account of Knox's stay on the Continent, or of the extent to which his hand is discoverable in the English Reformation and in the origination of Puritanism. Mr Brown gives at length the story of Cranmer's insertion of the rubric which enjoined the posture of kneeling at the Lord's Supper into the Second Prayer Book, Knox's opposition, the impression produced by his sermon on the subject, the Order of Council to the printer to "stay in anyway from altering any of the book of the new service . . . until certain faults therein be corrected," and the practical triumph of Knox in the issue of a further Order which, while retaining the offending paragraph, appended the declaration, known as the Black Rubric, which was definite enough to remove the scruples that were shared by the Scottish Reformer with Englishmen like Hooper, and foreigners like A Lasco. He traces Knox's influence on the formularies of the Church of England further than this. When the series of Articles of the new faith, which Cranmer had had in preparation since 1549, were submitted to the King and the Council in 1552, they were referred to the King's chaplains, and thus came under the official scrutiny of Knox, his name being the last in the list of the preachers mentioned in the Order. Mr Brown points out that Knox's signature is in the draft which was returned to the Council,

and that he must have given the Articles his general approval. But as the thirty-eighth, afterwards the thirty-fifth, contained a clause which spoke of the *ceremonies* enjoined in the new Prayer Book as being in harmony with evangelical liberty, Knox, with some others, submitted a "Confession" to the Council on the objectionable practice of kneeling at the Communion. The "Confession" may be taken to have been effectual. For the clause in question was omitted when the Articles were published. "It may be surmised," adds Mr Brown, "that in the reduction of their number to forty-two, and other slight modifications, Knox also may have had some share. But however this may be, the leading part he played in the matter of kneeling at the Communion cannot be overlooked in taking account of his place among the agents of the religious revolution in England."

Not less satisfactory is the way in which Mr Brown brings out the historic importance of the small English colony in Geneva, and of the congregation to which Knox and Goodman ministered in that city. Baffled by dissension and intrigue in Frankfort, and disappointed in his hopes of founding a church after the Apostolic model there, Knox turned to Geneva and the civil and ecclesiastical polity instituted by Calvin. The result was the formation of the first Puritan congregation and the beginning of a movement which was to have large issues for the English people. "The term so famous in English history," says Mr Brown, "by which the party of Goodman and Knox came to be designated, was not yet invented; but in every essential feature the party had already a perfectly defined existence. It is as the first Puritan congregation that the church presided over by Knox and Goodman in Geneva possesses a historic importance which it is necessary to emphasise. It was to this congregation that the most strenuous 'Nonconformists' belonged, who afterwards refused to accept the religion of compromise established by Elizabeth; and it is in the writings of Knox and Goodman that those doctrines were first unflinchingly expounded, which eventually became the tradition of Puritanism. The Church Order they adopted was long the directory of public worship in the Reformed Church of Scotland, and the version of part of the Psalms, with which it was accompanied, formed the basis of that which was subsequently used both in England and Scotland."

The book abounds in things which we should like to notice. There are some just and appropriate remarks on the character of the polemical writing of the sixteenth century, and the propriety of taking that into account in estimates of the public men of those times. The Marian question is touched with commendable care. Knox's good name is vigorously defended in the matter of Rizzio's

murder. The various things that combined to give an impetus to the cause of Reform are carefully considered, all due weight being given to the change of feeling and the weakening of the old alliance between Scotland and France which were induced by the conduct of the French soldiery in Scotland. "By the actual experience of what Frenchmen really were—aliens in race and speech, regarding Scotland as a barbarous country, to be made use of as France had need—the Scottish people saw for the first time what the French alliance would really imply. . . . The people were thoroughly roused by the insolence and rapacity of the foreign soldiery, and the Scottish nobles and barons were touched to the quick by the advancement of Frenchmen to the highest offices in the Kingdom. In 1542, after the death of James V., the Catholic clergy had the heart of the country with them against England and heresy ; in the growth of opinion the Protestants had become the national party and England the one hope against a foreign tyranny."

Ample justice is done, also, to Knox's statesmanship. The policy which he pursued is shown, as is now generally acknowledged by men of all parties, to have been the best for his native land. Among the new things which Mr Brown is able to add to the *Life of the Reformer*, the most interesting perhaps is the letter from Peter Young to Beza, which he has been fortunate enough to discover, and in which we have a full description of Knox's personal appearance. The book appears to be singularly free from mistakes. There are a few, mainly in matters of dates. But they are of minor importance, and only such as experts are likely to detect. The general result of Mr Brown's work is to establish the substantial accuracy of M'Crie's account of Knox, and to enlarge our ideas of the immense force of the Reformer's personality. After all the corrections, abatements, and qualifications which a critical study like this makes upon the prevalent view of the man, Knox stands out as the greatest figure in modern Scottish history. "In the case of all men," says Mr Hume in bringing this masterly study to a close, "who have distinguished themselves beyond their fellows, the definitive judgment must rest with the people from whom they sprung, and to whom the heritage of their labours is a permanent and vital question of the balance of good or ill. In this final court of appeal the judgment is undeniably for Knox and against all his cavillers. For the mass of his countrymen—those who have shaped the nation's destinies in the past as they must shape them in the future—Knox is the greatest person their country has produced, and the man to whom, in all that makes a people great, they owe the deepest and most abiding debt." S. D. F. SALMOND.

The Book of Deuteronomy.

*By Andrew Harper, B.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, Ormond College, within the University, Melbourne.
London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1895. Crown 8vo, pp. xii.
491. Price, 7s. 6d.*

PROFESSOR HARPER has rightly felt that it is impossible to expound Deuteronomy without alluding to the critical questions that have been raised concerning it. He accordingly devotes the first chapter to a discussion of the question as to its authorship and age; and comes to the conclusion that it must probably be dated between Hezekiah and Josiah, and that what we have in it is "the prophetic re-formulation and adaptation to new needs of an older legislation." But though attributed to Moses and published as Mosaic, it is not a forgery and consequently unworthy of being regarded as inspired. The literary method followed by its author was, according to ancient and Eastern principles, quite legitimate, and, therefore, a method which inspiration might well use. What Professor Harper says here, taken along with his frequent references to the subject of inspiration, ought to reassure the most timid that faith in the Bible as God's word is not dependent on the answer that one gives to critical questions.

After chapter ii., on "The historic setting of Deuteronomy," we have the exposition proper in chapters iii. to xxvi. It is based throughout on a careful study of the original, and is written not only with great fulness of knowledge, but also in a courageous, independent, and reverent spirit. It does not enter much into details, though at every step it is manifest that these have been carefully considered. Professor Harper is evidently deeply interested in everything relating to the religious, ethical, and economic aspects of Israelite life, and Deuteronomy affords him a natural opportunity of discussing these. Thus we have chapters on "The divine government," "Love to God the law of life," "The Ban," "Law and Religion," "The speakers for God: The King; The Priest; The Prophet," "The economic aspects of Israelite life," "The bread of the soul," "Justice in Israel." Under these and other headings almost the whole material of the book is treated in a most luminous and instructive manner.

In the course of his discussion of these important matters, Professor Harper inevitably comes occasionally into collision with commonly accepted opinions. But he always does so in the most admirable spirit. And he is as far as possible from being a mere follower of other critics, however eminent. This is evident throughout, and more especially in the chapters on "The Decalogue,"

"Law and Religion," and "The Priest." The Decalogue is Mosaic in origin, though not indeed in its present form. While the priesthood of the individual householder and of the rulers was respected, the Levite priesthood nevertheless had its origin at Sinai, and at the chief sanctuary and oracle the chief place in the priesthood fell to Aaron and his sons. The question whether the introduction of the Deuteronomic code and its acceptance by Josiah was not a falling away from the spirituality of ancient religion must be answered in the negative; this alleged decay of spiritual religion "must be considered purely imaginary."

A noteworthy feature in this commentary is the large place given to the consideration of present day questions. Inspiration, religious education, the attitude to be assumed by the Christian towards advancing knowledge, the function of the Church in the world, the relation of religion to morality, commerce, marriage, socialism—on all these subjects Professor Harper writes with great wisdom. And, as becomes an expositor of Deuteronomy, he is full of sympathy with the downtrodden and the poor.

The last chapter treats of "Moses' character and death." It makes it perfectly plain that criticism does not necessarily resolve the historical books of the Old Testament into mere collections of utterly untrustworthy traditions. There are few, if any, critics who will not heartily agree with Professor Harper's last sentence: "Only in him [Moses], and the revelation he received, have we an adequate cause for the great upheaval of religious feeling which shaped and characterised all the after-history of Israel."

DAVID EATON.

Notices.

WITH thankfulness that we have it even thus late, yet with a sad sense of loss in not having it from the lamented scholar's own hand, we receive a new edition of Professor Robertson Smith's brilliant series of lectures on *The Prophets of Israel*.¹ It is not necessary to recall the circumstances to which we owed first the delivery and then the publication of these lectures. It is enough to say that they made a profound impression at the time when they were first given to the public, that they "achieved one of the greatest known literary successes in the department of theology," as Professor Cheyne justly observes, and that, along with the

¹ *The Prophets of Israel and their Place in History to the Close of the Eighth Century B.C.* By the late W. Robertson Smith, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. New edition. With Introduction and additional Notes by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M.A., D.D. London: Adam & Charles Black. 8vo, pp. lviii. 446. Price, 10s. 6d.

no less brilliant series on *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, they made the most notable contribution not only to the opening of the Scottish mind to new views of Revelation and its records, but also to the reassurance of faith in the presence of an invasion of familiar opinions by others which seemed revolutionary. As remarkable for their devoutness as for their ability, they helped people of all kinds, lay and clerical, to understand how the firmest belief in the Divine authority of the Old Testament may co-exist with the fearless acceptance of all that is involved in the full recognition of the fact that, as Divine Revelation comes to us in the form of a literature, its documents must be subject to all that characterises literary records, and open, like other ancient writings, to literary and historical criticism. They did a great service in Scotland, and far beyond it, at once to scholarship and to faith, and what they were then that they continue to be in this new issue. To what extent the lamented author might have changed them, had he been spared to carry out their revision himself, it is impossible to say. No doubt, as he sedulously prosecuted his own studies and as sedulously observed and weighed the contributions made by other scholars to Old Testament criticism, he might have found reason to modify or withdraw some of his statements on particular points. But there is no ground for supposing that these lectures would have suffered any material alteration in their main positions and methods. Still less reason is there to imagine that there would have been any change in the underlying theological principles, in the general attitude of mind to the idea of a Divine Revelation, or in the witness borne to the great matters of the Evangelical faith.

In the present edition the original text of the lectures has been given, we are glad to see, with very little change. The alterations in the text are few, and, with the exception of some comparatively unimportant omissions, all are carefully indicated in the preface. Additions and alterations which are made in the Notes are also distinguished by being placed within square brackets. Most of the additions, too, are taken from matter provided by the author's Burnett Lectures.

An Introduction is prefixed, which will be read with interest. It is from the pen of Professor Cheyne, who tells us he has had two objects before him in writing it, namely, first to "give some idea of the present position of the criticism of the earlier prophets," and, secondly, "to moderate some sentiments in these lectures, which, though natural to the author in 1882, would scarcely have been re-published by him unaltered at the present time." Opinions will differ as to how far Professor Robertson Smith was likely to have gone in the direction taken by certain later developments

of the criticism of the Prophets. But in what Professor Cheyne says of the book as it is, and of the probabilities of what Professor Smith would have made it had he been able to revise it himself, the editor is loyal to the author's reputation, and entirely appreciative of his remarkable genius, of the importance of his work, and of the position which he took "in the van of progress when Hexateuch Criticism first began to be fully discussed in England." The sketch, too, which Professor Cheyne gives of the course which Old Testament criticism has followed, especially as regards the Prophetic writings, since these lectures were prepared, will be read for its own sake. It is opportune and instructive. It will help us to understand better the position of things as they now are, to judge how much that has been done in recent years is entitled to be regarded as solid work, and to anticipate in some measure the movements of the immediate future.

These lectures were, at the time when they were published, confessedly the best account of the Prophets of Israel that English scholarship had produced. We know nothing written since that will compete with them in the two great qualities of exact scholarship and popular exposition.

In editing a collection of *College Sermons* by the late Benjamin Jowett, M.A., Master of Balliol College,¹ the Dean of Ripon has done a service for which many will give him thanks. We wait for a biography which will do justice to "the Master," and enable those who knew him only at a distance to understand his singular personality, his rare and varied gifts, and the wonderful influence he never failed to secure over those who were about him. Meanwhile everything in the way of estimate or reminiscence is welcome, and we are grateful to have the representation of him as a preacher which this volume gives. There are twenty Sermons in the volume. They range over the years from 1850 to 1891. They begin with an example of the kind of address he gave in his early days, in the discharge of his duties as Tutor, to young students in preparing them for the Sacrament, and they close with the touching message which he sent to the College when illness, his last illness, made it impossible for him to preach. The larger number are taken from the series of sermons which he continued to deliver from term to term, two in each term, from the time when he became Master. They are altogether an interesting study. They exhibit Benjamin Jowett in different moods, sometimes attempting nothing more than simple, sagacious, prudential counsel, sometimes striking the note of a deep spirituality. They have all the direct, simple style, with the literary touch and the indefinable charm, which gave character to all that he wrote,

¹ London : John Murray. Cr. 8vo, pp xvi. 348. Price, 7s. 6d.

whether in his easier efforts or in his more studied. Among the choicer examples of his pulpit addresses are those on *Sympathy*, the *Joys and Aspirations of Youth*, the *Slow but Sure Working of the Christian Spirit*, and the *Completion of a Life*.

In publishing his *The Teaching of Jesus*,¹ Mr Horton wishes to give to others what he had previously given to his own Church—the advantage of some acquaintance with the results of two of the most recent and most important expositions of our Lord's words. His book does not profess, therefore, to be in any sense an original contribution to the subject. He is content to follow and summarise Wendt's *Lehre Jesu* and Beyschlag's *New Testament Theology*. He certainly attaches a greatly exaggerated value to these two books, able and interesting as both eminently are, when in connection with them he hints at "the Revolution of Theology." But he has made a careful and sympathetic study of both, and having his own mind filled and enlarged by their fresh, historical expositions of Christ's words, he gives a vivid representation of the main points in our Lord's teaching, as it is thus interpreted, first in the Synoptists and then in the Fourth Gospel. He is at the same time an independent student of these masters, and takes occasion to show where, in his opinion, they come short of the actual facts. In particular, he dissents entirely from the attempt to empty Christ's words of all reference to His pre-existence. Looking to the object which Mr Horton has in view, nothing could be better done than this representation of the Lord's Teaching. It is admirably constructed, written throughout in a pure, clear style, with many passages strikingly expressed. Mr Horton has the gift of translating thought as well as language, and he has handled his great theme in a way that will arrest many a reader, and make the spiritual ideas of the Gospels seem to him like new discoveries.

The Messrs Macmillan have issued a large edition of Westcott and Hort's Greek *New Testament*² with the valuable explanatory appendices. The book is a very handsome one, splendidly printed, and all that could be desired in form. The new type is used, which is naturally somewhat unfamiliar to the eye. One will soon get accustomed, however, to the novel Greek characters, and this edition will be valued beyond all others by a large class of students. The publishers have done everything in their power to make it useful and attractive.

In a small but very tasteful volume, Dr Alexander Whyte of

¹ By Robert F. Horton. London: Isbister & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 287. Price, 3s. 6d.

² The New Testament in the original Greek. The Text Revised by Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. 544. Price, 10s. net.

Edinburgh renews our acquaintance with *Lancelot Andrewes*,¹ and does it in an effective and well-considered fashion. A concise, carefully written sketch of the Bishop's life is followed by an extremely interesting chapter on his *Private Devotions*, the method of their composition, their bibliography, their plan and contents. In connection with this, Dr Whyte gives us a discriminating estimate, not only of the *Devotions*, but also of the Bishop himself, his character, and his writings. Then comes a transcript of the *Devotions*. This forms the bulk of the volume, and is done with much care. Use is made of the Laudian text recently edited by Canon Medd, and the translation is given from the Greek and Latin printed texts with the help of the renderings of Drake, Stanhope, Hall, Newman, Neale, and Venables. Special value is rightly attached to Newman's translation from the Greek and Neale's from the Latin, both exceptional renderings in point of style.

In his *Elements of Religion*² Professor Jacobs of Philadelphia aims at presenting "in a plain form, a restatement of the main arguments of revealed religion." He deals with the Scripture doctrine of Redemption in five divisions,—the Pre-requisites, the Preparation, the Application, the Effects, the Administration. The great topics which belong to these several divisions are made the subjects of clear and definite statement, with constant reference to Scripture, and in a way indicating repeated, careful study. The author, who has made considerable contributions to Lutheran Theology, writes from the standpoint of Lutheran orthodoxy, but in a frank and appreciative spirit as regards other systems.

Dr Blaikie's *For the Work of the Ministry*³ has reached its sixth edition, and appears in a carefully revised form. It has been greatly valued and widely used, not only in this country, but in other lands and in different Churches. It treats of the great question of the purposes of the Christian Ministry, the call to it, the place of preaching in it, the history of the Church pulpit, the qualities of effective preaching, pulpit style, the construction and delivery of sermons, the duties of the Pastor, etc. In this new issue, which is also enriched by a Bibliography indicating the most important books, ancient and modern, on Homiletics and Pastoral Theology, it should have a fresh career of usefulness before it.

¹ Lancelot Andrewes and his *Private Devotions*: A Biography, a Transcript, and an Interpretation. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 232. Price, 3s. 6d.

² By Henry Eyster Jacobs, D.D., LL.D. Philadelphia: Frederick. Cr. 8vo, pp. 298.

³ A Manual of Homiletical and Pastoral Theology. By William Garden Blaikie, D.D., LL.D., New College, Edinburgh. London: Nisbet & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 304. Price, 5s.

In the *Ethics of the Old Testament*,¹ Mr Bruce has found a subject of great importance, and one in which little has been done by English writers. He has produced a very good book, not one by any means covering the whole subject, but one that treats in an intelligent and appreciative way most of the outstanding points. In an introductory chapter he speaks briefly of the contrast between the Ethics of the Old Testament and the Ethics of Pagan Antiquity. This is the most meagre section of the book. A fuller and more precise statement of the main differences between the systems would have sharpened the exposition of the morality of the Old Testament. The ethical character of the Old Testament Revelation is then stated generally, and the principle of its morality explained. This brings us to a more detailed examination of Israel's Code of Duty as expressed in the Law of the Ten Words, and in the legislation relating to the rights of men, sanitation, the cause of the poor, of women, and of children, and the sacrificial practice. The reactionary tendencies of the later Judaism are also briefly considered, and the moral difficulties of the Old Testament are reviewed. The chapters dealing with these last topics are among the best in the volume. Mr Bruce has written a book which is the result of careful study, and contains much that is well thought out and interestingly stated.

A seasonable addition is made to the series of Guild Text-Books by Dr James Robertson's volume on *Our Lord's Teaching*.² Useful chapters are given on the Manner, Method, Great Subject, and Basis, of Christ's Teaching. The matter of His Teaching is then stated as it concerns Himself, Man, Righteousness, the Conditions of Entrance into the Kingdom of God, the Blessings of that Kingdom, His own Death, the Holy Spirit, the Church and Family, and the End of the World. The whole is done in a clear and interesting manner, and with a proper regard to the classes specially in view. Our youth will find this small book open up to them a new and fruitful line of study.

Another opportune contribution to the same series, that makes pleasant and instructive reading is Mr Milligan's account of *The English Bible*³—a painstaking and well written sketch of its history from the Early Paraphrases to Wycliffe, and from Wycliffe to Tindale, Coverdale, Matthew Taverner, the Great Bible, the Genevan Version, the Bishops' Bible, the Rheims and Douai Bible, on to the Authorised and Revised Versions. The little book gives evidence of thoughtful and extended study.

¹ By W. S. Bruce, M.A., Minister of Banff. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 292. Price, 4s.

² By Rev. James Robertson, D.D., Whittinghame. Pp. 139. Price, 6d. net.

³ By the Rev. George Milligan, B.D., Caputh. London: Adam & Charles Black. Pp. 137. Price, 6d. net.

*The Seven Churches in Asia Minor*¹ is the title of a small volume which is written with a purely practical purpose. The author leaves it to others to deal with the historical and critical questions which belong to the interpretation of that section of the Apocalypse, and limits himself to a statement of what these Churches are as "types of the religious life of to-day." This he unfolds and illustrates in simple and forcible terms.

We have also a second edition of Mr E. Hampden Cook's *The Christ has come*,² in which, in general sympathy with Dr Stuart Russell, Mr Noyes, and Mr Henry Dunn, he endeavours to establish the position that Christ's Second Coming is an event of the past.

We receive with pleasure a second and enlarged edition of Mr William Tallack's informing book on *Penological and Preventive Principles*,³ in which the author makes a discreet application of the experience he has gained in the work of the Secretaryship of the Howard Association to the problems of Crime, Vice, and Pauperism, and the best methods of grappling with these terrible evils.

Mr Robert Bird gives a very happy rendering of the story of *Joseph*,⁴ of the kind that he attempted with so much success in his *Jesus the Carpenter of Nazareth*. The simplicity of its style, and the picturesqueness of its narrative will make the book a great favourite with the young readers for whom it is intended.

*For Days of Youth*⁵ is a book of Daily Bible Readings for the young. Its plan is to select a text for each day of the year, and to give, in the form of an exposition of the passage, some brief pointed counsels or practical reflections, such as may be helpful to young people. The texts have been chosen with a just consideration of what is most suitable for those specially in view. The reflections based on them are made more interesting by anecdote and illustration. The author has done his best to make the book an attractive and useful aid to devotional reading among young people.

Two volumes of the *Biblical Illustrator* are devoted to the *First Epistle to the Corinthians*.⁶ Special attention is given, as befits the case, to the 15th chapter, Paul's great argument being ex-

¹ By Alexander Mackennal, M.A., B.D. London: Elliott Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 123. Price, 3s. 6d.

² London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiv. 180. Price, 1s. 6d.

³ London: Wertheimer, Lea & Co. 8vo, pp. 480. Price, 8s.

⁴ *Joseph the Dreamer*. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. 387. Price, 5s.

⁵ By the Rev. Charles A. Salmond, M.A., Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 367. Price, 5s.

⁶ By Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. London: Nisbet & Co. Pp. 588, 596. Price, 7s. 6d. each.

plained and illustrated by a great wealth of quotations drawn from all manner of sources.

*Successward*¹ is a reprint of an American book in which some wholesome and kindly counsel is given to young men on what makes success, and what the young man should be in business, social life, religious life, dress, amusements, etc.

We have also to notice a series of *Fifteen-Minute Sermons for the People*,² in which, short as they are, the Rev. S. H. Fleming, Vicar of St James's, Croydon, speaks to some purpose of Christian truths and duties; *Four Foundation Truths*,³ popular Church of England addresses on the *Church and the Bible*, the *Church View of Baptism*, the *Lord's Supper*, the *Prayer-Book*, and *Absolution*, delivered on week-day evenings at St Margaret's, Westminster.

Mr Andrew Melrose sends some volumes, well suited for young readers, including *The Making of the Empire*,⁴ and *Out with the Old Voyagers*.⁵ The Sunday School Union also sends some useful and interesting volumes intended for youth, including *A Life of Christ for Little Folks*,⁶ a second edition of W. Douglas Mackenzie's concise and excellent essay on *The Ethics of Gambling*,⁷ a stirring, well-told story, *Ben-Hur, a Tale of the Christ*,⁸ by Lew. Wallace, etc.

In connection with the four hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the University of Aberdeen, and the opening of a splendid suite of new buildings for medical, scientific, and social purposes in Marischal College, two seasonable and interesting volumes have appeared on the history of the Northern seat of learning. One is entitled *The Universities of Aberdeen: A History*. By R. S. Rait, M.A., Assistant to the Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Aberdeen.⁹ The other is *A History of the University of Aberdeen, 1495-1895*. By John Malcolm Bulloch, M.A.¹⁰

The title of the one recalls the fact that for a very long period there were two independent Universities in Aberdeen, one in the old town and another in the new town. The title of the other indicates that Aberdeen, beginning in 1495 with the one University and the one College, long known as King's College, and having a

¹ A Young Man's Book for Young Men. By Edward W. Bok. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 184. Price, 2s. 6d.

² London: Elliott Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 198. Price, 5s.

³ By Rev. Walter Abbott, M.A., and others. London: Elliott Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 104. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁴ By Arthur Temple. London. Cr. 8vo, pp. 288. Price, 3s. 6d.

⁵ By Horace G. Groser. London. Cr. 8vo, pp. 276. Price, 3s. 6d.

⁶ By Helen E. Jackson. London. Cr. 8vo, pp. 223. Price, 3s. 6d.

⁷ Small cr. 8vo, pp. 90. Price 1s.

⁸ Cr. 8vo, pp. 430. Price, 2s.

⁹ Aberdeen: James G. Bisset. Pp. 400. Price, 4s. net.

¹⁰ London: Hodder & Stoughton. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 220. Price, 4s. 6d.

second University and College founded by the liberality of the Earl Marischal in 1593, closes four hundred years of Academic rivalry and Academic change with one well-equipped University comprising two Colleges,—the result of an important Act of Union which became operative in 1860. Both volumes are well written and trustworthy accounts of institutions which have reared many eminent men, and done a great service to Scotland. The authors have gone to the original sources, and deserve credit for exact, painstaking work. The books will be very welcome to Aberdeen alumni. At many points they illustrate the Academic life of Scotland, and the condition of learning at different periods of our national history, in a way that should secure for them a wide circle of readers.

*The Brotherhood of Man*¹ is described by its author as a *Study towards a Christian Philosophy of History*. The idea of the book is that mankind has a goal, that this goal is the realisation of a united brotherhood, and that history is to be interpreted as a continuous movement towards this great and happy end. These are the propositions which Mr Crawford wishes to establish. In attempting to make them good, he leads us through extensive and important fields of inquiry, historical, theological, ethical, and philosophical. His plan is to show, first, that history, rightly read, exhibits "the growth of the idea of a united humanity as revealed in the progress of humanity"; and in the second place, that this can be identified with "the teaching of Christ, and the general growth of the Church," it being indeed "the central spirit of Christianity." He states also, although only in a general way at present, "the relation which the progress of mankind towards unity bears to morality and knowledge."

Mr Crawford has a great and noble subject. He treats it ably, candidly, with large knowledge of the best literature bearing on it, and with a strong faith in the steady advance of our race. Perhaps the thing that is most distinctive of the book is its rare hopefulness—a hopefulness which refuses either to take a gloomy view of the present, or to anticipate less than a great and gracious future.

The Introduction deals mainly with the idea of *development*. What Mr Crawford asserts by that term, he is careful to explain, is "a growth in ability to *interpret* divine truth." He criticises the Roman view, whether as stated by Newman and Möhler or as practically acted on by the Pope in adding new articles to the Creed, as implying a "power of constructing new foundations, of declaring the existence of new facts, of practically making fresh

¹ By the Rev. John Howard Crawford, M.A. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. vii. 379. Price, 5s.

revelations to mankind." He says some just things at the same time of doctrines which once had a great place in religious belief, and have now gone into the background, and of the impossibility of accounting for the sovereignty once enjoyed by them, except by recognising that they had a real and vital relation to the peculiar mental character and spiritual aptitudes and experiences of the time. They had their influence, in short, because they were "the best thought that the spirit of their time" could give to the religious problems which they touched, and if they have lost that influence with later generations, it is because they have failed to stand the test of Time, the great interpreter.

The sketch of the idea of human Brotherhood in pre-Christian times, the statement of the Ethical principles of Jesus, the history of the idea of Brotherhood in the Early Church, in the Middle Ages, and since the Reformation, the chapters on the Family, on Social and Political Progress, on the Natural Growth of Altruism—these and other sections of the book are full of good things well expressed. The importance of the doctrinal forms of Christianity, notwithstanding the fact that it is by its ethical spirit that in the long run anything promulgated as Christian truth stands or falls, is judiciously stated. In most of the chapters there are things of which much might be said, mainly in approval, sometimes in criticism. It is natural for one who writes with so hearty an enthusiasm for his theme, to exaggerate some points. This is seen, in particular, in the claim that the single truth here expounded is "the key to all eschatology." Be that as it may, Mr Crawford has given us a strong, healthy, buoyant book.

*Theism as a Science of Natural Theology and Natural Religion*¹ is the title given to a series of Lectures prepared by Mr Voysey as a supplement to his former volume on *Theism, or the Religion of Common Sense*. The book begins by asserting for Theism the value of a Science, because it is "based exclusively on facts, on natural facts which are beyond all dispute." It then proceeds to prove, on the basis of these facts, the existence of a God, and of One possessed of such attributes as knowledge, power, and will. In connection with this we find some acute remarks on objections taken to the Argument for Design. The author next takes up the question—How can we determine whether this God, without the postulate of whose existence the phenomena of the world would be inexplicable, is a good God or an evil. Here a very careful argument is worked out on behalf of the goodness of God. This is the most interesting, as it is also by no means the least convincing, portion of the volume. The mysteries of pain and death are made

¹ By the Rev. Charles Voysey, B.A., St Edmund Hall, Oxford. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 134. Price, 2s. 6d.

the subject of reverent and penetrating inquiry, and some just and weighty things are said of the purpose of good that is in them, and of the relation in which they stand to the Divine Love.

In most that he claims for Theism, and in the general course of his argument on the main questions, we are largely at one with him. We dissent from him when he affirms that a true Theism must come in conflict with Revelation and destroy its foundations, just as it comes into collision with Atheism. We can understand how one looking, as Mr Voysey does, at the gross and unworthy guise in which some of the doctrines of Christianity have been presented in certain schools of theology or in the works of particular divines of extreme type, might be led to this conclusion. But we cannot see how Revelation rightly understood can be held to be rendered either superfluous or untrue by Theism. While we part company with Mr Voysey at this point, we are glad to have from him this volume, which in other respects is a thoughtful and reasonable statement of the Theistic position.

Mr Page has been rightly persuaded to allow his brief Commentary on the Greek text of the *Book of Acts*¹ to be adapted to the Authorised Version. The small volume originally published in 1866 was a model of succinct, exact, informing exegesis. The Notes as they appear in this new form, together with the admirable maps and the scholarly Introduction written by Mr Page himself, will be of great use to English readers.

Canon Bernard, well known by his valuable Bampton Lectures on *The Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament*, publishes an interesting study of the Canticles of the New Testament.² It is strange that these hymns, the only hymns of the New Testament, have received so little attention except in Sermons and Commentaries. They furnish rich material for distinct treatment, and by selecting them for separate study and exposition, Canon Bernard supplies a want. The source and channels of information, the families concerned, the attitude of expectation in Israel, and the narrative of the Annunciation, are first considered. The Magnificat, the Benedictus, the Gloria in Excelsis, and the Nunc Dimittis, are then separately expounded. The exposition is largely of a practical kind, but attention is given to the precise, historical sense of the leading terms, and to the Old Testament colouring of the whole. Nor are the finer questions of criticism

¹ The Acts of the Apostles, with Introduction and Notes. By T. E. Page, M.A., and A. Walpole, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. Fcap. 8vo, pp. xxxiii. 229. Price, 2s. 6d.

² The Songs of the Holy Nativity. By Thomas Dehany Bernard, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of Wells. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. 164. Price, 5s.

overlooked. In a brief appendix we have, for example, a discussion of the various readings in the *Gloria*, with a careful statement of the documentary evidence for the one paraphrased in the "men in whom He is well pleased" of the Revised Version. There are some misprints in the Greek and Hebrew (e.g., as pp. 163, 164). The Songs are capable of a still more strictly historical treatment. But Canon Bernard makes a fresh and interesting contribution to their study.

Professor W. F. Slater of Didsbury College, contributes a *Manual of Modern Church History*¹ to the *Books for Bible Students Series*. The period embraced is the last two centuries. The fault of the book is that it is by much too small for its purpose. The treatment of some of the Churches is so slim as to be misleading. There are at the same time some remarkably correct and compact statements. If space were allowed him, Professor Slater might produce a handbook which would fill a vacant place in our theological literature.

We are glad to see that Professor Findlay's contribution to the same series has already reached its fifth thousand and its third edition.² It has been revised throughout, and among other additions and improvements, we notice in especial a Postscript on *The Locality of St Paul's "Galatia."* We know no volume of anything like the same size to match this small book as a study of the Pauline Epistles.

A most useful addition is also made to the same series by Mr Moulton's *Introduction to the Study of New Testament Greek*.³ The book is based upon Dr Moulton's *Winer*, with careful use of other authorities, Rutherford, Grimm, Schmiedel, Delbrück, Brugmann, Meyer, &c. The Introduction gives in concise form an admirable general statement, first on Greek and its dialects, and then on Hellenistic Greek under the three definitions of Hebraic, Colloquial, and Late. The Accidence is next dealt with, and that is followed by six extremely lucid chapters on the Syntax. In a couple of Appendices we have also a list of words and grammatical types identical or nearly identical in form, and an explanation of such technical terms as are most frequently met with in Commentaries. Knowing what his father has done for the scientific study of the grammar of New Testament Greek in our country, we should expect good work in the same department from Mr Moulton. In

¹ London: Charles H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. x. 221. Price, 2s. 6d.

² The Epistles of Paul the Apostle: a sketch of their origin and contents. By George G. Findlay, B.A. London: Charles H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 305. Price, 2s. 6d.

³ By James Hope Moulton, M.A., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. London: Charles H. Kelly. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. xvii. 252. Price, 3s.

this volume he fulfils that expectation and worthily carries on the succession. Particular attention is given to the philological element. The Syntax is admirably handled. The paragraphs on the negatives, the uses of *äv*, conditional sentences, and final clauses, are particularly well done. Mr Moulton has made a very thorough study of his subject, and has given us a book for which both teachers and scholars owe him much.

In the *Expositor's Bible* series, the first part of *Jeremiah* was committed to the Rev. J. C. Ball. The second part has been expounded by Professor Bennett.¹ In the Books of Chronicles Professor Bennett had a subject which was particularly difficult to handle interestingly. The strong qualities which his exposition of these books discovered, are no less conspicuous in this new contribution to the series. He has brought the resources of sound scholarship, historical insight, and literary tact to the service of this Exposition, and has made the situation dealt with in these chapters live again with all the confusions of the time, the faction and intrigue, the blunders and bewilderments of the politics of the day, and the figure of the solitary prophet, the prophet of doom, in the centre. He brings out at the same time in vivid form the principles which were working in these entanglements, and shows their application to modern times. He divides the whole into three books, which treat respectively of Personal Utterances and Narratives, Prophecies concerning Foreign Nations, and Jeremiah's Teaching concerning Israel and Judah. The chapters on Restoration and the Epilogue on Jeremiah and Christ, perhaps show the author at his best. A chronological table, constructed in accordance with the best results of investigation, adds to the usefulness of the book. For the purposes of the series these chapters of Jeremiah could scarcely have been better expounded.

Fragmentary as the book is, the late Professor Hort's *Prolegomena to St Paul's Epistles to the Romans and the Ephesians*² will be gratefully received. It is an excellent specimen of the lamented author's academic work. The questions of the origin and composition of the Roman Church, the special type of Jewish Christianity which is to be recognised in it, the purpose of the Epistle, and the structure of the closing chapter, are handled with the sure and easy touch of a master. But of greater interest is the treatment of the Epistle to the Ephesians, which also occupies the larger part of the volume. It is worth much to see how Professor Hort looked at the problems of the Epistle, its encyclical character, its

¹ The Book of Jeremiah. Chapters XXI.-LII. By W. H. Bennett, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 372. Price, 7s. 6d.

² London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 192. Price, 6s.

relation to the Epistle from Laodicea, the type of Paulinism which prevails in it, and its great doctrinal ideas and to what conclusions he was led on these questions. The volume, small as it is, is full of instruction, and amply deserves the honour of posthumous publication.

We have another very acceptable memorial of the late Professor Hort in his *Six Lectures on the Ante-Nicene Fathers*.¹ They are of a less severely scientific character than most that the lamented scholar wrote, and give us a very pleasing idea of how he could accommodate himself to his audience. Clement of Rome, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin, Irenæus, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen are each treated briefly, but most informingly. The results of extensive and most careful study are given in these short, luminous, popular lectures.

*The Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians*² is also expounded by Professor James S. Candlish of Glasgow, in the series of *Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students*. It is an epistle in expounding which there is ample scope for the hand of the trained theologian as well as for that of the grammarian, and the strength of this compact Commentary lies largely in the explanation of the great theological ideas. The main questions of a literary and historical kind receive due attention. There are instructive statements on the condition of Christianity in the world at the time when the Epistle was written, and on the relation of the letter to other parts of the New Testament. But the distinctive thing is the full and careful exposition of the great Pauline doctrines—predestination, grace, adoption, and others.

As a "necessary sequel" to his earlier work, *Through Christ to God*, Dr Joseph Agar Beet publishes now *The New Life in Christ*.³ In the former volume he dealt with the historical basis of the Christian faith and hope, and the fundamental matters of Christian doctrine. He endeavoured to prove the existence of an intelligent and loving Creator and Ruler of the universe, to establish the truth of a righteous judgment beyond the grave, to interpret the sense of sin, to expound the way of forgiveness through Jesus Christ, and to set forth the power of His death and resurrection. In the present volume he gives us a study in personal religion, and offers it as the proper complement to the theological inquiry. The subject of the volume, therefore, is the moral resurrection of sinful men into new life. This Dr Beet unfolds in five parts, treating in succession of the Ruin, the Restoration, the Way of Holiness, the Divine and Human in the Christian Life, and the Revelation of God in the New Life in Christ. His object is to investigate this new life in

¹ London : Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 138. Price, 3s. 6d.

² Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 132. Price, 1s. 6d.

³ London : Hodder & Stoughton. Crown 8vo, pp. xv. 347. Price, 6s. 6d.

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Christ "according to the principles of scientific research," and to exhibit it as "an organic whole, consisting of various elements mutually related and holding definite relations to other matters of human thought and knowledge." The divisions which Dr Beet has adopted for his exposition do not seem to hang very well together. A distribution of his material better fitted to express the sense of unity in the subject would have been desirable. This, however, is only of secondary importance. The main thing is to give a scientific statement of the ethical and practical side of Christian truth, and to show how real and vital the connection is between Christian fact and doctrine, on the one hand, and Christian life and duty on the other. This Dr Beet does with much success, and in a way that brings all home to personal religion and personal experience.

Though the moral power and practical contents of Christianity form Dr Beet's immediate subject, he has, as matter of course, to touch on a number of theological or doctrinal questions in developing his argument,—the probation of man, the Fall and its results, the nature of repentance and faith, the meaning of justification, adoption, and perseverance, the eternal purpose of God, and others. These topics are not discussed at length in all their theological bearings, but only so far as is necessary for the ethical purpose of the book. What is said of them, however, is often of interest as showing the conclusions Dr Beet has come to on some of the most difficult and debated questions of doctrine. In his statement of the Eternal Purpose of God, for example, he makes it clear that, in his view, the Divine counsel of Salvation could not have had its reason in any foreseen merit of man or in anything outside God Himself. On the question of human freedom, again, he goes against John Stuart Mill and the author of the *Synthetic Philosophy*, and withdraws the moral actions of men from the law of causality, even in view of all the explanations given in the *System of Logic*. But upon these and other tempting subjects it is impossible to enter at present. It is enough to say that Dr Beet's book is of an excellent spirit throughout, and will both interest and edify.

An attractive volume on *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*¹ comes from the hand of Dr Frederic G. Kenyon of the British Museum. The author has had a valuable training for this kind of work, and he has used it well. What he attempts is a history of the text of our Bible and its translations. The subject of the transmission of the text of Scripture is one to which much attention has been given for a length of time, and the literature dealing with it is now considerable. With all that has been done, however, and done with so much success, there is room enough for a book like the present, which aims at giving in moderate compass

¹ London : Eyre & Spottiswoode. 8vo, pp. 255. Price 5s.

the results of the studies of our leading specialists. Mr Kenyon has made diligent and discriminating use of the works of our best authorities, English, French, German, and Italian. He has also studied the manuscripts in the British Museum. The result is a compact statement which puts the English reader abreast of the most reliable literature on the subject, and of the conclusions drawn from the most recent discoveries. The accounts given of the more important manuscripts and versions are in general correct and sufficient. There are points on which exception may be taken to Mr Kenyon's positions, as, for example, on the value of the Massoretic text. But these are small matters. The book is an honest, painstaking, and reliable piece of work. Its usefulness is increased by a series of 26 facsimiles.

We owe to the Rev. John Brownlie, the author of *Hymns of our Pilgrimage*; a tasteful little volume of *Hymns of the Early Church*.¹ Mr Brownlie has made a selection of over sixty of the best hymns of the ancient Latin Church, translating them, and arranging them in the order of the Christian year. He has gone to the best collections, Daniel, Mone, and others, for the text, and in his translations has made it his aim to "give the *idea* and *spirit* of the Latin verses." In many cases he has given pleasant renderings, faithful to the sense of the originals, and preserving much of their peculiar rhythmic melodiousness. An interesting historical introduction; and also appropriate biographical notes, are given by Dr Charles M'Crie. The volume is a dainty and attractive one, most useful for devotional reading.

Much as has been written on the Oxford movement, not only by those who knew it merely at a distance, but also by those who were in the heart of it and originated or directed it, more remains to be said of it and its leaders still. The interest in it as a chapter in our ecclesiastical history, and a part of that great wave of renewed religious life which in different forms and with different results touched England and Scotland some three-quarters of a century ago, is not likely soon to die out. Nor can it be said that either the movement itself or the chief actors in it are yet altogether understood? Every new contribution to the study of the movement or the men is welcome. Neither Dean Church's classical book, nor the ponderous life of Dr Pusey, nor the many additions of various kinds that have been recently made to the literature, have by any means exhausted the subject. There is a place, therefore, for Dr Rigg's *Oxford High Anglicanism and its Chief Leaders*.²

¹ London : Nisbet & Co. 18mo., pp. xxvii. 159. Price, 2s. 6d.

² By the Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D., Principal of Westminster Training College. London : Charles H. Kelly. 8vo., pp. xi. 348. Price, 7s. 6d.

The estimate which this book gives is the estimate of a Nonconformist. But it is the estimate of one who strives to be fair, as far as human infirmity permits, and it is made in no spirit of unfriendliness to the great historic Church of England. It is the result, too, of studies which have been carried on for many years, and which have been inspired by the desire to understand the movement and do justice both to it and to its leaders. So far back as the time when he published his essays on Coleridge, Hare, Maurice, Kingsley, and Jowett in his well-known *Modern Anglican Theology*, Dr Rigg had begun the serious consideration of the Oxford School and the developments of Anglicanism. In publishing at this late date the results of his inquiries he has the advantage of having before him much regarding the prime movers—their aims, their actions, and their final estimates of the events—that could not be placed before the public till quite recently.

The narrative portion of Dr Rigg's work is of great interest. It omits nothing that is of material consequence. It will commend itself as an eminently fair as well as a very readable account of the course which things took in Oxford, and the parts which the different men played in the inception and development of the Movement. The sketches of Hurrell Froude and Ward are full of life, and set the men very distinctly before us with all their extravagances and peculiarities, odd and likeable. The most important parts of Dr Rigg's book, however, are the critical. In these he will be prepared for a certain measure of dissent and protest. His estimates of the leading spirits in the Movement, especially Keble, Newman, and Pusey, are less favourable than are usually given. He does not shrink from turning the light upon certain weaknesses and defects in the character and the mental make of the great leaders which go far, as he regards them, to explain the direction which was given to the Movement. His criticism of Pusey in particular is severe, but he founds it on the discoveries made in the published letters. He is thoroughly appreciative, at the same time, of Pusey's devoutness, as well as of the piety, the genius, and all the gracious and noble qualities of Keble and Newman. The time is perhaps scarcely come even yet when an entirely calm and impartial judgment of the Movement is possible. But that time cannot be far distant, and Dr Rigg's volume, throwing into relief, as it does, things in the Movement and in the men to which a very natural hero-worship makes one blind, will do much to hasten it. No one who desires to understand some of the more important chapters in the religious life of the England of this century can afford to pass the volume by.

We reserve Professor Ramsay's *St Paul the Traveller and the*

Roman Citizen and Canon Gore's *Dissertations* for more adequate consideration than can be given them at present.

We are glad to know that the Cambridge University Press has undertaken the larger edition of the Septuagint with full critical apparatus, and has secured for this important work the competent editorship of the Rev. A. E. Brooke of King's, and Mr Norman M'Lean of Christ's College.

The revised version of the *Apocrypha*¹ is now in the hands of the public, and the labours of the Revision Committee are completed. This last portion of their task was entrusted to three Committees, the London, Westminster, and Cambridge Committees, headed respectively by Bishop Ellicott, Archbishop Trench, and Bishop Lightfoot, and was begun on the conclusion of the revision of the New Testament. The work has been carried out on the general principles accepted as applicable to the revision of the Authorised Version of the Old and New Testaments. Among other improvements on the old version of the *Apocrypha*, the revisers have been able to incorporate the missing fragment in 2 Esdras vii. 36-105, thanks to Professor Bensly. The work of revision has been executed carefully and faithfully, and puts the crown in worthy fashion on the important and protracted labours of the Committee.

From the Clarendon Press we receive two further instalments of the *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*,² with which Professors Driver, Briggs, and Francis Brown are busy. The editors are to be congratulated both on the sustained excellence of the work and on the progress they have been able to make with it.

To give within the limits of a small handbook a sketch of the whole course of the history of the Church, which shall embrace the results of the most recent investigation and follow the manner of the acknowledged masters in modern historical writing, is a feat which not one in a thousand could accomplish. It has been accomplished, however, for German readers in Professor Rudolph Sohm's *Kirchengeschichte im Grundriss*, a volume of unusual excellence both in knowledge and in style, which has already run into its eighth edition. It is now made available for the English reader in a faithful and very readable translation by Miss May Sinclair,³ and it is sure of a good reception. It has the cordial and appreciative recommendation of Professor Gwatkin, who speaks of it as "neither a meagre sketch nor a confused mass of facts; but a

¹ Oxford and Cambridge Presses. Ruby, 16mo. Price, 2s. Minion, cr. 8vo, 3s. : Pica, demy 8vo, 7s. 6d. ; Pica, royal 8vo, 10s. 6d.

² Pp. 265-440. Parts IV. and V. Price, 2s. 6d. each.

³ Outlines of Church History. By Rudolf Sohm, Professor of Law, Leipzig. London : Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 254. Price, 3s. 6d.

masterly outline of Church History from the first ages to our own times, combining a lawyer's precision and a historian's insight into the meaning of events with a philosopher's sense of the unity of history and a Christian's conviction that the Kingdom of God is spiritual." No higher praise could be bestowed upon the book than the opinion thus expressed by one who is entitled above most English scholars to speak with authority on such a subject.

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The Constitutional History and Constitution of the Church of England.

*Translated from the German of Felix Makower, Barrister in Berlin.
London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1895. 8vo, pp. x. 545.
Price, 15s.*

NEARLY twenty years ago Dr Stubbs said from his professorial chair at Oxford that "we ought to be taking advantage of the great interest with which English history is now being read in Germany," and "to learn from that interest that German history might be quite as remunerative to us as ours to the Germans." Lappenberg and Maurer on Anglo-Saxon Constitutional Antiquities, Schmid on Anglo-Saxon Laws, with the works of Pauli, Gneist, Budinger, Sickel, and others, are perhaps known in the main only to professed students of history. But it is their own fault if Englishmen of ordinary education and culture are not acquainted with "The History of England under the Stewarts" by Leopold V. Ranke, whom Dr Stubbs pronounced to be "one of the very greatest historians that ever lived." A translation of that great work has been before English readers for more than twenty years; and the same high authority declared that for Englishmen to have in their own tongue an estimate of this period of their own history by a scholar "who brought unparalleled qualifications and entire impartiality to bear upon it" was "a boon of incalculable value." No Englishman can write of England under the Stewarts without bias. For impartiality we must go to those of another nation. The difficulty in such cases is to find the requisite interest and knowledge, and both of these were found in Ranke.

Nothing but a very genuine zeal for the increase of knowledge, both in accuracy and breadth, could induce foreigners to study our constitutional and political history with the minuteness and thoroughness which have made some of the works mentioned above to be part of the indispensable equipment of the specialist, and it is both a noteworthy and a happy thing that such men are found—one might almost say in abundance. Nevertheless these have for the most part been men who have made history their main study in life, and have been attracted by an imperfectly known foreign branch of it. In the book before us we have a still more remarkable instance of a foreigner working with great industry through the intricate details of English history. And he has chosen for his special department, not our military and naval history, which can be made interesting to any one, nor the history of our consti-

tutional development, which can interest and instruct any one who follows modern politics with intelligence, but the history of the constitution of our National Church. And the specially notable fact is that the author is not a theologian by calling, nor yet a professor of ecclesiastical history, but a lawyer practising in Berlin. Dr Makower, a Prussian barrister, writing the Constitutional History of the Church of England, reminds us of George Grote, an English banker, writing the History of Greece. But the latter is the less remarkable case of the two. Every English boy who goes to a grammar school learns something about ancient Greece, and therefore has a chance of being inspired with an enthusiasm for the subject, whereas it must be only very rarely that the education of a German lad brings him into contact with the Constitution of the English Church, and not even our national vanity can lead us to suppose that the history of the Anglican Church is as capable of inspiring enthusiasm as the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. It would be very interesting to know how the idea first entered into the author's mind of selecting such a subject and of treating it so exhaustively. Has he had many friends in the English Church, or has he lived much among us? Or has he ever, as a diversion from his legal studies, written an article on the subject, which has grown, as Mr Rashdall's essay on Universities has grown, into a work of first-rate importance on the subject?

About these things we can only guess, for the author sticks in the most severe manner to business. The book has neither Introduction nor Preface, whether by the writer or the translator, to tell us anything about its genesis. There is merely a "Note" to show us how to find our way in the volume, and to inform us that the translation has had the advantage of improvements made by the author himself, with the help of Dr F. Liebermann; and then the author plunges at once *in medias res*.

He divides his subject into five parts. I. History of the Constitution of the Church. II. Sources of Ecclesiastical Law. III. Relation of the Church of England to other Christian Churches. IV. The Clergy and their Orders. V. The Several Authorities in the Church. Of these five, the first and last are far the most considerable, the first occupying 150 pages, the last over 200, in a total of 537, of which more than 80 are devoted to very useful appendices.

Under the first head, England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Colonies all receive separate treatment; but the sketch of the last three is necessarily brief. Two-thirds of this part of the subject is rightly devoted to England, and divided into three portions by the obvious landmarks of the Norman Conquest and the Reformation.

Throughout the whole volume the labour which has been incurred by the author, and the amount of reading which he has accomplished in his resolute determination to equip himself properly for his great task, is manifest in every section. Chapter and verse are given us for almost everything. Indeed Dr Makower is frequently not content with telling us where the fact stated can be found, but he quotes the whole passage *in extenso*. Often it happens,—perhaps more often than not,—that the amount of text in a page is exceeded by the notes. This gives the volume rather a heavy appearance; but it makes it all the more valuable to the careful student. In this respect it reminds one of Stubbs's edition of Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*. And it is evident that the author knows where to go for the best guidance. The frequency with which Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils, &c.*) is referred to in the earlier part of the History, Stubbs (*Constitutional History*) in the mediæval period, and Phillimore (*Ecclesiastical Law*) during the later times, gives confidence to the English reader. For matters of detail in recent times even the *Official Year-Books of the Church of England* and the *Clergy Lists* have been studied. And the details to which he descends are remarkable. That he should discuss the development of such offices as those of Archbishop, Bishop, and Archdeacon was imperative; also such bodies as Convocations and Chapters. Rural Deans and Rural Chapters also are subjects which we have a right to expect; and the same may be said of Curates and Churchwardens. But Parish Clerks, Sextons, Beadles, and Organists, Diocesan Synods and Conferences, Deaconesses' Institutions and Brotherhoods, are all included and discussed.

The whole is treated objectively. The author is evidently not a Roman Catholic; but he desires to be impartial and allow facts to speak for themselves. If he holds no brief for Rome, he holds none for Anglicanism either. Perhaps no Englishman, whether Churchman or Dissenter, could have been so successful in this respect.

At the outset, the respective labours and successes of Rome and the Keltic Churches in the conversion of the English to Christianity are fairly stated. There is no overstatement of the great work done by the Italian missions. On the other hand there is no such questionable epigram as that Augustine was the Apostle of Kent, but Aidan the Apostle of England. As to the relations between the organized English Church and Rome:—

“Outwardly the Pope meddled but little with the affairs of the English Church; the sole important points in this regard are the conferring of the pallium on the two archbishops and the taxation of England by the imposition of Peter's pence. Far more consider-

able was the influence which the Pope exercised, not in definite legal forms, but in an informal way, either by personal or epistolary intercourse with Englishmen in high place, or through the mere force of that example which the Italian and Frankish countries, more closely connected with the papal government, exerted upon less civilized England.

Within the land, Church and State remained in intimate union. . . . As a rule the King, with the assistance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, directed alike the secular and the ecclesiastical administration. At the national councils, wherein important measures and laws were discussed and adopted, both bishops and temporal magnates were present. The laws enacted dealt with spiritual as well as with secular things. In the legislation of Eadmund (940-946), and often afterwards, the resolutions arrived at are, it is true, divided in outward form into laws spiritual and laws temporal; but both groups rest on the consent of the same persons, nor is the division strictly carried out in regard to the substance of the several enactments."

All this, and more to the same effect, is well put. One misses, however, a clear grasp of the important fact that it was the unity and organization of the Church which paved the way for the unity and organization of the State. At first there were various missionary centres, loosely and irregularly connected. These were at last brought into unity under Archbishop Theodore, the first archbishop, as Bede says, whom all the English obeyed. In a similar way the various kingdoms, commonly called the heptarchy, were at last gathered into one under the King of Wessex. But the ecclesiastical unification preceded the civil one, and prepared the way for it. If Englishmen, considered as churchmen, even when subjects of different kingdoms, could be under one archbishop, there was evidently a possibility of their being, when considered as citizens, under one king. In some respects the reverse was the case, and the Church followed the lead of the State; *e.g.*, the limits of the ancient dioceses in the main followed the limits of the still more ancient kingdoms.

Although the short reign of the absentee king, Richard I., does not supply much material to the historian of the constitution of the Church, one fact is pointed out by Dr Makower, not without a touch of humour. In 1198 the collection of a land tax was ordered, from which ecclesiastical possessions were not exempted, with the exception of the *libera feoda* of parish churches. The monks protested that monastic lands were exempt. "By way of answer the king proclaimed that thenceforth no man who had done an injury to clerk or regular should be obliged to give satisfaction to the injured. This was enough to extract payment from the monks (Hoveden, iv.

66). The same procedure on the part of kings in dealing with refusals of the clergy to contribute to taxes often recurs in later times."

The sketch of the pre-Reformation period of the English Church is not continued beyond the reign of Edward III. The passing of the *Statutum de provisoribus* and of the *Statutum contra annullatores Judiciorum Curiae Regis*, sometimes called "the first *praemunire* act," is treated by Dr Makower as closing the development of the constitution prior to the revolutionary period of Henry VIII. The first of these struck at the usurpations of Rome in regard to ecclesiastical appointments; the second rendered appeals to the Pope penal in cases of which the kings could take cognizance. These two laws, passed in 1351 and 1353, were followed by a third, which completed the anti-papal policy in 1366, when the feudal tribute, conceded to the Pope by the miserable John in 1333, was again demanded. Parliament declared that John's concession was null and void, for the barons had never consented to it. "From that time forth the Popes ceased to claim the tribute. That England was, in temporal matters, independent of Rome was never afterwards seriously questioned."

The Reformation period, beginning with Henry VIII. and ending with Elizabeth, is rapidly sketched. Henry's policy of endeavouring to sever the kingdom of England from all connexion with the See of Rome, without making any other considerable changes, is clearly pointed out. But it is not so clearly pointed out how this policy was doomed to failure. What Henry wanted was "Popery without the Pope"; *i.e.*, he wanted the ecclesiastical and political independence of England, but he did not want any reform of doctrine and ritual. But Roman doctrine and Roman jurisdiction had grown up side by side, bound together by endless ties of causation, although in many cases it might be difficult to say which was cause and which was effect. To try to retain papal dogmas and reject papal influence was like wishing for rain without clouds. To have modified both would have been possible, as the present position of Roman Catholicism in different parts of the world shows: but to keep the one intact while the other was entirely discarded was an impossibility.

From a German writer we might have expected some remarks upon the points of contrast between the Reformation in England and the Reformation in Germany; but Dr Makower is too intent upon the history of the English Church to stop to make any comparisons. As he closes his sketch of the pre-Reformation period with the death of Edward III., so he closes that of the post-Reformation period with the expulsion of James II., and its immediate consequences. These "mark the close of a great chapter

in the history of the Established Church. It had maintained at all points the independent constitution gained at the Reformation; it had finally excluded from its camps on the one hand the Papists, on the other the advanced Protestant sections; and it had secured itself against further intrusion of these alien elements. From this time forth neither Papists nor Protestant sectaries could struggle for preponderance in the Church with the hope of drawing it over to themselves. Both were now compelled to build up their own organizations outside the Church, to struggle for equality with it, or to dominate it, if they could dominate it, *from without*. Their struggles thus leave from henceforth the constitutional principles of the Church untouched; their attacks are directed solely against the privileges enjoyed in the State by the Established Church."

In mentioning the attempt at the present time "to wrest from the Church its last important advantage—its endowment," the author expresses no opinion one way or the other as to the merits of the struggle. And in the sketch of the Church in Ireland no opinion is hazarded as to whether disestablishment there has proved beneficial or otherwise. Merely the facts of the change are recorded (pp. 138 *ff.*).

Perhaps the least satisfactory section in the volume is that on "the Relation of the Reformed Church of England to the Church in England before the Reformation." The heading of the section, with the change of preposition—"of" to "in"—tells us what to expect. Dr Makower regards the breaking away from the spiritual jurisdiction of Rome as fatal to continuity. "This step must be accounted revolutionary, and indicative of a distinct breach with the past. A parallel case would be the declaration by a federal state that it would no longer obey the ordinances of the central power." Let us accept the parallel. Would the Canton of Basle cease to be the Canton of Basle if it declared itself independent of the central government at Berne? Members of the canton would retain their cantonal rights and property as before. There would be no transfer of property from Switzerland to the Canton of Basle. The cantonal offices would be held by the same persons and discharged in much the same way. There would be no break in the corporate life of the canton. In the same way, there was no break made at the Reformation in the corporate life of the English Church. Dr Makower must know that both before and after that crisis the historical title of our communion is "English Church" or "Church of England," not "Church in England."¹ He himself

¹ Comp. the famous provision in Magna Carta: *quod Anglicana ecclesia libera sit, et habeat jura sua integra*; and the Preface to the Thirty-Nine Articles in the Latin form of 1571, and "His Majesty's Declaration."

points out that "the ecclesiastical offices in the country . . . remained nearly unaltered. The real changes which ensued relate almost exclusively to the connexion of the National Church with the Pope." He does not seem to know E. A. Freeman's tract on the subject; and the paper by the Bishop of Peterborough is subsequent to this work. Either of these would give him more accurate views on a rather tangled subject.

The work has some useful appendices, and perhaps the most useful portion of the whole volume is the Conspectus of Literature given in Appendix XIV. pp. 504-534. This is admirable, both in design and execution. An immense number of the best authorities, both original and modern, are given; and they are all carefully classified under a variety of heads. To be well acquainted with the contents of these thirty pages would be no mean preparation for the study of that subject of which Dr Makower has given us so excellent an outline. Even if the main body of the work were of a very inferior quality, this critical survey of sources and helps would make the volume of great value. ALFRED PLUMMER.

The Communion of the Christian with God: A Discussion in Agreement with the Views of Luther.

By Willibald Herrmann, Dr Theol., Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the University of Marburg. Translated from the Second thoroughly revised Edition, with special Annotations by the Author, by J. Sandys Stanyon, M.A. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.

Theological Translation Library, Vol. IV.; 8vo., pp. xvi. 261. Price, 10s. 6d.

THIS work was noticed in this Review on the appearance of the first edition in German, but it is of such importance and value that those who are already acquainted with it in that form will not grudge its being introduced anew to English readers, especially as it has undergone some alteration and addition. I do not, however, intend to examine the differences between this and the former edition, but simply to give some account and estimate of its scope and contents for those who may now first make acquaintance with it. It is the more welcome because its subject belongs to a department in which German theologians have done comparatively little—that of experimental religion—to which the Puritan divines and their successors gave so much deep thought and careful study; and surely it is of the utmost importance, not only for practical piety, but for securing that theological discussions be not mere specula-

tions or abstract doctrines, that the foundation of all real theology, the soul's personal relation to God, be rightly explained and understood. For Dr Herrmann treats the subject in a way somewhat different from that of Owen or Jonathan Edwards. They in their practical treatises assumed the truths about God and Christ revealed in the Bible, and sought to show how the soul is brought into a relation to God that is truly blessed and saving, and how that may be experimentally tested. But in an age like this, in which there is so much serious questioning about the being of God and the possibility of a personal relation to Him, a thorough examination of the subject could not simply start from these as postulates, but must give account of the way in which they are known. Hence this work presents a combination of topics that have usually been treated separately. We are accustomed to discussions of how we know that God is and has a personal relation to us, and also to practical treatises on the way of coming to a right relation of peace, hope, and joy in God: but here we have both treated together, and this is the explanation of some things in Herrmann's book that seem at first strange and perplexing.

The Introduction, dealing with the true function of theological doctrine, and Book I., "*Christianity v. Mysticism*," may be more conveniently referred to later: we come to Herrmann's main position in Book II., where he maintains that God communes with us only through Jesus Christ. This means that in the person and life of Jesus, as we are constrained to believe that these are truly represented in the Gospels, we perceive a manifestation of God, so that we cannot doubt that He is, and that He is coming to us in love. This is very convincingly and beautifully described, and all earnest Christians may gladly recognise its truth. All, too, will admit, that it is only through Jesus Christ that God communes with us so as to give us true peace and blessing, and our author has this in view, though not this only. For he maintains that it is only through the life of Christ that we have any real knowledge of God at all; and here many will be unable to follow him, for we have been accustomed to think that we have a knowledge of God through His works and in the voice of our conscience, which precedes the revelation given in Christ, however much this may transcend it. But Herrmann, in maintaining his position, is animated by the true and most important conviction that we must, above all things, have perfectly sure ground for what we believe; and he is anxious to guard against the idea that in order to have communion with God we must first believe a series of doctrines, *e.g.*, "that God made the world, that mankind are descended from a single pair, that God's Son became a man, that God's demand for the punishment of the guilty has been satisfied by the death of His Son, and

finally, that all this was done for your sake" (p. 52). Now it is most true that real intercourse with God does not depend on the belief of such doctrines ; on the contrary, no one can believe them on real and good grounds unless he has first had direct communion with God. For the sake of honesty and truth in religion, it is well done to emphasise this. But does it follow that there is no way in which we become directly aware of God save through the historical person of Jesus ? When our author's attention is directed to the multitudes of mankind who do not know Jesus, he explains that he does not deny that the Gentiles have some knowledge of God, but that he cannot tell how ; and that for us, in our historical position, Jesus Christ is alone the fact in which God reveals himself to us and comes into communion with us. For, he proceeds, there exists in us a hindrance to the religious life, of which men were quite ignorant in olden times, that deepening of the moral consciousness which has come about, and the consequent moral need (p. 54). True ; but is not this moral sense a communication of God to us ? Does He not speak directly to us when, like Kant, we find Him through conscience ? The sense of sin and alienation is indeed a proof that, apart from Jesus, we can have no peaceful and friendly communion with God ; but it seems to me itself to imply that we feel and know God to be speaking to us directly of his displeasure against us for sin. While, therefore, I welcome Herrmann's earnest and convincing statement, that God does speak to us through the history of Jesus, and that thus only have we peaceful fellowship with him, I am not prepared to deny that there is a real knowledge and personal relation given through conscience, and in a measure through nature also.

Great stress is laid in this work on the assertion that it is through a historical fact that God communes with us, and at some points the suspicion is apt to arise that he means merely that in an event of the past we get a conviction of God's presence, without recognising Christ as present to us now. But ere long we find that that would be a very unjust suspicion, and misrepresent the author's meaning. He expressly teaches that the inner life of Jesus is now present before our souls, and that God works on us by the spiritual power of Jesus (p. 92). While, therefore, he contemplates almost exclusively the earthly life of Jesus, he avoids the fatal error of a merely humanitarian view, that of making our Saviour a mere departed man. He believes that He is living now, able to help and bless us. Only he insists that we should always look at Him through His earthly life, because as to His present activity we have only general statements, and those actions of His that reveal His character and will, all belong to His life on earth. It is perhaps an excessive dread of an unreal mysticism that prompts to so strong an

assertion of our communion with God being through a historical fact; but the position seems on the whole a sound one, and favourable to a due appreciation of the value of the gospel records. He has some very true and beautiful remarks on the difference of true love to the real Jesus and a mere emotional sentiment.

In Christ as thus known, God is not merely made known to our minds, but we come into true and saving fellowship with Him, and are convinced that His God is our God. We find in Jesus a God who forgives us, and "as soon as we become aware that God is teaching us in the personal life of Jesus, and so making us certain of Himself, then at once we feel that we have entered upon a new course of life" (p. 92). Herrmann's view seems to be somewhat like that of Maurice, that conversion or salvation comes through our simply coming to see what God is, and has always been, towards us; and this is open to the serious objection that it leaves no room for an intelligent personal dealing with God in the way of reconciliation. When he describes how a man grows up to find the need of a surer knowledge of God than his early Christian teaching can give, he shows how he may lose his hold of God, and living in carelessness feel as if God had forsaken him; but he does not seem to admit the possibility of being terribly certain of the reality of God, and yet knowing and feeling that He is angry with us for our sin. So he states the Reformers' notion of redemption to be, that it arises from the vision of a fact when the understanding of that fact is always accompanied by a complete change in our inner life—in other words, by a rearrangement of our conscious relation towards God (p. 136). If by the qualification "conscious" it is meant to be denied that there is a change in our real relation to God, this seems to me an incorrect statement.

The right understanding of the Christian's communion with God has, in Herrmann's view, been much hindered by mysticism and by the insistence on the acceptance of theological dogmas as a prerequisite for that communion; and a good part of his treatise is occupied by a discussion of these subjects. The essence of mysticism, he says, consists in this, that certain impressions on our feelings are taken to be evidence, apart from anything objective, that the soul is possessed by God; and that, as he points out, is indifferent to any historical facts, and so is not distinctively Christian, and feels even the facts and doctrines of Christianity to be burdensome in the high flights of devotional feeling. This is congenial to the Roman Catholic Church, because its doctrines are arbitrarily imposed, and so can only be regarded as necessary means in order to come to God, which may and must be lost sight of, when we do actually come into that direct contact with God through feeling. He does not deny that in all real religion there is a

direct communion with God through the heart and its emotions; only he maintains that, in order to be truly Christian, and secure against mere fancy, we must find God in the real historical Jesus. This estimate of mysticism seems just and true; though it may be observed that the name is often used for that element in it that is good, and essential to heart religion; and therefore it is well, in passing any judgment on mysticism, to make clear what we mean.

Herrmann is very jealous of any use of Christian doctrine of the same kind as that of the Roman Catholic Church where it has caused the expression of piety to be of a mystical character. On this ground, as well as to defend his own theological position, he controverts at some length the view that, in order to have communion with God through Christ, we must first believe the deity and atonement of Christ. This polemic strikes a stranger as overdone; but possibly it may be necessitated by the popular religious tendencies in Germany; and it is right in itself; for we certainly do not need to come through theological doctrine to saving faith in Christ, and the healthier way is to come through direct faith to the understanding of the doctrine of His deity. At the same time, the importance of true doctrine in its own place is not overlooked; while the danger is pointed out of simply accepting and insisting on theological formulas, when the real faith that they were meant to express is absent. But he sometimes criticises Church doctrines in a way that seems very unfair, as when he seems to represent the current doctrine of Christ's deity as meaning "that a divine substance was bound up with the man Jesus" (p. 128). Though the technical term "substance" has, perhaps unhappily, come to be used in defining the doctrine, no intelligent Trinitarian understands by it anything really different from God Himself in the fulness of His attributes. Herrmann, indeed, admits that his conception of the deity of Christ is different from that of the Church doctrine; but so far as I can understand him, it seems to me that he misinterprets that doctrine, by taking "substance" to mean something concrete distinct from God Himself. Some theologians have held this, but it seems to me to be a mischievous inheritance from scholasticism. So Herrmann regards the Protestant doctrine of Atonement as defective, because it only teaches that Christ's work makes it possible for God to forgive sins, but does not give us assurance of actual forgiveness. This criticism is just, as against all theories of mere vague and general redemption, but not against the Reformed doctrine of an atonement that directly secures, to all who believe in Christ, actual forgiveness, which they can grasp at once by receiving Christ and experiencing the peace of reconciliation to God.

It will be seen from what has been said that this book is a very

important one, all the more because it is a good representative of the school of theology that has been originated by Ritschl, a school which, besides the great learning and ability of its members, has done, in various ways, good service to religious thought. For its earnestness in protesting against mere metaphysical doctrines and basing faith on religious experience, and for asserting the importance and value of the historical facts of the life of our Saviour, it deserves great praise; though one cannot help feeling that in abjuring all natural theology it leaves our belief to rest on a too narrow and insecure foundation, especially in view of the extent to which critical doubts are admitted as to the Gospel narratives. There is also a danger of going too far in the attempt to eliminate metaphysics from theology, and casting out the substance along with the form.

The editors of the Theological Translation Library have made a good selection in including this book in their series. They have also published it in a form much more easily intelligible to the reader by breaking it up into sections with appropriate headings. In the original German edition in 200 pages there were only four divisions with very general titles, so that it was very difficult to follow the line of thought and distinguish its successive stages; now in the translation it is very carefully divided, not only into smaller chapters, but into numbered paragraphs, with a marginal title to each, and a full table of contents. The translation is also exceedingly well done, faithful and correct, and at the same time clear and good English, so that it may be read with comfort and pleasure, and confidence of its truly representing the original.

JAS. S. CANDLISH.

The Book of Psalms.

A Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, printed in colours, with Notes by J. Wellhausen. English translation of the Notes by J. D. Prince. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1895. Pp. 96 quarto. Price, 6s.

[Part 14 in Professor Paul Haupt's series of "*The Sacred Books of the Old Testament*."]]

IN this book Professor Wellhausen has undertaken a task of extreme difficulty, a task for which he is perhaps better qualified than any other scholar now living. It is hardly necessary to state that of all the books of the Old Testament the Psalter is the most obscure. Not only do we find in it many passages of doubtful meaning, but, what is much more serious, we are, for the most part, entirely in the dark as to the origin of the pieces contained in it; there are no two complete psalms of which we can say with confi-

dence that they were written by the same author, or even at the same period. Moreover, examination shows that what appears to be a single psalm may in reality be a compound of two or more poems which originally had nothing to do with one another. Hence it follows that the textual criticism of the Psalter is very much more precarious than that of some other books, such as Ezekiel for example, where the text is possibly no less corrupt; for, as a general rule, the certainty with which we can emend corrupt passages must be in proportion to our knowledge of the ideas and the style of the author.

The edition before us bears witness not only to the genius and learning but still more to the caution and sobriety of judgment by which Professor Wellhausen is pre-eminently distinguished. Very many passages are left blank, and in the notes the editor frankly confesses that he can neither explain nor emend the text (*e.g.* Ps. ii. 12, viii. 2, xii. 7, xvii. 11, xxxii. 9, xxxv. 15, lviii. 10, lxxi. 15). The same modesty, which most of his opponents would do well to imitate, appears in his treatment of individual words, *e.g.* סֵלָה (see note on Ps. iii. 3), לִמְנָחָה (iv. 1), נָתַתָּה (viii. 1), חִלְכָה (x. 8), פָּסָנוּ (xlviii. 14), אֲמִילִם (cxviii. 10-12). In fact there are few books more calculated to exemplify the truth of the opinion expressed some years ago by another great biblical scholar, Professor Nöldeke—"It will be seen more and more clearly that in many places the text of the Old Testament is corrupt beyond all hope of emendation, that, in particular, many individual words are open to the gravest suspicion, and finally, that numerous passages are unintelligible, though they may have been handed down to us correctly" (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1886, p. 743).

It is needless to say that Professor Wellhausen has adopted very many of the emendations suggested by his predecessors, especially Olshausen and Paul de Lagarde. In the very important passage, Ps. xlv. 7, he follows Professor Bruston in substituting יְהוָה "shall endure" for אֱלֹהִים "God"; it may be mentioned in passing that the objection urged by Professor Nowack (in the third edition of Hupfeld's *Psalmen*) against this reading is refuted by Ps. lxxxix. 37; Is. li. 6; Ecces. iii. 14. Perhaps a few more conjectures might with advantage have been adopted, or at least cited in the notes, *e.g.* יְהוָה for יֵשׁוּעַ Ps. l. 23 (Graetz, Geiger), אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל for אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל Ps. lxxxviii. 2 (Weir, Graetz, Bickell), יְעֻמְדִי for מִי יְעֻמְדִי Ps. cxlvii. 17 (J. Derenbourg)—though of course in such cases there is room for great difference of opinion. The text contains a large number of emendations which, so far as I know,

appear here for the first time, but how many of these are due to Professor Wellhausen is not easy to determine, since some emendations made long ago (*e.g.* קָוֶלֶם for קָוֶם, Ps. xix. 5, יִבְלֶמוּ for יִבְלוּ, Ps. lxxi. 13) are accepted without any statement of the sources whence they are derived.

In conclusion, I venture to offer a few suggestions on particular passages. In Ps. vii. 9 Prof. Wellhausen adheres to the Masoretic text; but עָלִי comes in very strangely, as is proved by the conflicting explanations of the commentators. Perhaps we should read עָנִי and connect כְּצִדְקִי with the preceding words (שָׁפַטְנִי יְהוָה) rather than with those which follow. In Ps. ix. 7 Prof. Wellhausen rightly doubts the accuracy of the text, and suggests (as has been done by several other critics) that the last word (הַפֶּה) is the beginning of a fresh sentence. The preceding words may possibly be emended thus—

הָיוּ בְּתִימֹו חֲרֻבוֹת לָנֶצַח
וְעִירֵימֹו נִתְּשֶׁת אֲבֵד זִכְרֹם

“Their dwellings have become desolations for ever,
And their cities are demolished, their memory hath perished.”

In Ps. xiv. 4 and liii. 5 Prof. Wellhausen substitutes אָכַל לָחֶם for אָכְלוּ לָחֶם. But as the words occur without variation in *both* forms of the Psalm a minimum of change is desirable, and the consonants of the text admit also of being read אָכַל וְלָחֶם “eating and feasting.” The verb לָחֶם, originally “to make a meal” (Prov. xxiii. 1), is more emphatic than the ordinary אָכַל, and implies the idea of enjoyment (Ps. cxli. 4). In Ps. xlv. 13 Prof. Wellhausen follows Olshausen in supposing that a whole sentence has been omitted. Perhaps it is legitimate to conjecture that the first half of the verse should be—וּבִת צִרְתָּקָרְבַּן מִנְחָה “and the daughter (*i.e.* the City) of Tyre shall present a gift”; owing to the similarity of the two consecutive groups of letters תַּצֵּר תַּקֵּר, the second group might easily drop out. On Ps. lxviii. 3 Prof. Wellhausen remarks “תִּנְרָף is impossible.” I would propose to read כְּהִנְרָף עָשָׁן תִּנְרָף “as the smoke of a furnace is blown away,” cf. the phrase כַּעֲשַׁן הַכִּבְשָׁן (Exod. xix. 18). It is unnecessary to insert מִפְּנֵי רִיחַ, or anything of the kind, as some have suggested, because the idea is sufficiently expressed by the verb נִרָף, cf. עָלָה נִרָף (Lev. xxvi. 36; Job xiii. 25) and קֵשׁ נִרָף (Is. xli. 2). In Ps. lxix. 15 מִשְׁנֵאִי is retained by Prof. Wellhausen in spite of the difficulty which it presents. On

the other hand, one of the most recent commentators on the Psalms, Prof. Baethgen, simply strikes out the word, together with the following י, as a gloss. It would be but a slight change to read מִן־הַיָּם "from the roaring flood" (cf. Ps. xl. 3, lxxv. 8; Is. xvii. 12), and this entirely harmonizes with the context.

A. A. BEVAN.

Sanctuary and Sacrifice: A Reply to Wellhausen.

By the Rev. W. L. Baxter, M.A., D.D., Minister of Cameron, N.B.
London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. Pp. xviii. 511. Price, 6s.

OUR author opens his preface by stating, that "if the object aimed at by this volume were attained, it would certainly go a considerable way towards a very appreciable resolving of one of the keenest perplexities by which the Bible student has been bewildered in quite recent years." The immediate context and the book generally show that this perplexity is as to whether the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is still tenable. It is to be appreciably resolved by showing that each of two main lines of argument against such authorship is utterly worthless, both as a whole and in every link of reasoning, and every jot and tittle of the evidence on which it rests. In this last sentence we are not quoting actual words of Dr Baxter, but this is, at the utmost, only a slightly exaggerated summary of the claims made by the book in numerous sentences quite as strong as our own.

"Sanctuary and Sacrifice" is a minute and exhaustive criticism and attempted refutation of the arguments in the sixty-six pages of Wellhausen's *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, dealing with "The Place of Worship" and "Sacrifice." The first (and much briefer) part on "Sanctuary" has already appeared in *The Thinker*. Dr Baxter claims to have shown in this part, "by a comprehensive view of the historical books, that centralisation (i.e., as regards places of worship) from Sinai onwards can be challenged by Wellhausen, only by denying, *without a shred of proof* (the italics are Dr Baxter's), the plainest and most reiterated statements of the Jewish historians." Similar claims are made for the much longer part on Sacrifice, in which Dr Baxter deals with Wellhausen's arguments as to the evidence with regard to the materials and different denominations of sacrifice in the Pentateuch, the History, and the Prophets. Apart from numerous references elsewhere, two chapters are devoted to the relation of Ezekiel to the Priestly Code. According to Dr Baxter, he has routed Wellhausen all along the line. Of Wellhausen's treatment of Lev. i. he writes: "Is it possible to read such facts without exclaiming,

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I

What a pompous imposture!" And, after wrestling with Wellhausen for more than four hundred pages, he says of him: "Our author really hardly resembles a responsible investigator at all: he is more like a child sporting among valuables and 'chucking' them about at its pleasure." The last sentence is a key to explain the weakness of this volume. Dr Baxter would have produced a much better book if he had credited Wellhausen with possessing ordinary intelligence and exercising average care. As it is, our author often discovers baseless assumptions and glaring inconsistencies where a little reflection and investigation would have shown that, to say the least, the assumptions are anything but baseless and the inconsistencies are far from glaring. In many ways "Sanctuary and Sacrifice" is able and interesting. On some questions Dr Baxter's conclusions, and even a proportion of his arguments, would be endorsed by critics who accept the documentary theory of the Pentateuch; but we do not think that the book will do much to overthrow that theory, especially as regards those parts of it which are held in common by such critics as Wellhausen, Dillmann, and Kittel.

W. H. BENNETT.

Ménégoz on the Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

La Théologie de L'Épître aux Hébreux. Par Eugène Ménégoz, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de Paris. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. 8vo, pp. 298.

THIS is a very able and scholarly exposition of the theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews. On the points usually treated in introductions to the Books of Scripture nothing of a novel character is to be expected, and the author is too good a scholar to assume an unreal knowledge. The readers are Jewish Christians, probably living in a city under Jewish influences. But where it was we do not know, and we must resign ourselves to ignorance on the point. We only know that the Epistle makes no allusion to Gentile Christians as forming any part of the Church. We are not quite sure that this is so. Does not μέτοχοι in iii. 1 mean "partakers with Gentile Christians in a heavenly call?" It will then correspond to συμμέτοχοι of Eph. iii. 6. The writer also is unknown. We know he was not Paul; and in one chapter the author gives several reasons—some satisfactory, others far from being satisfactory—for rejecting the Pauline authorship. For instance, the author maintains that the doctrine of substitution in the atonement of Christ is found in Paul's teaching, but does not form part of the teaching of this Epistle. Again, this reacts on the

conception which each writer presents of faith. According to Paul, faith is the mystical identification of the believer with Christ in his death, resurrection and heavenly life. But according to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the sacrifice of Christ is a perfect realisation of the typical sacrifices of the old covenant. He who approaches Christ spiritually with confidence of heart benefits by his sacrifice. Instead of the Pauline ideas of enmity and reconciliation, we have in this Epistle the notions of purification and perfection ; and the notion of justification has no place in this writer's theological system. To Paul's eyes the Gospel and the Law are absolute antitheses, as liberty and enslavement. Christ became the end of the law to them that believe. But the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews regarded the Gospel as transfiguring the Law. In these suggestive remarks the author is at one with many expositors, who equally with himself consider them absolutely decisive against the ascription of the Epistle to Paul, and favourable to the view that the writer was a Judæo-Alexandrian Christian. We observe a seeming inconsistency between what our author says in two places about the religious similarity and the theological differences of view of the Epistle and St Paul's writings.

But in the very first chapter we come across what we cannot but consider the fundamentally incorrect views of our author in his account of the teaching of the Epistle concerning the person of Christ. We are not now complaining of his ascribing a different and inconsistent doctrine to the writer when compared with that of Paul and other portions of the New Testament. Neither do we expect him to accept the Pauline character of the Christology of the Epistle. Let it be a contrast to Paul's doctrine. But we do not think he correctly analyses the teaching of the Epistle on the subject. According to M. Ménégoz, Christ is represented as a creature who came into personal existence before all other celestial beings, and has ever since occupied by God's favour the first rank among them. He was not a divine emanation, but a created spirit, who is called Son in a metaphorical sense. He was an intermediary or Mediator in the creation, conservation and salvation of the world. The Epistle, says our author, makes no allusion to the essential deity of the Son. God is regarded as absolutely one and essentially distinct from the universe, including his Son. The Son's "fellows" are the higher spirits. In the same way Christ is said to be the first among men, who are called for that reason his "brethren." All the references to Christ in the first chapter of the Epistle are, in our author's opinion, to the pre-existent, not the incarnate, Son, and he says the idea of an incarnation of a Divine Hypostasis has no place in the argument. The writer is full of Platonic conceptions, among which is the impossibility of the immediate contact of

the divine with matter. After this it goes without saying that the writer of the Epistle rejects the Son's virgin birth. In what manner he became incarnate the Epistle does not tell us. It will be seen that M. Ménégoz thinks the nearest approach to the doctrine of the Epistle is that of the Arians, and that the ascription to it of the Nicene theology is an optical illusion.

Without arguing the dogmatic question in this place, we must be content to point out that our author, so far as we have observed, nowhere mentions the theory of the Kenosis. We are convinced that he would have had less difficulty in admitting the essential deity of the Son as the doctrine of the Epistle, and in fairly explaining several expressions in the Epistle, if he had seriously set himself to the task of discussing the theory we have mentioned. This fundamental failure affects his treatment of other subjects, the understanding of which depends on our conception of the person of the Son of God. If Christ was only a creature, and if the difference between the Levitical and Christ's sacrifice is not in the conception itself of sacrifice but in the respective value of the victims, why was Christ's surrender of His own life infinitely precious in the sight of God? And again, how can faith in Christ, in the ultimate analysis, be identical with faith in God, unless we find a place for Christ within the sphere of Trinity? The assertion that the writer of the Epistle accepted the Greek doctrine that there is no contact possible between God and matter M. Ménégoz makes no attempt to prove. It is true that we find this idea in Philo, and to him an incarnation of God would have appeared monstrous. But that only shews what a great chasm lies between Philo on the one hand and a Christian writer who uses the very words of Philo to express new and startling ideas. The Logos of Philo was ideal, the man Christ Jesus was a real person. Some one must have appeared in human history to make it possible for the Christian Church to bridge the chasm. Knowledge of this personage was the background of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and made the writer, though a philosopher like Philo, yet a Christian believer in Jesus at the same time. Philonism was a dead system, and, apart from a belief in the facts presupposed by the Epistle, it is quite impossible to account for the life and character of such a man as Clement, Bishop of Rome, or of Ignatius or Polycarp. This makes the large collection of passages from Philo which M. Ménégoz has brought together a mass of illustrative matter, and nothing more. The fact that so large a portion of the Epistle to the Hebrews consists of citations made from other books, both the Old Testament, and the Apocryphal writings and Philo, gives a profounder meaning to its Christology and imparts a new life to what it has borrowed. Great events, like the incarnation of God, not only cast

their shadow before them, but create an atmosphere in which they can move and make themselves visible to men, whether it takes the form of a revelation, or a happy guessing, or an obscure anticipation. The Christian writer can speak of all such predictions with the triumphant words, "This is that which was spoken by prophets, by heathen poets, by partially inspired philosophers." The world expected the coming of the Messiah, and God has not disappointed men's pious expectations.

The absence of an Index is much to be regretted. Perhaps we must ascribe to this our having failed to find any allusion in the volume to the doctrine of the Kenosis. T. C. EDWARDS.

Abriss des Biblischen Aramäisch. Grammatik, nach Handschriften berichtigte Texte, Woerterbuch.

Von Prof. D. Hermann L. Strack. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1896. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 32 + 47 pp. 8vo. Price, M.1.60.

Einleitung in das Alte Testament einschliesslich Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen mit eingehender Angabe der Litteratur.

Von D. Hermann L. Strack. Vierte, ganz neu bearbeitete Auflage. Muenchen: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1895. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Large 8vo, pp. viii. 219. Price, M.3.60.

THE aim of the first of these two books, the latest work of this indefatigable scholar, may be said to be two-fold, to provide a brief but scientific grammar of Biblical Aramaic, and likewise a text of the Aramaic portions of the Old Testament, more accurate than even the text of Baer. With regard to the first of these, it might be said that the excellent work of Professor Kautzsch (*Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, Leipzig, 1884) is exhaustive and final, at least for this generation. But, on the other hand, does not this very virtue of exhaustiveness render it less suitable for the practical work of the Hebrew class-room? And in any case, open Strack's compendium where one may, it will be found to be an entirely independent work, and not in any sense an excerpt from the larger work, which must always retain its value for purposes of consultation. Brief—only 24 pages—as is the space which Strack devotes to the accidence (syntax he does not include), there will be found

not a few places where fresh light has been thrown on difficult forms ; see, for example, the small print in § 12b.

With regard, in the second place, to the text here provided, it is based on that of Baer, controlled and, where necessary, modified by a careful collation of four ancient manuscripts, described in the preface, pp. 4, 5. A few condensed footnotes call attention to variety of reading or accentuation, with occasional reference to the latest commentaries (*e.g.*, Bevan, Behrmann), and apposite magazine articles. The glossary (pp. 30*-46*), though also condensed, is sufficient. I am not sure, however, that there is so much necessity for this portion of the work, seeing we have now two excellent dictionaries, Gesenius-Buhl and Siegfried-Stade, and am inclined to think that the space would have been more profitably occupied by a large addition to the philological and other notes above referred to.

The very moderate price of the book puts it within the reach of every student.

The second volume, the *Einleitung*, is at least a living book, to judge by the rate at which it grows. When first published in 1883 as part of Zoeckler's *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften*, it filled but eighty pages of that useful compendium ; in the off-print from the third edition of the Handbook (1888) it had grown to a hundred and thirteen pages, and now it has broken away from the parent work and started on an independent career almost as a new work of the size given above. The first of the many improvements to catch the eye is the substitution of Roman type for the somewhat inelegant Gothic of the earlier editions ; the contents have been broken up into numbered sections, an arrangement which will facilitate reference from one part of the work to another. The general arrangement of the book remains as before, "special" Introduction (pp. 15-161), being followed by "general" (pp. 162-196), the whole preceded by a few sections on the scope, history, and literature of Old Testament Introduction, and followed by a most valuable bibliography of philological and exegetical "helps" to the study of the Old Testament (pp. 197-219). The plan of the work, it may be added, has been widened, as indicated on the title-page, so as to include a couple of necessarily brief chapters on the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha. On the other hand, the author's standpoint has undergone no essential change ; Professor Strack remains as before, accepting frankly and fearlessly the methods of the new criticism, but prepared to show that these methods do not always yield the results claimed by the Wellhausen school. For him, as for Wellhausen and the rest, there are five main sources of our present Pentateuch, but *all* are pre-exilic, and

all, even P, contain much more genuinely historical matter than it is now the fashion to allow to them. Yet a comparison of this edition of the *Einleitung* with the earlier ones shows a considerably greater readiness to make concessions to the left wing (if one may so say), than was the case a few years ago.

From the summary of the contents just given it will be seen that the larger part of Dr Strack's work is devoted to a discussion of the contents and critical problems of the various books of the Old Testament. Of these the Pentateuch naturally receives the largest share of attention. Of the sections devoted to it (pp. 15-59), the two most valuable will be found to be § 9, which gives a brief *exposé* of the theories of the more notable Pentateuch critics, and § 11, entitled "Vocabulary (Sprachgebrauch) of the five main Sources" (pp. 42-51). This section alone represents a vast amount of patient work on the author's part, and by an ingenious but perfectly simple arrangement the student can see at a glance in which source or sources a particular characteristic word or phrase (1) occurs, or (2) occurs frequently, or (3) does not occur. Nothing, it seems to me, is more likely to convert an opponent of Pentateuch analysis from the error of his ways than a study of this section of Strack's *Einleitung*. The pity is it is not yet accessible in English.

In regard to other books, also, our author will always be found on the conservative side. None of these has in this new edition received such ample treatment as the book of Isaiah (3rd ed. 3 pp.; 4th ed. 10 [somewhat smaller] pp.), the last twenty-seven chapters being still treated as all from the same pen, although admittedly at three different dates (p. 85). The chapter devoted to the Hagiographa opens with three most useful sections, particularly the first (§ 48), which gives a practically exhaustive survey of the literature on Hebrew poetry from Lowth and Herder to our own time, and the last (§ 50) on "the forms of Old Testament poetry." The sentence, in former editions, denying the existence of Maccabean psalms, has now disappeared! Another concession will be found in the section on the critical problem of the book of Daniel, where Dr Strack is now inclined to give up his former hypothesis of an Aramaic Ur-Daniel (so to say) from the time of Alexander the Great.

In the sections of the "General Introduction" devoted to the text of the Old Testament, manuscripts, editions, and the like, our author speaks with an authority which he shares with few living scholars. How much longer must we wait for the promised German edition of his "*Prolegomena Critica in Vetus Testamentum*"?

One of the features of the *Einleitung* still remains to be noticed. Not only have we valuable bibliographical lists at necessary points throughout the book, but, as was observed above, two special

chapters are appended with all needful bibliographical helps both for the prosecution of the study of any one of the Semitic dialects, and for the special study of any book or group of books in the Old Testament. In one respect, at least, the lists compare favourably with similar lists of other German scholars, they show an intimate acquaintance on the author's part with recent English literature on the Old Testament. The lists, of course, are not complete; they do not pretend to be so. But they are far and away the best of their kind. For another edition it would be well if some British or American scholar were asked to revise the proofs of these important chapters. Thus Robertson Smith is described as "Prof. in *Edinburg* (so written throughout), dann in Cambridge;" we have Samuel *Rules* Driver (so also in the dedication of Strack's Introduction to the Talmud), W. T. Dawson (for Davison), and the like.

The rapid sale of so many editions of the *Einleitung* shows that it meets a want in the country of its birth, and the present reviewer is convinced that it only needs to be better known here and in America to be not less highly appreciated.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

**Jeremia's Profetieën tegen de Volkeren (Cap. xxv.,
xli.—xlix.).**

*Door L. K. H. Bleeker. Te Groningen, bij J. B. Wolters.
8vo, pp. 224. Price, 4s.*

THOUGH this work does not pretend to give satisfactory solutions of all the perplexing questions connected with these chapters in Jeremiah, it nevertheless deserves welcome as a sober contribution to Biblical science. The most recent writers—German and English, as well as Dutch—have been consulted in the composition of this treatise, which may thus be regarded as well up to date; but the views of others have not been accepted without due consideration: it is refreshing to find a modest but firm independence of mind manifesting itself throughout.

In the discussion of this subject, the relation of the Septuagint Version to the Massoretic text necessarily demands an important place. An impartial account is given of the various positions maintained regarding this matter by different Biblical critics. In this connection, the writer justly observes that one "who, with the object of restoring the original text as far as possible, would consult the Septuagint, must first inquire into *its* original form"; and again, "the comparison [of the Massoretic text] with the Septuagint is im-

portant, not merely because we are thereby frequently enabled to determine what must have been the original reading, but also because, from the character of the deviations, we can make out the method and the principles followed by the editors and copyists in their work." When he comes, however, practically to decide for himself regarding the probable text, he does not always apply his good principles. Increased acquaintance with the character of the Greek version generally will make him more cautious.

It is rather unfortunate that the printing of the Hebrew is not satisfactory; the vowel points are often inaccurately given, and sometimes altogether omitted. Notwithstanding such defects, the work is one of substantial merit.

JAMES KENNEDY.

**Jean de Lasco, Baron de Pologne, Evêque Catholique,
Reformateur Protestant : son Temps, sa Vie, ses
Œuvres.**

Par George Pascal. 8vo, pp. 304. Paris : Fischbacher.

M. GEORGE PASCAL has been fortunate in the subject of his first book. The life of John à Lasco was attended by every circumstance of interest which could surround a marked personality or a great career. A person and presence that attracted the attention of every observer, and made the happiest impression; a mind on an equality with the best of its time; high birth, important functions, and a wide influence; a spiritual history of deep and moving interest, and an outward life of change and adventure—these could hardly fail to make a good story. And it must be confessed that M. Pascal has used his opportunity well. The method which he has adopted is the same as was employed with such brilliant success by Mr Froude in his *Erasmus*. The hero is allowed, so far as possible, to tell his own story in his letters. The biographer supplies a straightforward narrative, in which points of fact and chronology are disfigured with satisfactory clearness and in sufficient detail; and the story is completed by happily chosen passages from the letters of à Lasco and his correspondents, and other contemporary records. The result is a book of exceptional interest and charm. It belongs not only to sound history but to good art, and draws for us by simple means a convincing and life-like picture.

The life of John à Lasco was bound up with all that was most vital and influential in the history of his time. First a great prince of the Church, then the ruling spirit in a national Reformation; the pupil and patron of Erasmus, the diplomatic coadjutor of the adventurous and unfortunate Jerome à Lasco, the friend of Œcolam-

padius in Basle, the guest of Cranmer at Lambeth, the correspondent of Bullinger, Calvin, and Melancthon ; the promoter of the English Reformation, the secret agent of a projected Protestant League ; the adviser of Edward VI, the spiritual father of Anne of Friesland and Albert of Prussia, the mentor of Sigismund II and arch-heretic of Poland—he had all his life to do with great affairs. And above all he exemplified and enacted in his own experience what was most profoundly characteristic of his time, namely the religious awakening and the reformation of the Church.

One of the best chapters of M. Pascal's book is his account of the indirect influence exercised by à Lasco in the course of the English Reformation. The support he gave to Hooper and his influence over Cranmer strengthened the hands of the Protestant party in that great compromise ; and he was frequently consulted by the king. An interesting description is also given of the organisation of the Church of the Strangers in London—an early experiment in Presbyterianism.

All this part of his work M. Pascal does to perfection. But there is another aspect of his subject on which he is much less successful. As has just been said, à Lasco is especially interesting as a true child of the Reformation. In his case, the great change which was passing over half Europe displayed itself in a man of outstanding eminence and of bright individuality. As a member of the feudal aristocracy, a priest, a bishop faithful to his office, à Lasco represented much of what was best, something also of what was worse in the old order ; as a disciple of the new learning and an apostle of the new faith he came to illustrate—with a more perfect balance, perhaps, and combination of the various elements in it than any other leading Protestant of the first generation—the very genius of Protestantism. We could wish that M. Pascal had done more to interpret to us the inner history of such a man, and the great change through which he passed.

As a contribution to the real history of the Reformation in this sense, his book cannot be said to bring much. For one thing, it is too slight. In the case of a man so typical, a man who played so many parts, and one for whose history so much material exists as is here admirably brought together, there was room for a biography on a more elaborate scale. Something of the sort was attempted a few years ago by Dr Hermann Dalton of St Petersburg ; but his book was far inferior to the present work, both in scholarship and literary skill, and has besides, with reference to one all-important juncture at least of à Lasco's history, been superseded by further information (*cf.* Dalton, 221, with Pascal, 136 *ff.*). The Life of John à Lasco is still to be written.

It is certainly no fault in a book that it is not exhaustive ; and

the simplicity and objectivity of M. Pascal's method constitute its charm. But his work has a more serious defect than incompleteness—a defect, namely, of psychological insight. A biography, however objective its method, has its psychological presuppositions; and these in M. Pascal's narrative are of the most conventional character. The consequence is that in more than one case he has no intelligible account to give of his hero's actions.

There is a conventional view of the Reformation, and there is a conventional view of what a Reformer's life ought to be. But the only way in which we shall ever understand the Reformation is through a fresh, first-hand, and perfectly faithful appreciation of men like à Lasco—not to speak of Luther and Erasmus: we want to make the acquaintance in a living way of as many men as possible, high and low, distinguished or (still better) common-place, who actually made the change; to know their veritable thoughts and follow the course of their experiences. And we must not be afraid of anomalies, of inconsistencies, of unexpected combinations.

M. Pascal, I venture to think, is enslaved by the conventions of his subject. John à Lasco, for instance, when he returned from Basle and Italy in 1526, being then twenty-seven years of age and already full of the new ideas, thought well to silence his enemies and disarm the suspicions attaching to his intimacy with Erasmus by a formal abjuration of heresy. His biographer gives us no assistance in understanding this incident. He passes it over almost in silence. It would have been interesting to know his view of à Lasco's motives at this time. It is not to be inferred that the latter was still a good Catholic, and that the change which came afterwards was unprepared, or unconnected with his early experiences. Neither was the abjuration probably dishonest. It doubtless seemed to him, as it would have seemed to many others in his position, a perfectly natural proceeding; and we shall be on the way to understand the time when we comprehend the state of mind in which it could appear so.

In his treatment of a later incident M. Pascal gives us more serious ground of complaint, and his offence is no longer one of mere omission. It appears that in 1542, after he had abandoned his bishopric and sold most of his benefices, after his marriage and settlement in Friesland, à Lasco took advantage of a journey through Poland to lay claim to a canonry of his which had been made over to someone else. This seems to his biographer so inconsistent with all that was to be expected of a "Reformer" that he takes it upon him to dispute the authenticity of the Acts of the Chapter of Cracovia, which contain the record of the affair, and ascribes them to malicious forgery. This is very arbitrary, in face of the corroboration of the story by the independent testimony of

Hosen, who, in a letter written at the time, says 'he hears that John à Lasco has gone to Cracovia; that while not seeking to conceal his marriage, he demands the recovery of his benefices; and that he has been seen in the procession among the canons.' M. Pascal has indeed some excuse for the rejection of the story in the absurd attempt that has been made to assign to this date the formal Abjuration of 1526, and to shew that in seeking restoration to his canonry he denied reforming principles. This would certainly be hard to believe; but there is no real ground for connecting the two events. And it is not at all impossible to suppose that he may have made an experimental claim to his benefice. We know it was only an experiment, because he definitely resigned the canon's stall next year: the fact is again recorded in the Acts of the Chapter. The resumption was evidently contemplated upon certain conditions—although, naturally, that is not the way it was put by the clerk to the Chapter—under certain conditions and in certain hopes; which hopes and conditions not being fulfilled, the office was resigned again. À Lasco may have thought he had a right to the income (this view of his action seems to be supported by an authority quoted by Dalton, p. 221, to whom I have not been able to refer); he had received the money value of the other benefices he had vacated, and M. Pascal justly points out how naturally he might consider them as property seeing that all his share of a family estate had been sunk in them. And he may have hoped still within the Church to live on his own principles and carry out his ideas of reform. Hosen expressly says he 'did not deny that he was married'; and while he made no attempt to resume any of his higher offices, he hoped perhaps that as a canon he might be tolerated and let alone. The Chapter was evidently prepared, for instance, to wink at his marriage. Both for sentimental and practical reasons he may have desired to retain a humble place in the Church, and to live at peace in his native land. We know that he asked the king for permission to live and labour there according to his conscience.

The fact remains that he did not resign his canonry till 1543; and the view of the matter which has been suggested agrees with his own statement in a letter to Bullinger (1544) that he did not engage actively in the work of reform or even decide finally to break with Rome "until after the death of his brother" (1542). The same letter also supports the authenticity of the Minutes of Chapter; for he says in it, what they also represent him as having stated, that his late absence from Poland had been occupied, not in religious or political activity, but in caring for his brother's children. He goes on to tell how, soon after his brother's death, his offer to the King of Poland to engage in an evangelical ministry in his native land

had been refused ; and the date of his final resignation of his last ecclesiastical office follows immediately on that disappointment.

This, we must remember, was the time when the Reformation was being organised almost within the Church ; when, as M. Pascal describes (p. 169), in the same Church, at the same service, an evangelical sermon might be preached and mass said afterwards ; when mass was said in the vulgar tongue ; and when, although the communion was given in both kinds, the Host and the Altar were none the less superstitiously adored. It cannot be said that M. Pascal has been very successful in shewing us how men thought and felt in that transition time.

He has succeeded, however, in conveying to us the impression that in John à Lasco there was embodied much of what is best in the spirit of Protestant Christianity. Not behind any of the Reformers in the strength of his convictions, nor in readiness to make sacrifices for conviction, he was perhaps before them all in toleration. He was not, indeed, like some Reformers, indulgent towards kings and princes. He endured a double exile, long exclusion from his native land, and summary banishment from the scene of half a life-time's labours, rather than speak smoothly to the great. "Calvin," says M. Pascal, "hard on poor theologians, was not so uncompromising or severe with crowned heads, not even towards Francis I covered with the blood and ashes of the martyrs." À Lasco was able to tolerate the sects, and those who differed from him on the sacrament.

If the life of à Lasco has a lesson, it is a revelation of Protestant dogmatism. He himself mixed something of the spirit of Erasmus with that of Luther. But when he and the other refugees from England came shipwrecked, weary, and poor to Denmark—men, women, and little children—and were driven out of the country with haste and violence because they did not think with Luther on the sacrament, à Lasco met a spirit very different from his own. "At epochs of moral and social crisis," says M. Pascal—and again it is the conventional view of the Reformation which he expresses—"there is no room for reconcilers." "The example of Erasmus should have taught à Lasco." "He was not the man of the moment ; there was need of rough destroyers ; reconstructers and organisers like him must come afterwards" (p. 102). This sort of thing is quite in the fashion. It is true, no doubt, that rude force did the work ; but that is not to say it could not have been better done. Success in the work of destruction does not relieve from responsibility for the means by which the work was done, and for all the indiscriminating blows that were struck. Those vast and volcanic forces which are so much admired require to be criticised as regards their quality, and as regards the whole of their effect.

It is quite true that a man who sees good on both sides will never make a party or a revolution, nor produce so great an effect in so short a time; and yet what he does accomplish may be a purer result and carry with it less mischief. Luther left bitter seeds of strife behind him.

The glorifying of the "man of the moment" tends to the worship of mere force and of the *fait accompli*. Perhaps if in the time of reform there had been more 'reconstructers' like à Lasco, the conditions of a free and spiritual Church Unity might not have been so entirely forgotten as they have been by dogmatic Protestantism. It may be true that Erasmus did very little. Luther did more things than one; and it was with his words that the bigots of Jutland met à Lasco and his fellow-martyrs of reform—"Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the Sacramentarian, nor standeth in the way of the Zwinglians, nor sitteth in the seat of Zurich."

Here are à Lasco's words on the same controversy: "Let us pray God that we may one day think and profess alike on this subject. Meanwhile, let us bear with one another in Christian charity and brotherhood."

A. HALLIDAY DOUGLAS.

The God-Man.

Being the "Davies Lecture" for 1895. By T. C. Edwards, D.D., Principal of the Theological College, Bala. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 178. Price, 3s. 6d.

THE Christological question is still the *cruz* of a Christian system, and it is instructive to find from a book like the present—we might add, as another illustration, from the recent Gifford Lectures of the eloquent Principal of Glasgow University—that the old problems are still as living, and as capable of exciting a keen interest, as in the days of an Athanasius, a Theodore, a Cyril, or a Leo. They do so because they lie in the nature of the case, and are not factitiously created. We can understand and sympathise with the feeling of those who would fain escape from this debatable region altogether, and content themselves with the immediate Christian certainty that in Jesus Christ we have the supreme personal revelation of the love and grace of the Father. What are called the Christological controversies are certainly not the loveliest chapters in church history, and he will have a strangely constituted mind who can feel that dogmatic decisions arrived at under the conditions of some of the early councils command his entire confidence. Yet in the main—provided we start from the premiss that it is a

real Incarnation of a pre-existing Son of God that is to be upheld—it will be difficult not to agree with Herrmann in a curious passage in the first edition of his *Verkehr* to the effect that “for all who wish to go back on the question, and follow out the representation of a union of the divine and human natures in Christ, the Christological decisions of the ancient church still always mark out the limits within which such attempts must move” (p. 46).

It is not, of course, meant by this that there can be no advance made in Christology as in other departments of the theological field. The chief contrast between the ancient and the newer Christology lies perhaps in the fact that whereas the former started from the conception of the divine and human as exclusive and disparate magnitudes, and set before it the problem of attempting to unite them; the modern Christology starts rather from the essential *affinity* of the divine and human, and so finds a reasonableness in the idea of our Incarnation. This also marks the point of view from which the doctrine of the God-Man is treated by Principal Edwards in the present able Davies Lectures. His first lecture, dealing with the Incarnation and the Trinity, has for its characteristic note what he names “the humanity of Deity”—specially the idea of the Logos as the eternal prototype and ideal of man; the second lecture on the Incarnation and Human Nature starts with the corresponding assertion of the divineness of man, though in actual form it resolves itself into an endeavour to show how the Scripture doctrine of the Incarnation in its three types (John, Paul, Epistle to the Hebrews), answers to the needs of human nature for revelation, redemption, and perfection; while the third lecture discusses the problems arising out of this union of the divine and human in Christ—especially the questions of the Kenosis and of the personality of Christ’s human nature. What is apt to strike one generally in reading these lectures is a singular appearance of the blending of the old and the new—a Catholic and eclectic spirit, an openness of mind to modern ideas, in combination with an adherence to old, and even old-fashioned, formulas and modes of thought, which produces a quaint and not altogether unpleasing effect, albeit the welding does not always seem perfectly accomplished. Thus the Fathers walk in company with Kant, and Hegel, and Lotze, and Caird, and Weizsäcker. We have the modern doctrine of Heredity translated into the terms of the Cocceian Covenant-theology; the doctrine of the Trinity, with the Monarchia of the Father as *Fons Trinitatis*, and the distinction of generation and procession, in combination with the idea of the Logos as the “Eternal Man,” i.e., the idea and archetype of humanity, with the view of a contemplated Incarnation of the Logos apart from sin, &c. In the main, however, it is a new, and liberal,

and reconstructive spirit which breathes in these lectures, giving to them a value and suggestiveness out of proportion to the size of the volume. Principal Edwards has approached his subject in a loving, earnest, reverently speculative temper, and his thoughts on the mystery of godliness are often wise and deep.

Our space hardly admits of criticism. We should have preferred had Dr Edwards proceeded *upwards* from the historical manifestation of Christ to the triune destruction; but he adopts the other course, and starts with the Trinity as involved in the notion of God as Love. He cites Augustine in support, but it may be observed that Augustine's use of the analogy of love is widely different from his own. We are not sure either that his doctrine of the Logos as "Eternal Man," in the form in which it is put, does not compromise somewhat the independence of the Godhead, as if the realisation in creation and humanity were a necessity of the Divine nature. The second lecture contains interesting discussions on the sinlessness of Christ and the Virgin birth, and has some good criticism of Dr Martineau, and of Professor Caird in his "Evolution of Religion." The essential point of the Pauline Christology Dr Edwards finds in the idea of "the second Adam." On the Kenosis, as on the personality of Christ's humanity, it is a little difficult to grasp the author's exact position. In his own solution of the latter problem he seems to waver between a theory which regards the Logos as *becoming* a human person, and another which views him as *assuming* a human person to himself. "The infinite Person is capable of assuming a human personality. He does not cancel or absorb it, but permits it to live on after a human fashion, even when it has been personally united with the Divine" (p. 145). This lacks clearness when combined with a doctrine of the unity of the person.

JAMES ORR.

Russia and the English Church during the last Fifty Years.

Edited by W. J. Birkbeck. Published for the Eastern Church Association. London: Rivingtons, 1895. Vol. I., pp. lviii. and 222. Price, 7s. 6d.

THE title on the back of this work hardly gives sufficient clue to the contents of this the first volume. Apart from the Introduction, it consists almost entirely of a correspondence between an Englishman and a Russian, Mr William Palmer, of Magdalen College, Oxford, and M. Khomiakoff, of Moscow. The letters were exchanged at long intervals during the years from 1834 to 1844,

and the subject of discussion was the claims and position of the Eastern Church over against the Churches of England and Rome.

In his Introduction Mr Birkbeck takes for granted his readers' acquaintance with Mr Palmer, who was a conspicuous figure in the Oxford movement, but he provides us with a useful sketch of M. Khomiakoff's life and influence, which is of great interest. Khomiakoff was a layman of good education and position, trained in an atmosphere of sincere piety and deep devotion to the Holy Orthodox Church. His literary activity extended over a great variety of subjects, but his chief interest lay in the study of theology and Church history. The great work of his life, according to Mr Birkbeck, was, undoubtedly, the definite direction which he gave to the Slavophile movement in Russia in its relation to the Orthodox Church. "It is not an exaggeration to say that his theological writings have given a logical form to the idea of the Church which underlies the teaching of the Orthodox Church wherever she is met with." He insisted upon the necessity of regarding the Church less as an institution, and more as an organism, the organism of truth and love—or rather, she is truth and love as an organism. Mr Birkbeck challenges a contrast between the Russian Church as it was when Mr Palmer visited it (see *Notes* of his visit, published by Cardinal Newman) and the Russian Church of to-day, and he would ascribe much of the change and subsequent progress to the influence of Khomiakoff.

It will be seen that in one of the parties to this correspondence we have an accredited representative of his Church, and one in sympathy with its natural development. To Mr Palmer we can hardly ascribe a corresponding position in England. He must not be confused with the other William Palmer, who was also an Oxford man of the same period, and took an interest in the same subjects. This William Palmer of Magdalen was the elder brother of Lord Selborne. He is best known by his *Appeal to the Scottish Bishops* (Edin. 1849), in which he sought to draw from the Episcopalian body in Scotland an expression of willingness to unite with the Eastern Church. So far from being a champion of the Anglican position, he is found at the very opening of the correspondence in an attitude of alienation from the Church of his birth, dissatisfied with her claim to Catholicity, and seeking rest outside her borders. He was already an object of amused interest in the university, when men bestowed upon Palmer, of Magdalen, a *soubriquet*, derived from his readiness to "curse all Protestants, and the Church of England in particular."

Though the correspondence cannot be taken as representing authoritative opinion on both sides of the questions actually dividing the Churches, it offers, nevertheless, a very interesting

study of the two minds, and a useful contribution to the understanding of the Eastern Church. M. Khomiakoff takes advantage of his friend's half-hearted criticism to defend his own communion with great skill and fulness of knowledge; and he would doubtless have been sincerely gratified had he been able to clear the way for Palmer's submission to the Orthodox Church. Palmer was suffering from a sadly divided mind. On the intellectual side he was struggling with the conviction that the Greek Church was dogmatically and historically right, though morally inert. On his aesthetic and emotional side he was being steadily attracted to Rome. In the end he sacrificed his intelligence to his inclination, and made submission to the Roman See. His letters throw an interesting light on the process of such a conversion. He made a half-hearted concession to conscience by applying more than once to the Greek authorities for admission to their communion. But he took care to apply in such a quarter that he was sure to be met with a demand for Re-baptism, which he could not accept. He exonerated himself from applying to the Russian section of the Church, who would have accepted him without Re-baptism, by alleging its subservience to the State. He allowed its possession of certain notes of the Church, purity and permanence of doctrine (he was prepared to repudiate the *Filioque*), exclusiveness, and the like. But his judgment is continually being crossed by his predilections, and from time to time he discovers new notes in which the Eastern Church is lacking—missionary zeal, independence, and, finally, unity of practice in the matter of Re-baptism. Rejecting Anglicanism, and rejected by the Eastern Church, he followed the direction of least resistance, and submitted to Rome.

He made no pretence of being in intellectual harmony with the Roman See. Even in the profession of faith which he circulated among his friends, he admitted that on many important points of doctrine he still had "Greek rather than Latin convictions." But he justified himself to his conscience and to his friends by the extraordinary discovery made to him by a Roman casuist, that he could, "all the same, be received into the Roman Communion by merely suspending my private judgment, and by making up my mind to affirm nothing contrary to the known dogmas of the Roman Church, nor to entertain, by preference, any such thoughts."

M. Khomiakoff criticised very frankly this attitude. "To get rid of the difficulties of your present position you may lull your convictions to sleep. You may silence them; you will not uproot them." "Pardon me if I speak thus boldly, but the examples of Mr Newman and Mr Allies are, in my opinion, conclusive. They were certainly better Christians formerly than they are now; their

open-heartedness is gone for ever; they have crippled themselves instead of expanding." "Pray tell me, does any symbol begin by the words, 'I *will* believe' or 'I will not doubt'? Do not all of them begin by the words, 'I *do* believe'?"

Palmer had gone too far to allow himself to be influenced by sarcastic comments. Yet he was too clear-sighted to deceive himself as to their justification. He knew he was making jettison of his conscience; and his letters close with the frank and cynical avowal, "in respect to general arguments favourable to the pretensions of Catholicism, I find it *much more agreeable* to be on the side of the stronger rather than on that of the less strong." There is the ultimate motive in its bare nakedness, the motive of comfort and self-gratification, to which, as a pitiful fact, all the vaunted "Notes of the Church" actually appeal.

The chief interest of the book lies, as we have suggested, in this revelation of the psychological process underlying the conversion of Mr Palmer. But there is much else for which it will be read with interest—the discussion on the history of the *Filioque* clause, the defence of worship offered to saints, the history of the Uniat Churches, and in general the light shed upon the doctrines and ritual of the Greek Church.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

A History of the Welsh Church

to the Dissolution of the Monasteries. By Rev. E. J. Newell. London: Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. xii. and 423. Price, 10s. 6d.

MR NEWELL has undertaken the task of writing a history of the Welsh Church with the enthusiasm of a Welshman and the conviction of a Churchman. The task is but a thankless one, seeing that the history, when it is not a blank, bristles with controversies, the issues of which are after all of small historical, and of even less practical, importance. Of the "Church in the Roman Period," with which the volume opens, there is really not more to be said than that there was a Church and that it was independent of Rome. The chapter on the "Age of the Saints" gathers together a quantity of legendary lore and some interesting facts on the etymology of place names. Mr Newell admits frankly that "the legends of the Welsh saints were written with an ethical purpose, and have many of the characteristics of a religious novel. What evidence there is, serves only to depict a melancholy condition of demoralisation, especially in the monasteries. "If any one from drunkenness cannot sing through being unable to speak," so runs this rule of Gildas, "let him lose his supper." The Penitentials

also testify to the prevalence of the foulest crimes even among the clergy.

The material available for the subsequent period is even more scanty. In the diocese of St David's, from the era of the patron saint to the middle of the ninth century, a period of two hundred and fifty years, is an almost total blank. In St Asaph's there is distinct mention of only one Bishop between 600 and 1070. The only diocese of which a continuous history can be made out is that of Llandaff. He who writes with enthusiasm on a subject in which the material is so deficient is exposed to the serious danger of generalising from single instances, and of using as material what will not bear the test of criticism. Mr Newell has been more careful to avoid the latter than the former danger. He follows good authorities in the criticism of his sources, although the result is to throw an air of uncertainty over the earlier half of his work.

The latter half from Giraldus Cambrensis to the Dissolution of the Monasteries is much more satisfactory. Here the writer is on comparatively firm ground. He states the well-known facts with frankness and fulness, and incidentally illustrates many points of ritual and monastic observances. He would not deny that he holds a brief for a certain view of the Welsh Church, and against the methods of the Reformation. But he is an honest advocate, so honest, in fact, in his account of the condition of the monasteries, that the wonder is that he can continue to hold his brief. If things were as he describes them, what else than their destruction could have cleansed the Church of the shame and corruption of Welsh monasteries?

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

Essai sur l'Immortalité au point du vue du Naturalisme Évolutioniste.

*Par Armand Sabatier. Paris : Libraire Fischbacher, 1895.
Pp. xxix. 291.*

La Notion biblique du Miracle.

Par Eugène Ménégoz, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie protestante de Paris. Paris : Libraire Fischbacher. Pp. 32.

THE first of these volumes consists of seven lectures delivered first in Geneva, and afterwards in the Sorbonne, Paris. The author is Dean of the Faculty of Science and Director of the Zoological Institute in Montpellier. His volume is meant to be an *eirenicon* between modern science and religion, and has specially in view

those who are seeking in vain for a religious faith, or have given up the quest in despair. He writes, not as a theologian or philosopher, but as a man of science—a man of science who has not ceased to be a man, and to interest himself in all that interests man. He accords to science the fullest rights to which it can properly lay claim; he avows himself a thorough-going evolutionist. He has indeed some caveats to enter regarding Darwinianism. He emphasises the *immanent* evolving tendency of organisms, whereby progress is secured apart altogether from that fierce struggle against others which seems to be nature's sanction of egoism. He also indicates how science "silences the heart"—has no answer to return to the deepest questions asked by the heart of man. On the other hand, he points out that faith is too often the mere "friend of our infancy;" that faith has not responded to the widening horizon disclosed by science; that faith too often clings to positions which are demonstrably false. He proposes to discuss the question of immortality as an evolutionist who is at the same time a believer in the religious life of man. He warns his readers that he is not to write as a preacher or theologian ("aller au prêché"), but as a biologist who keeps his eyes open to all the facts. There is not a Scriptural reference in the volume, but there is a high spiritual tone throughout, and a fine underlying appreciation of Christian teaching. The lectures are interesting and eloquent from beginning to end, and in many of their arguments strikingly original. Metaphysicians will miss their own categories here and there, but even metaphysicians will find fruitful suggestions.

The argument for the possibility of the survival of the human personality after death is a specimen of the ingenuity and originality of M. Sabatier. He writes, as he tells us, as a man of science, and the categories he uses are the categories of a man of science. It would seem difficult to dispense with metaphysical categories in dealing with personality and the questions thereby raised, but our author is bold enough to trust to the categories of biology. He is not a materialist. He believes in the superiority of spirit over matter. Yet he speaks of the nerve-centres being the accumulators, condensers, and organisers of spirit—very much after the fashion of a materialist. But he differentiates. The brain does in a sense make spirit—but it makes spirit out of spirit. That is, spirit is diffused through the whole external world, and what the nerve-centres do is simply to accumulate this diffused spirit, condense and organise it into personality, with its powers of thinking, feeling, willing. Thus baldly stated, the theory seems too bizarre to be seriously defended. But in M. Sabatier's eloquent pages, it acquires an air of plausibility. The theory is of course indefensible. M. Sabatier sides with the metaphysicians in their views of the superiority

and priority of spirit, but in trying to give expression to these views by means of categories which are suitable only for the materialistic derivation of spirit, he has produced an ingenious theory which provokes a smile. He assumes that his account of personality is superior to that given in the philosophy of Victor Cousin with its emphasis on the ego—the one simple and indivisible entity. One may be forgiven for wishing that our author had caught more of the metaphysical spirit of his fellow-countryman. But to pass from this criticism: by representing the nerve centres as merely the means by which spirit is accumulated from the external world, he succeeds in securing so far the independence of spirit or personality. If the nerve centres created personality—thought, feeling, volition—then the destruction of the nerve centres would mean the destruction of personality. But if the nerve centres only accumulate what existed before in the external world, the survival of personality after the destruction of the nerve centres is conceivable. That is, biological science leaves room for the possibility of immortality.

One of the striking things in the book is the argument it offers in favour of conditional immortality. Personality our author conceives as a psychic group of forces, solidly joined, marvellously harmonised. A good life means keeping the group in integration (whence we speak of a good man as a man of integrity); a bad life means loosening the group (whence we speak of a bad man as dissolute). There is therefore no immortality for the bad, for badness means the destruction or dissolution of the psychic group of forces, which constitutes personality. "Immortality is the lot only of those who have reached a sufficient degree of cohesion and integrity to escape from absorption and disintegration." This biological argument is reinforced by the argument that, as a good and wise God can only use suffering for ameliorative purposes, it would be useless to preserve human beings in existence when suffering would no longer work out any good for them.

In this sixth lecture, and in the last, there are suggestive discussions on such subjects as these: suffering and progress, the nature of the immortal life, the doctrine of universal salvation, the immortality of infants, the possibility of weak personalities being merged in stronger personalities, possible immortality for animals, the Positivist immortality of influence, immortality regarded by Socialists as a device for exploiting the poor.

The tractate by Professor Ménégoz is an introductory lecture which was delivered at the opening of the session of the Theological Faculty of Paris in November 1895. The aim of the author is a limited one—to bring out the religious significance of the con-

ception of miracle as held by the Biblical writers. He is not concerned with the historicity of the narratives of the miracles: he is ready to give up the historicity of the narratives, if criticism demands this. How did the Biblical writers interpret a miracle—that is the question which interests him. “The miracle is always considered a supernatural intervention of God in the natural order of things.” That is the conclusion reached by the author from an analysis of the narratives of miracles in the Old and New Testament, and with that as a fundamental principle, he criticises the attempts of apologists to water down the conception of miracle to bring it more into line with modern thought. “Miracles are but exemplifications of natural laws not yet known.” “There is miracle in everything, for in everything God is actively present.” “Christ’s exorcism of evil spirits was at bottom moral exorcism.” “Anyhow there is a true miracle in conversion.” Such attempts at rehabilitation of the miraculous our author considers a proof that the apologists have no longer the notion of miracle held by the prophets, the apostles, and the theologians of the middle ages and of the Reformation.

What then is the value of the Biblical miracle? The answer given by our author is hesitating and not free from obscurity. Belief in miracle implies a belief that God in certain circumstances intervenes in an immediate way in the course of things. The belief that God intervenes in human life is a religious conviction of supreme worth. Belief in miracle is only the particular form in which this conviction is expressed. What is of importance in a miracle, from a religious point of view, is not the fact itself, but the interpretation of the fact. “Whether the narrative of the miracle be true or legendary, if the narrator believed in it, his faith has its own worth—a religious worth.” Belief in miracle is an impressive means—suitable for an age when miracles can be believed—of setting forth the presence and intervention of God in human life. From this point forward the author’s argument is difficult to follow. He expresses his faith in Christ as the revealer of God, and finds the true sphere of miracle in the response given by God to the prayers of His children in fellowship with their Father. “We proclaim strongly and joyously our faith in miracle in as far as we emphasize the free activity of God, and the hearing of prayer, and in as far as we combat resolutely the determinism which would grind our life in its fatal mill.” Our author would have made his meaning clearer in the latter pages of his tract if he had been content to emphasize the religious interpretation of nature and her laws, and the reality of God’s freedom in fellowship with His children. The use of the word “miracle” in a double sense exposes the author to the strictures he has himself passed upon the “apologists.” One

further remark we are disposed to make—that our author has not shown very clearly how the notion of miracle entertained by “Moses, the prophets, and the apostles” has contributed to the religious interpretation of nature, and to the appreciation of the Divine freedom in the fellowship of children with their Father in heaven.

D. M. Ross.

Gottes Volk und Sein Gesetz.

Bruchstücke einer Biblischen Theologie Alten Testaments. Nebst einem Vortrag “Über das Buch Hiob,” als Anhang. Aus dem Nachlass von D. R. F. Grau, weil. o. Professor der Theologie zu Königsberg. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo. pp. iv. 163. Price, M.2.

THIS volume has a melancholy interest as the posthumous publication of a laborious scholar. The author opens the introduction to this series of studies in the following terms:—“The Israelitish people are the riddle of the world’s history, and the highest problem of the philosophy of history. . . . During the development of the old world, this people stood alone with their religion—with the most precious treasure of eternal truth. Then, when the old age reached its close, there broke forth from this people salvation for all the peoples of the world. But while the Gospel sped through the world and gained one people after another for salvation, this people again stood isolated among the Christian nations, more obdurately opposed to the blessed Evangel, which should have been Israel’s highest renown and glory, than even Islam itself.”

The studies included in this volume refer to Israel in the former relation,—as a monotheistic people during the period of the world’s polytheism. In ten papers the author discusses as many subjects:—(1) Shem, Ham, and Japhet; (2) The polytheism of the pagan Shemites; (3) The deity of the ancient Hebrews; (4) The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; (5) The Exodus from Egypt; (6) Jahve, the God of Moses and Israel; (7) The ten words; (8) The Sabbath; (9) The name Jahve; (10) The Cultus.

A special interest attaches to these studies. The last, on a subject of great importance for present critical discussions, is incomplete—unfortunately left unfinished at the death of the author, which took place in August, 1893. The editor has selected the papers under review from the literary remains of the lamented professor, and published them under the title given above. The field covered by these ten studies is wide and full of interest at present.

Old Testament students will find it worth their while to read what Professor Grau has written on the different questions he dis-

cusses. He is not extreme. He accepts the opinion that "Every thoughtful man will acknowledge that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are historical persons" (p. 54). But he places himself along with the moderate section of the newer critics in the position he assigns to Moses. "Moses is the deliverer, the redeemer, and, if one will, the creator of his people. That is the primary and most important thing. As law-giver he comes after . . . As law-giver he can only have laid in the wilderness the foundation on which the centuries following had successively to build" (p. 82).

Professor Grau holds, with other Old Testament students, that the fundamental idea in the Shemitic conception of God was that of power. God exercises supreme lordship over the world and nature; fear and subjection on the part of man are His due (*cf.* p. 50, &c.). What he says on Jahve as the God of Israel, and on the name Jahve, is suggestive and valuable (pp. 85 *ffg.*; 122 *ffg.*). "The name Jahve is simply the expression, and the gathering up into one, of the facts through which God revealed himself to Moses and the people in the redemption from the land of Egypt" (p. 91). The name Jahve is practically the equivalent of the continual presence of God Almighty in the domain of nature,—supreme Lord of the world,—as creator (if one will have it so),—deliverer, redeemer, as He was to Israel at the time of the Exodus. He remains in history what He revealed Himself to be in the history of the deliverance of Israel from Egypt. "For," says Professor Grau, "if this name signifies Helper, Redeemer, Reviver, what help is there in this to one who is in need, if Jahve became such in history only once, so that His help and deliverance belong only to the past? Or what help is there to me in God's saving, reviving character, if, in that character, he is not at hand and ready in my behalf every moment when I need help?" (pp. 125, 6).

Jahve of the Exodus is as really present with His people now and will be to the end,—as Helper, Deliverer,—as He was with Israel when they left Egypt. Jahve "is such for me now," says Professor Grau, "through His *Name*, so far as I call upon Him with this name. . . . 'Our help is in the Name of Jahve, who made the heavens and the earth'" (p. 126).

The appended discussion on the book of Job is scarcely foreign to the other subjects handled. It is a thoroughly sympathetic study, and assigns to the book a foremost place among the books of poetry which have reached us. The author is "the great interpreter, yea, the prophet of the suffering."

GEO. G. CAMERON.

Early Christian Literature.

Ignatius von Antiochien als Christ und Theologe: eine dogmengesch. Untersuchung, von Eduard Freiherrn von der Goltz; Griechische Excerpte aus Homilien des Origenes; von Erich Klostermann. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs [Texte u. Unters.]. 8vo, ss. ix. 206 + 12. Preis, 7 M. 50.

Ein Beitrag zur Lösung der Felicitas-Frage: Programm, von Dr Joseph Führer. Freising. M. 1.60. Pp. 162, broch.

Zur Felicitas-Frage; von Dr J. Führer, Kgl. Gymnasiallehrer in München. Leipzig: G. Fock. 1 M. Pp. 36.

FREIHERR VON DER GOLTZ here makes his *début* in a most promising manner. He has chosen a weighty subject, and handles it with thoroughness and good sense. Accepting the Seven Epistles as they stand, he finds that their intrinsic features fully support the tradition which assigns them to a relatively early date, i.e., c. 115 A.D. But his main interest is with Ignatius' conception of Christianity, his religion and his theology; and these are viewed both as belonging to a man of intense feeling and as reflecting, to a certain degree, the thought of the sub-apostolic age on various points. The book is packed full of matter; but we can only indicate very cursorily what the reader may look for in it.

The discussion falls into two parts: the former devoted to the general Christian outlook and the theological ideas which work in Ignatius, the latter handling his notions in relation to their historical origin and bearing. He finds that Ignatius' piety is essentially Christo-centric, and that its emotional character is due not merely to temperament, but also to the peculiar conditions under which he threw off at a heat the Epistles whereby he lives for us to-day. The revelation of the eternal God in human form (*ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ θεός*) is the master-light of his all seeing. The statement of this immanence of God in the humanity of the Redeemer is ever and anon accentuated by the consciousness of rival notions abroad in the age, tending to undermine the *reality* of God's coming into the world of men in order to create and foster a *new* type of humanity, fit and destined for an indissoluble life. This is no mere abstract idea to Ignatius, for in him there still lives a strong and vivid sense of the historic personality of Jesus, as He lived and suffered on earth. Indeed, the soteriological still prevails over the cosmological in his references to the deity of the Redeemer. He shows but little insight into St Paul. "Flesh" with him has no deep ethical meaning; his interest in it is mainly anti-docetic. Again, the Death of Christ has importance chiefly as the presupposition of

Resurrection. On the other hand, his over-mastering sense of union with God in Christ, as the essence of a Salvation mediated through Faith and Love, lifts his Eschatology high above the Jewish "dramatic" level, and makes future bliss seem but an enhanced form of the "mystic, sweet Communion," already here begun for faithful souls. From such a central motive his Ethics, as a rule, flow forth spontaneously in proper Evangelic fashion, and to the same genuine type of piety even his Ecclesiastical notions are subordinate. To this first part are appended some careful paragraphs dealing with the Ignatian Phraseology—its vocabulary, style, and quasi-liturgic formulæ.

The topics of Part II. must, with one exception, be named, and only named. Half of it is devoted to New Testament affinities, under the headings, "Paul and Ignatius," "Ignatius and John"; and the other half sets forth "the historical significance of the Ignatian view of Christianity in his own age, and its relation to the later development." But the exceptional importance of the section on the Johannine writings challenges further attention. The main thesis is that we have in Ignatius evidence for the existence in Asia Minor of a Johannine School of Christian thought, which must largely enter into our account when thinking not only of the Johannine writings in the New Testament, but even of the developed Christianity represented by Ephesians, the Pastorals, and 1 Peter.

When we observe how little Ignatius and other of the Apostolic Fathers really enter into distinctively Pauline thought, even when echoing certain of Paul's Epistles, we must feel the justice of Von der Goltz's remark that Ignatius' sympathetic use of Johannine categories must be due to a "psychological climate" of kindred living thought. Otherwise, his knowledge of the Johannine *writings*, even if such be assumed, would still remain comparatively external in character, as in the former case. But the fact is that Ignatius' expression of certain fundamental Johannine ideas is so independent, even where the parallelism extends most into detail and terminology, that we feel at once how thoroughly at home he is in the thought, and how indifferent to the exact forms in which he clothes that thought. Indeed, our author feels able to go a step further.

Thus while believing that the Fourth Gospel was already in existence (as a product of the same School), he concludes that Ignatius did not actually possess this writing. His main argument here, if not conclusive, is yet very striking. He first shows that Ignatius shows clear use of our Matthew, as distinct from the common Synoptic Tradition (Luke also seems known to him); and then points to the absence of Johannine material in his references to the historic Jesus, and that, too, where, as in his argument for the

reality of Christ's body even after the Resurrection,¹ he might thereby have greatly strengthened his case. Still one must observe, (1) that for polemical use against Docetists apt to discount any Johannine Gospel and represent it as unauthoritative compared with the long-standing and general Synoptic type of tradition, a Johannine proof-text would have been of little service: and (2) that even in John xx. 20, 27, it is not said that any man actually touched the risen Lord. Further, we have to note that in Justin also the Synoptic type of *narrative* seems to have overshadowed and nullified the Johannine. So that while we recognize the value of the contrast drawn between the relation of Ignatius to Paul and John respectively—he is influenced by the text of the one and the spirit of the other—we cannot as yet feel that our author has proved his special inference. But how careful is the textual study on which his own views rest, may be seen by an inspection of the comparative Tables of quotations with which the investigation ends.

Paul Wendland, whose labours on the text of Philo have familiarized him with the Greek *Catenæ*, has remarked on the importance for the text of certain Greek Fathers of the *Eclogæ* of Procopius Gazæus (Æ. 520), the earliest of our Catenists. This hint has just been applied by E. Klostermann to the *Scholia* on the Octateuch compiled by this writer from his larger Catena of Extracts from earlier exegetical writers; with the result, that he has proved the presence of abbreviated extracts (of value to the critical editor) from Origen's 26 Homilies on Joshua. A strange feature of the case is the fact that only the first four and the last eleven of these seem to be used, at least to any marked extent. Apparently some other author has replaced Origen as prime source for the intervening sections. The extent to which Origen is drawn upon for the rest of the Octateuch yet needs working out. Wendland himself has pointed out parallels between Procopius and the fragments of Origen's *Commentaries* for Genesis and Exodus: while Klostermann already detects in Procopius 'almost the whole eight Homilies on Leviticus.' And as he also finds frequent references to (Josephus and) Eusebius, especially the *περὶ τοπικῶν ὀνομάτων*, in this writer, we may well hope for rich gleanings in the future from so promising a field.

The real significance of the two pamphlets upon the *Felicitas-Frage* lies in the fact that De Rossi has taken the *Passio* of Felicitas and her Seven Sons, assumed to be a genuine narrative of

¹ *Ad Smyrn*, 3; καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς. Λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με, καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἤψαντο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν. Here he cites some Apocryphal expansion of the words found in Luke xxiv. 39, to the ignoring of the yet more obvious evidence afforded by John xx. 24-27.

events belonging to 162 A.D., as a fixed point around which a mass of floating data touching the earliest Christian cemeteries (especially the *Crypta Quadrata* of Januarius) might crystallize and so attain to an ordered stability. This assumption the earlier of Führer's brochures rendered no longer tenable. And seeing that the main lines of his criticism already lie before English Scholars in the independent examination of these Acta by Lightfoot (*Ignatius*, I. 511 ff, 726), one need here only notice the fresh points which the German's wonderfully learned and exhaustive work contributes towards a theory for the origin of the *Passio* in its present form. Passing by the possibility of its having originally existed in a Greek form, which Führer rightly sees would imply a nucleus earlier than the middle of the third century—and he has by no means succeeded in disproving such an hypothesis¹—we note the following positions as having been well-nigh established in detail.

(1) Time was when the Martyrdom of Felicitas (and her children) on November 23, and of the Seven Martyrs² (later treated as her sons) on July 10, existed as separate traditions in the Roman Church, and indeed continued so to exist long after the fusion between them took place in certain documents. (2) Down to the age of Gregory I. the fusion, which ended in the belittling of the Seven Martyrs under the shadow of her who became their mother, was not as yet achieved: and as late as the end of the seventh century it is represented for us by only two documents. But even in these the affiliation of all the seven (after the model of the Maccabæan story, which has moulded the *Passio* of Symphorosa and her Seven Sons under Hadrian!) has not yet come about. Führer's second pamphlet is a *Streitschrift*, and adds nothing of moment.

VERNON BARTLET.

¹ Lightfoot has, for instance, pointed out that certain historical references embedded in the *Passio* converge strikingly on the year 162 A.D. (p. 514 f.), and Ramsay has taught us to take such points seriously.

² In the Bucharian Calendar, compiled some twenty years before the date of Liberius (354 A.D.), we find under 'vi. Id. Jul.' these entries: 'Felicitis et Philippi in Priscillæ; et in Jordanorum, Martialis, Vitalis, Alexandri; et in Maximi, Silani (hunc Silanum martyrem Novati furati sunt); et in Pretextati, Januarii.' For an analysis of Führer's discussion, see Harnack in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung* for 1890, 498-502.

Texte und Untersuchungen.

Band XII. Heft 2. Tertullian's "Gegen die Juden," von E. Noeldechen; Die Predigt u. das Brieffragment des Aristides, von Paul Pape. Leipzig: Hinrichs; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. iv. 92+34. Preis, M.4.

Heft 4. Urkunden aus dem antimontanistischen Kampfe des Abendlandes, von Ernst Rolffs; Zur Abercius-Inschrift, von Ad. Harnack. vii. 167+28. Preis, M.6.50.

SINCE Semler, but especially since Neander—the soberness of whose case against the authenticity of all but cc. 1-8 won him many followers—the unity, authenticity, and date of the Tertullianic *adv. Judæos* have been much debated. Noeldechen finds the best advocate on the affirmative side to have been the Catholic Grote Meyer (1865), whose perception of the unity of plan underlying the several parts earns his warm praise. On the other side, it is to Corssen's restatement of Neander's position¹ that he feels most bound to address himself; which he seems to do with success. Certainly he develops in the whole discussion a mastery of the *minutiae* of the text, style, and thought, which must make one most diffident in case of disagreement. A brief review of the older polemic against Judaism² opens the way to a section on "Justin's *Dialogue in Africa*," in the course of which Tertullian is shown to have been at once a careful student and a candid critic of the Martyr who was often too much of the philosopher to suit his taste. Our author also observes that the various parts of *adv. Judæos* are alike in their use of Justin, which would so far suggest unity of authorship. Then, after a careful survey of the history of opinion touching the treatise, he urges Tertullian's intimate knowledge of Judaism, shown in other writings, as creating a presumption that he was author of the whole work. But the centre of his position is the exhibition of what he calls the "Clamps" and "Cords" binding the "genuine" and the "dubious" parts together. Among the former and stronger bonds, he lays special stress upon a fact involved in the opening words which make the treatise an outcome of an actual discussion in which Tertullian himself would seem to have been the Christian champion; namely, that the Jewish side is represented by a proselyte. This

¹ In "Die *Altercatio Simonis Judæi et Theophili Christiani auf ihre Quellen geprüft*," Berlin, 1890.

² Here he assigns the *Test. xii. Patr.* to the age of Hadrian and to a Judæan origin—rather too simple a statement on so complex a work—and *Barnabas* to the same epoch. Is it not time that some one holding this view should take in hand to show Weizsäcker, Lightfoot, and Ramsay to be wrong in holding the earlier date?

explains several peculiarities found in both parts of the work; and, along with the presence of "backers" who broke in at various points in the original debate, serves to turn the flank of many of Corssen's criticisms of the second part, which he finds to be confused and scrappy. Admitting, then, that there is a certain literary finish which differentiates cc. 1-8 from what follows (so far Neander is right), Noeldechen explains the phenomena as follows. Tertullian intended to work up his rough notes of the earlier debate into the form of lectures (*lectiones*); but for some reason or other only carried out this thorough revision as far as chapter 8. The second half thus still bears the marks of a *memoriter* report, in which the echo of the various voices in the debate can still be heard.

But what of the obvious literary relation of the latter half with *adv. Marcionem*, Book iii.? Noeldechen accepts the challenge with avidity, and makes out a strong case for the dependence being on the side of this latter work. He shows that (a) Tertullian himself hints at such a relation (*adv. Marc.* iii. 7); (b) it was his habit to draw upon his earlier writings (e.g., *ib.* v. 10); (c) there is a *development* in the changes, both material and stylistic, which precludes the contrary relation. This conclusion is clinched by a careful comparison between *adv. Judeos* and a number of Tertullian's other works; with the result that it is found to fall into the series most naturally if placed between *De Baptismo* and *De Spectaculis*, i.e., A.D. 195-196—probably the early part of the latter year.

This bare outline can convey no notion of the wealth of detail skilfully brought to bear on the problem. But what a gain it would be if learned authors would go more briefly to the point, relegating subsidiary discussions to appendices. The historian has hardly a chance of covering the actual mass of critical monographs, which yet tend to settle questions that closely concern him who would build securely.

Among other results of the recent discovery of the *Apology* of Aristides was the attempt of Zahn, and after him of Seeberg, to rehabilitate as actual works of the same Aristides two writings which had earlier been published from the Armenian. These are a Homily on "The Cry of the dying Thief and the Response of the Crucified," and a small fragment from an "open letter," entitled "The Philosopher Aristides to all Philosophers." Admitting that there were suspicious phrases in each (analogous to the term *θεοτόκος* in the *Apology*) which might well be due to the Armenian translator, Zahn and Seeberg urged that there was nothing else to cast reasonable doubt on the ostensible authorship. But Paul Pape seems to have completely proved the contrary in his able tractate, in which he makes it probable that both were anti-Nestorian polemics, dating from about the latter half of the fifth century.

For this result, as regards the Fragment, he also produces external proof of a kind. For he shows that it is in bad company, in that it occurs in the MS. along with a series of dogmatic propositions attributed to ante-Nicene Fathers, but clearly combating post-Nicene heresies. Similarly he cites, as analogous to the Homily, a number of like Homilies in Armenian, attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus. To this I would add certain dogmatic formulæ attributed to the same saint, and just published (from the Journal of the Edschmiadzin Convent) by Mr Conybeare in the *Guardian* of August 14. For these, too, are clearly anti-Nestorian. Pape finds what look like traces of the use of a Gospel-harmony in the Homily. If an examination of the quotations in detail should identify this with Tatian's Diatessaron, this would not only support Pape's case, but would also argue a Syriac, rather than Armenian origin for the Homily.

The re-discovery of Hippolytus about the middle of the present century has led to a wonderful enrichment of our knowledge as to the Roman Church of the first quarter of the third century; and this in turn has lent fresh actuality to a whole group of Tertullian's later works. The great "Discipline" crisis, thus made to live afresh to our imagination, was in the West, particularly in North Africa, closely bound up with the claims of the New Prophecy or Montanism. Hence it comes about that Rolffs' work, entitled "Documents from out the anti-Montanistic Struggle in the West"—a worthy sequel to his "Edict of Indulgence of the Roman bishop Callistus"—really lays bare before our eyes the conflicting ideals touching the *σωφροσύνη* involved in any truly Christian life, as these passed current in Rome and Carthage in the opening years of the third century. As Rolffs claimed in his former work to have reconstructed in large part the Edict of Callistus embedded in Tertullian's counterblast, his *De Pudicitia*, so now he would have us see shining through the texture of the *De Jejuniis* the outlines of an attack upon the Montanist doctrine of Fasts turning on the new revelation by the Paraclete of an obligation, latent indeed in the Gospel, but now for the first time made explicit to an age already mature enough to be "able to bear it" (John xvi. 12, 13). And similarly in the *De Monogamia* he finds traces of a document occasioning this vigorous defence of a correlative Montanist position: and in this case he is able, by the help of another scholar, Voigt,¹ to identify the antagonist's work lurking in the pages of Epiphanius (*Hær.* xlviii. 1-13). In the subsequent attempt to reach an approximate date for this "Source" used by Epiphanius, our author shows much skill, and helps to elucidate the stages in Tertullian's life represented by *De exhort.*

¹ *Eine verschollene Urkunde des antimontanistischen Kampfes*, Leipzig, 1891.

cast. (about the same epoch as *Adv. Marc. I.*, i.e. 207), *De corona* and *De fuga* (c. 211), *De Virg. Vel.* (c. 213), *De ecstasi* I.-VI. (c. 214),¹ as well as by *De anima*, *Adv. Marc. IV.*, *De carne Christi*, *De resurr. carnis*, *Adv. Marc. V.*, all of which he places in the four years or so between 214 and 218 (the date of *Adv. Praxeas*, taken as *terminus ad quem* before the darkness fully settled down on Tertullian, c. 219-222). An important result of this section is, that for a whole decade there was a Montanist section within the Church at Carthage (c. 202-213); that this long period of mutual forbearance was due to Tertullian's prestige; and that the breach which severed Montanists and "Catholics" or "Psychics" into two camps was marked by his work *De ecstasi* (see *Adv. Prax.*), following on the failure of his effort in *De virg. vel.* to bring the Church as a whole to accept a crucial part of the New Discipline. Among the most valuable pages in the argument on which these conclusions rest, are those devoted to the *Acta Perpetuae* which at first sight might seem to favour the theory of an earlier and speedier breach.

Whom, then, may we imagine to have been the authors of the two documents revealed by our analysis? Rolffs shows good reasons for tracing them in either case to Rome, and naming Callistus and Hippolytus respectively.

The latter identification is corroborated, not only by comparison with the tone of Hippolytus' *Περὶ χαρισμάτων* (worked up in *Apost. Const.* viii.) and of his *Commentary on Daniel*, but also by the similarity of attitude shown by a kindred spirit, Origen. Among his works as given by Jerome (after Pamphilus?) Rolffs detects a pair of hortatory works ("Homilies" they are styled in the confused text at our disposal) addressed to a friend (Pionia or Pionius, perhaps then resident in Rome), entitled "*De Jejuniis*" and "*De Monogamis et Trigamis*"; and he acutely observes that the term *trigami* at least clearly implies Origen's polemical attitude to the lax extreme. The similar inference may then be extended first to *Monogamis* and then to *De jejuniis*; with the result that Origen is found to stand, like Hippolytus, between the extremists, Tertullian and Callistus. A further moral is that the struggle in the West is thereby proved to have attracted the notice of the Church at large, at least in the persons of the leading churchmen. Granting, then, that Hippolytus wielded an anti-Montanist pen, How does such polemic stand related to his other heresiological writings? Was Epiphanius' "Source" an independent work, or was it part of a larger whole? This leads Rolffs first to discuss the relation of *Contra Noetum* to the "Little Labyrinth," and to

¹ The reply by Apollonius, in a work cited by Eus. H.E. v. 18, called forth as rejoinder the work which became known as *De ecstasi* VII.

conclude that the former was not part of the latter (c. 234), but was rather written before the *Philosophumena*, i.e. before 230. Next he finds that *Contra Noetum*, along with the work embedded in Epiphanius *Hæc.* xlviii., formed part of a great Corpus levelled at five heresies (the Melchisedekians, Theodotians, and Alogi being the others). But *Contra Noetum* has been shown (e.g. by Lipsius) to form the close of H's *Syntagma* against all heresies. Hence we must conclude that the aforesaid Corpus belonged to the comprehensive *Syntagma*. Finally it appears that the Christological conflicts of the Roman Church were the special occasion of the *Syntagma*; but that, in order to gain full credit for his orthodoxy in this sphere, Hippolytus felt called on to define his attitude to other schools of Christian thought in Rome. And thus it was that his anti-Montanistic polemic was coeval with his Christological conflicts.

Few of those who have given attention to the strange epitaph composed for his own tomb by Abercius of Hieropolis in Phrygia can have felt altogether satisfied with the usual reading, which sees in it the studiously veiled utterance of a Catholic Christian, c. 200 A.D. There was something strange and unparalleled about it, after ingenuity had had its full say. But few, also, will be quite prepared for the counter-theory recently broached in Germany, that it is purely pagan in character. It is to be hoped, however, that this view will be met, not with contemptuous pleasantry, but in the serious spirit of candour shown by Harnack in the able monograph now under review. He first gives the text itself with scrupulous care; then shows that the difficulty is a real one, arising mainly from the fact that the current view could hardly have arisen save from some five lines (12-16) in the middle of the twenty-two containing the inscription; and, finally, proceeds to a detailed analysis, line by line, with a twofold result—that (1) all, save these five, would seem to be not only devoid of distinctive Christian features, but even full of points alien to Christian feeling and phraseology¹ about 200 A.D.; (2) the five lines themselves, while undoubtedly suggestive of Christian thought and usage—and, indeed, probably implying a Christian element in the writer's faith—may yet be closely paralleled in a pagan local myth, embedded in the "Christian History" of Philip of Sidé in Pamphylia, read in the light of Julian's fifth Oration on Cybele or *Magna Mater* and other collateral evidence. This myth certainly supplies data for

¹ As samples take the following :—If early Christian sentiment speaks in *πᾶσα ξένη πατρὶς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶσα πατρὶς ξένη* (Ad Diogn., 5, 5), it can hardly boast its citizenship of Hieropolis as of *ἐκλεκτῆς πόλεως*; *γράμματα (πιστά)* is not the word to describe the Catholic Christian's sense of what he has learned from his Master; the "Roman Treasury," or even that of *χρηστὴ πατρὶς Ἱερόπολις*, is not likely to be named in the epitaph of a typical early Christian.

the identification of Πηγὴ with παρθένος ἀγνή,¹ and of both with Ἥρα or Ὀυρανία, who is very likely the βασίλισσα χρυσοστόλος, χρυσοπέδιλος, seen along with the βασιλεὺς (Jupiter, under form of Ζεὺς Ἥλιος) at Rome. It also puts fresh meaning into the words ἰχθὺν ἀπὸ πηγῆς . . . τροφὴν.

Hence Harnack's final judgment is that Abercius, was "the adherent of a pagan-Gnostic cult, in which a Christian mystery was joined to pagan mysteries." In support of such a wild syncretism he justly points to certain aspects, both of Phrygian Montanism and of Gnostics like the Ophites, Sethiani, &c. For these conclusions Ramsay's insistence on the strong local colouring of Christianity, in Phrygia in particular, ought to prepare us; and though personally inclined to see in the inscription more of the Christian element² lurking beneath the forms of local sacred associations, perhaps not unwelcome as "protective colouring" during an age of persecution, I cannot but feel that Harnack's view at present holds the field.

VERNON BARTLET.

Logik und System der Wissenschaften.

Von Prof. Dr L. Rabus: *Erlangen und Leipzig*: A. Deichert; *Edinburgh and London*: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vii. 360. Price, M.6.

THIS forms the second volume of the author's elaborate *Lehrbuch zur Einleitung in die Philosophie*, and it is of sufficient merit to stand by itself as a contribution to the vast literature of Logic. It is not necessary to set forth the aim and purpose of Dr Rabus, in the series of works of which this volume forms a part; it will be enough for us to deal with this instalment of the larger work he has in hand. It is an elaborate and important work. It is constructed on the thorough type to which German writers have accustomed us. We have first an Introduction which, in lucid fashion, tells of the Vorbegriff of Logic, of its character as an anthropological discipline, of the relations of Logic and Philosophy, and of the place of Logic in the Encyclopædie of the sciences. Then the treatise divides itself into two main branches; the first of which deals with Logic in itself, and the second deals with it in relation to the system of the sciences. The first branch has two main divisions, the one treats of

¹ καὶ παρέθηκε τροφὴν πάντῃ ἰχθὺν ἀπὸ πηγῆς
πανμεγεθῆ καθαρόν ὃν ἐδράξατο παρθένος ἀγνή.

² Thus I do not find H's attempt to eliminate reference to the Apostle of the Gentiles in Παῦλον ἐ(χων) ἐπο(χον) [to adopt his restoration of the words as at least a symbol of the original] at all successful (p. 12).

the history of Logic, and the other sets forth the science of Logic as it is conceived by Dr Rabus. We have read the history of Logic with the greatest interest and with the highest delight. It is brief, clear, and, we need not say, well-informed. As a brief statement of the way in which successive ages looked at Logic, its nature, scope, and place, we know nothing better than this outline. It would be an instructive process for a student to take the outline of Dr Rabus and follow it in detail from the Greek period, down to the Logic of the Middle Ages, and from these to the Logic of the later time, to test the accuracy of the statements, to verify the results by reference to the authorities, and to make sure that the main points of view are justified. So far as we have tested them, we have found them not only accurate but also felicitous in expression and profoundly conceived. The conception of Logic entertained in the olden time, as set forth by Dr Rabus, is—Logic is the organon for the knowledge of the nature of things. The conception of Logic held in the Middle Ages, is—Logic is the organon for the service of theological knowledge. And the prevailing conception of Logic in the modern time is—Logic is the organon of the self-knowledge and self-activity of Reason (*Vernunft*).

It would lead us far beyond our limits if we were to examine critically all the statements of this historical section of the book. Suffice it to say that the author gives full references both to the original authorities and to the literature of the subject. The path and the course of the development of Logic are fully traced, and the result is of value apart from the particular views of Dr Rabus.

In the second part of the first division we have the exposition of the System of Logic, or, the doctrine of the process of knowledge. The fundamental conception of the author is that thought or thinking (*Das Denken*) enters into and governs all human experience. This conception determines his treatment of the subject. He begins with a description of representation and thought, inquires into the origin of the power of representation, next discusses the question of the knowableness of the supersensual, then inquires into the agreement or correspondence of the mental image with the original, and finally discusses the relation of truth and certainty. On this last topic he says: "The ground of certainty, which is also the criterion of certainty, is, however, not sense-perception, as the empiricists hold; and not bare authority to which dogmatism in all its forms ever returns; and not thought, as idealism and the theory-of-knowledge rationalism assert; and not the necessity of thought, which never belongs to knowledge (*Wissen*), but only to thought, and which in part produces certainty, and in part by certainty is inspired; just as little can the play of another world, veiled and hidden from this world of change and appearance, in which all the

forms of mysticism glory, serve as the ground of certainty. Rather is the ground of certainty to be found in the whole circumstances, history and condition of the human being, as in mutual correspondence with all other forms of life, he comes into being, attains a definite mode of life, comes to self-consciousness, and thereby to clear knowledge; what agrees with this continuous experience is by him recognised as certain, what does not agree with it is by him doubted and repudiated."

We quote this passage as it is of interest in itself, and as it gives us an insight into the philosophical position of Dr Rabus. He is not of any particular school of philosophy. He reminds us often of Hegel, but with a difference. He lays as much stress on thought as Hegel does, but he does not reduce existence to a mere process of thought. This is apparent from the treatment of the subject of logic. His divisions are these: perception, representation (*Vorstellen*), judgment, ideas (*Begreifen*). But each of these is regarded as a process of thought. Thus we have the following:—Thought as perception, thought as *Vorstellen*, thought as judgment, and thought as ideas; or it may represent his view more completely if we lay stress on the activity of thought and speak of it as perceiving, imagining, judging, and grasping into a unity all the objects of knowledge; for it is on the activity of thought that stress is laid throughout. This becomes more clear when he speaks of *Begreifen*. Here we have a valuable historical sketch of the doctrine of the categories, which is introductory to the exposition of his own view. In perception thought first finds its object, in representation the object is thought as something, and, as to the worth of the representation, judgment or logical thinking gives the answer. Perception, representation, judgment are, however, special acts of one and the same process of thought. The thought which brings the manifoldness of the object to unity, and on the other hand detects the oneness of the manifold, is called *Begreifen* to distinguish it from all other kinds of thought. Dr Rabus calls it genetic thinking. To the modes of action of genetic thought he limits the word Categories. The *Urkategorie* is the thought of unity. On this thought of unity, or the unifying process, he dwells at length and treats it with the respect that ought to be shown to a thing so respectable as an *Urkategorie*. After all we are not quite clear as to the way in which this fundamental category is related to other categories less fundamental. The old puzzle how to differentiate the unity, and how to unite the manifold, comes back, and does not appear to be overcome. Mr Spencer invented a special machinery for the express purpose of overcoming this difficulty, and his doctrine of "the instability of the homogeneous" had a vogue for a time. On investigation it turned out to be a mere misleading phrase.

So we fear that the scheme of Dr Rabus does not serve its purpose. It does not help us much to be told thought is a unity which always opposes itself to another unity, that this opposed unity proceeds also from thought, and that thought is that which gathers the contrasted elements together and makes them one. In many phrases, and in manifold ways, this statement is repeated, and if repetition could give assurance we might be quite sure of the unity of thought and the power of thought to grasp as one the manifoldness of the world. It may be so for the thought which is at the centre of things, and can think them from the centre, but we are not at the centre, and we must content ourselves with something less. Still it is not without interest to follow Dr Rabus as he expounds his doctrine of the categories, until he comes at last to the "Schema des Systems der Denkformen." The supreme category is unity. But the Urkategorie of unity distinguishes itself into the chief categories of being, development, mediation (*Vermittelung*), and form. Each of these has other categories under them which we need not enumerate. What we should like to know is why should the given unity trouble itself to distinguish itself from itself, just to put itself to the trouble of gathering itself together again with no apparent gain through the process? And how does the unity have the power of self-differentiation? It is the old story, so familiar in the history of philosophic systems. The formula might be, assume something and deduce everything else from it. Assume the persistence of force and deduce the actual world from it, and if anyone objects, say, it must be so, otherwise Force should have ceased to persist. So with Dr Rabus assume unity, and say that it must differentiate itself, and the thing is done. It is not quite so easy after all. Though we are in a rational universe, yet the reason in the universe is too great to be grasped by us after that fashion. It seems that we cannot begin at the beginning and think out the universe, we must be content with the inquiry into the actual universe in which we find ourselves, and from what we can learn of its history and character come to know something of the reason that is in the universe.

The remaining part of the treatise deals with the system of the sciences. It is worthy of a larger notice than we can give to it. Dr Rabus proceeds on the lines of the former part of his work, and we have the same difficulty in accepting the conclusions. In the first section he deals with the nature sciences. The knowledge of nature; the relation of the unity of nature to development; the explanation of the unity of nature by means of the manifoldness of substances; the derivation of the manifold forms of nature from the unity of being; and finally a description of the system of the nature sciences—such are the topics discussed in this section. Then he

passes on to a discussion of theology, in which he speaks of faith and knowledge, of theological knowledge in distinction from other kinds of knowledge and its relation to them, of the system of theology and its relation to philosophy, and of theology and the science of history. Anthropology is the title of the next section, and here he deals with ethics, æsthetics, logic, and psychology. Finally he has six pages on philosophy. Philosophy is the title of the section, and the only sub-title is Christian philosophy. On these we cannot dwell. It may be of interest to describe his view of Christian Philosophy. Theological knowledge is knowledge through faith. On the possibility of such knowledge depends the possibility of the existence of theology. He vindicates the possibility of theology, indicates its significance in the history of the world, and shows that to a knowledge through faith we must look for the power which shall regenerate philosophy, and place it in its right position. He tells us in conclusion, that in view of the impossibility in any other way of raising philosophy to a higher position and to the use of new material, and in view also of the necessity of such a philosophy, we must call in Christian faith, embodied in Christian living, to help us to work out a philosophy which, on the ground of a fellowship, historically effected and scientifically grounded, of the human spirit with the Highest, that is, the true God, shall enlighten men, and make them strong for the stress and strain of living and dying.

JAMES IVERACH.

Philosophy of Theism.

Being the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1894-95. First Series. By Alexander Campbell Fraser, LL.D., Hon. D.C.L., Oxford, Emeritus Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1895. Post 8vo, pp. 303. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

If the much-canvassed Gifford Lectureship does nothing else for us, it at least affords an instructive object lesson in the possibilities of variously understanding a prescribed theme and of ingeniously interpreting an elaborate but carefully drawn up document. Were Socrates living now he might find an excellent application of his method in determining the meaning and scope of Natural Theology by an examination and comparison of the different series of Gifford Lectures, as he once set himself to trace the significance of Truth or Justice by comparing the conceptions current in the schools and in the market-place. We have had the subject treated from the

scientific, philosophical, anthropological, historical, and historico-genetic point of view. Each lecturer has not only read it in the light of his special studies, but read into it much of these. Each has been at some pains to connect his own standpoint as closely as possible with the expressions used in Lord Gifford's remarkable Will. Especially in regard to the attitude to be assumed towards Revelation is the variety apparent and instructive, some believing that their duty is to confine themselves to an examination of the foundations upon which, if established, the Christian superstructure may afterwards be raised; while others endeavour, under the same feeling of obligation, to give an anti-supernatural explanation of the superstructure of Christianity itself.

The volume before us contains the first series of lectures on the Philosophy of Theism, delivered during session 1894-95 in the University of Edinburgh, by the venerable Emeritus Professor of Logic and Metaphysics of that University. The unpretending yet substantial exterior of the book is a fit symbol of its contents. The lecturer enters upon his task with a deep sense of its seriousness. To him it is the supreme utterance of a lifetime of thought and study upon a problem of the utmost importance. We feel that it is an honest attempt to say the best that may be in him upon this problem, and that he is one well equipped for the task, and we listen with expectation and reverence to what he has to say. It is to be remembered that we have before us an unfinished work—"we have hardly passed the threshold," says the author himself, "in this Introductory Course." But enough is given to enable us to estimate the manner and value of this contribution to Theism. In it we look in vain for anything novel or profoundly original. This is not what the writer claims to present. He adopts as his own the words of Philonous in Berkeley's "Dialogue"—"I do not pretend to be a setter up of new notions. My endeavours tend only to unite and place in a clearer light truth which was before shared between the vulgar and philosophers." But the merit of Professor Fraser's book is that, with lucidity of arrangement, fulness of discussion, clearness and felicity of language, often eloquence, he sets before us what are really the points in dispute between various forms of modern scepticism and an enlightened common-sense, knowing that until these are disposed of, it is useless to follow the anti-Theist into his more subtle and recondite speculations. Thus while those in search of the sensational in theme or treatment will pass the book by, none of those who earnestly desire to know the truth can afford to neglect it. Supplemented as it is to be with a course dealing with "the foundation in reason of the theistic interpretation of the universe; the intellectual difficulties in which thought may seem to be involved by religion; the alternatives of

finality or progressiveness in moral judgments and in religious thought ; and the final destiny of moral agents"—it cannot fail to take rank as one of the most useful books upon the subject for the student and general reader, and a not unworthy outcome of the bequest of Lord Gifford.

The present course consists of ten lectures. In the first the "Final Problem" about the universe as it appears to man is set forth in all its importance, but also in its difficulty and mystery. The lecturer desires to approach it with no preconceived theory. "Let us face facts," he says, "seeking only to know what they are, and, as far as we can, what they really mean." Man is the only being capable of enquiring into the problem of the universe, or, indeed, of feeling that it is a problem at all. Philosophy and Religion alike require that his interpretation of the universe should be one and consistent, yet it is not here as in other instances of investigation into the causal sequence where a comparison of examples is possible ; for here the problem is unique—we have no experience of *universes*, but only of one universe, and of it our experience is only limited and inadequate. But there may be grounds for holding that "the theistic solution of the problem" is "the truly philosophical one—the most reasonable that is open to man, and sufficient for human nature." Coming to consider the *method* to be employed, Professor Fraser touches upon that question of "revelation" to which allusion was made above. He holds, and he is probably right in holding, that he is only bound not to appeal to revelation as a substitute for reason, as a blindly accepted authority superseding investigation, but that it is not intended by the provision of Lord Gifford's Will, which refers to it, "to put an arbitrary restraint upon reason, by withdrawing from its regard a part of what is reported to have happened in the history of the world." It comes into view in connection with that religious experience, which, "whether natural or supernatural," is "a portion of the world's history, and therefore a portion of that revelation of the final meaning and purpose of things which is to be sought for in the facts of history" (p. 27).

In the second Lecture, the "Final Problem" is articulated ; the actual reality with which it is concerned is found, as it is presented in the common consciousness of men, to involve three existences ; and the determination of the true relations of these is, in great part, if not altogether, the solution of the problem itself. These three existences are the Self or Ego, Matter, and God. They "are severally the occasions of morality, natural science, and religion. My own existence, implied in the recognition of my continuous personality, and in the independent power which I refer exclusively to myself, when I acknowledge personal responsibility for acts of

will, calls forth the idea of morality, and affords material for moral judgments. External nature, at least as it is presented to our senses and in our sensuous experience, is non-moral" (pp. 63-4). Nature is, however, the medium of communication between persons; without it they would have no means even of discovering one another; it makes possible "the social intercourse through which individual man becomes part of the moral organism, through which he is educated as a scientific intelligence and gets part of his moral training. Then, too, without the supremacy of the divine principle of moral, and therefore physical, order, on which the universe of change is presumed to depend, and on which we repose in faith, as the basis for thought and action, both morality and natural science must be paralysed" (p. 64). Now the maintenance of the right relations of these ultimate existences is a matter of great importance, but one which experience has shown to be beset with theoretical and practical difficulties. There is a tendency to conceive one or other of them as "more truly entitled to have existence and substantiality and power affirmed of it than either of the other two," and this disturbance of the balance is the fruitful source of superstition and scepticism. "While no one of the three can be wholly explained away, consistently with sane human life, any one of them may be so exaggerated as to paralyse the moral influence of the others, and to distort the true conception of human life" (p. 65). It is from this point of view that Professor Fraser formulates the theories which, as rivals to the Theistic hypothesis, he successively examines. There are those by whom "the outward or material world, which fills the horizon of sense, has been taken for the one ultimate reality, in a final conception of existence which makes the universe of reality at last only a universe of molecules in motion. This is Panmaterialism, which pretends to find in matter what common consciousness refers to the Ego and to God. On the other hand, those in whom the introspective habit is strong are apt to seek for the desired unity of existence in the conception that All is ultimately the ego only, in a philosophy of Immaterialism or Panegoism. Lastly, dissatisfaction with a universe of individual consciousness, combined either with an ideal All seen in the daylight of pure reason, or with mystical emotion, disposes both the courageous thinker and the mystic to seek for the one ultimate reality, neither in outward things with the Panmaterialist, nor in the inward life with the Panegoist, but, instead, in what is supposed to transcend both, because superior alike to individual sense and to individual consciousness. Hence the various schemes of Pantheism, Impersonalism, or Acosmism, in which the world and ego are identified with God" (pp. 70-71). These three views are subjected to a

closely critical examination in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Lectures, the last being specially devoted to a consideration of Spinoza. Materialism as a Monistic explanation of the universe is shown to derive its plausibility from the tacit introduction into the conception of matter of elements which are really inconsistent with it. The process ends apparently in the deification of Matter, but really in the dissolution first of morality, then of intellectual action and product, including the fabric of Materialism itself. If, now, the supremacy assigned to Matter is characteristic of the infancy of thought, advanced reflection often leads to an equally exclusive attribution of reality to the Ego. It is seen that Matter itself is nothing without consciousness, that all we know of it becomes meaningless when consciousness is subtracted from the universe. Then, from being "ready to suppose that consciousness can be refunded into the universe of outward things," man turns to the converse supposition "that the universe of outward things is dependent on his own self-conscious perceptions." But Pan-egoism breaks down when it is realised that from this point of view "the universe is born and dies with the person who experiences it, and the only person of whose existence I am conscious is myself." Thus human experience of reality is "reduced to an absurdity, if not to a contradiction" (p. 133). Pantheism in its turn presents many attractions and appears in several aspects. "Looked at in one light, it seems to be Atheism; in another it is a sentimental or mystical Theism; in a third, it is analogous to Calvinism" (p. 147). But while this theory also is attended with logical difficulties arising out of the attempt to translate the infinite into terms of the finite, Professor Fraser justly represents, as all careful thinkers have done before him, the chief difficulty as a *moral* one. "The moral experience of remorse and responsibility," "ideals of unattained good," and "the entrance of real evil into existence," are the rocks on which the theory is shattered. If, then, the three postulated existences are found to afford singly an insecure basis on which the Final Problem may be dealt with, what other alternatives are open? Either they must all alike be rejected, or all alike accepted. We may turn away from the problem altogether as "one which admits of no solution, not even a working human solution"; or we may "return to reason, in the form of faith in the three commonly postulated existences, through a deeper and truer interpretation." The seventh Lecture accordingly deals with the position of Universal Nescience, the Agnostic standpoint, while the last three Lectures seek to show, as against Materialism, that Nature can only be understood aright when it is regarded as a revelation of God; that Man in his conscious intelligence and self-determination is the "signal example of the divine"; that God is at

once known and unknown, the perfect Exemplar of the highest qualities of man, which He possesses in an infinite degree, while at the same time there are sides of His being on which He is incomprehensible to us, transcending not only our being, but our thoughts and conceptions.

Here the discussion is left for the present. In the course of it many suggestive thoughts are expressed, and many thoughts for which novelty cannot in themselves be claimed are clothed in fresh and forceful words. Thus we are reminded that "the agnosticism that retains physical science is not really a protest against faith; it is only an arrest of faith at the point at which faith advances from a purely physical to the moral and religious interpretation of life and the universe" (p. 219). And again, "Physical science is reached by a leap in the dark, in the faith that the presence of physical order and purpose in nature will not suffer the physical enquirer to be put to confusion. Religion, too, is a leap in the dark, yet in hopeful faith in the constant agency of perfect moral reason as the root not only of the physical order, but as the highest conception man can have of the universal principle of existence. So the moral or religious faith includes and justifies the physical" (p. 281).

Not the least interesting and valuable feature of these lectures is the way in which Professor Fraser utilises his special studies on Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, bringing out sides of the thinking of these British philosophers which are not usually associated with their names. But the allusions to ancient and modern systems, as well as to general literature, remind us that we are here under the guidance of one who moves in these regions with the ease born of long experience,—of one whose further instruction on his important theme we shall gladly welcome.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

Studies of Childhood.

*By James Sully. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 8vo, pp. 536.
Price, 10s. 6d.*

It is extremely difficult, within the compass of a short review, to do anything like justice to this important contribution to Child Psychology. The material Mr Sully has collected is enormous. His 512 closely printed pages contain a mass of facts that almost defy rational classification. Nor does the author make any attempt to introduce a more or less artificial "organic unity" into his work. He makes no pretence of an exhaustive treatment of his subject, but professes to "merely deal with certain aspects of children's

minds which happen to have come under my notice, and to have had a special interest for me. In preparing them I have tried to combine with the needed measure of exactness a manner of presentation which should attract other readers than students of Psychology, more particularly parents and young teachers." The result is certainly a book that ought to attract the readers it is meant to reach. Parents and young teachers into whose hands it may fall will find it full of interesting and profitable matter; and if one is inclined to regret the absence of a somewhat more systematic treatment, one must remember that after all Infant Psychology is as yet only at the Natural History stage of development. Something has been done in the way of observing and classifying facts, but as for an organised body of science, that is still to come. Mr Sully is, perhaps, therefore wise in his plan of placing before his readers as many and as pregnant facts as have come under his observation, without attempting an elaborate system. As to the particular arrangement adopted, more will be said below.

All the common sneers at "Nursery Psychology" are met by anticipation in the *Introduction*, which is in itself a valuable essay. Professional psychologists can do a little, teachers can do more, and parents can do most of all in supplying a valuable body of reliable material for working out the development of the human mind in its earlier stages. Those who are willing to work in this direction cannot do better than study the hints and cautions contained in the opening pages of the book.

The main body of the work is a straightforward, purposeful treatment of a difficult, though to the lay mind a somewhat trifling, series of observed phenomena. One cannot but admire the unwearying patience with which our author marshals his facts, and either explains them or honestly admits that he is not yet prepared to give an opinion on this or that point. The number of questions left for future investigation is very large, so large that at first sight it appears to indicate a serious blemish. The reader is apt to think that he is getting too much of the "I tell the tale as 'twas told to me." But a little reflection brings out the fact that Mr Sully is more than justified in withholding a final opinion in cases in which the data are insufficient. Sentences like the following occur with a frequency that is a little irritating—"more observations are needed on this point"; "more careful observations on this curious group of child-fears are to be desired." It is only when one takes into consideration the almost intolerable mass of "observations" that our author has placed before us, that one realises how absurd it would be to blame him, of all men, for not supplying more. Indeed, considering the ease with which almost any theory could be supported by the more or less contra-

dictory observations already supplied, it is greatly to Mr Sully's credit that he has resisted the temptation to work up easy and specious theories.

Admitting all this, there remains an uneasy feeling in the mind of the reader that even for the somewhat unscientific audience to whom the book appeals, there might have been found an arrangement involving a greater degree of unity. The essential oneness of the human mind—or "soul," if the expression pleases better—is the despair, not so much of psychologists as of writers on Psychology. For though the mind is one and indivisible, the study which treats of the mind is not. It is hardly too much to say that most of the error involved in the obsolescent "Faculty Psychology," has originated primarily in the necessity of dividing up books into sections and chapters. Is there no danger of something of this sort in the present case? All the more because the book appeals to less technical students than do most books of this class, does it run the risk of conveying to the mind of the reader the insidious error of supposing that because Imagination is treated in a chapter by itself it is a thing by itself that can exist separate from thought or memory. Whatever be the scientific value of the conception of "a wave of consciousness," there can be no doubt that this way of presenting the solidarity of the various elements of consciousness is the best for educational purposes. What teachers specially need is some account of the general development of the whole soul, an account in which each of the different elements gets its true place. In Medicine we are told that there are no diseases but only patients, so in Education we may say that there are no faculties but only children. Psychology is fond of telling us that all she can do is to supply general principles, which the teacher must himself apply to the case of the children under his care. But why should not Psychology at least meet the teacher half way, and present her truths in the form best suited for his purpose? One of the requirements in the Departmental Syllabus for students in training for teaching is "The order in which the mental faculties develop." In all the ordinary text-books on the subject this requirement is met by a straightforward catalogue beginning with *consciousness* and ending with *reasoning*. If this is all that Psychology can do for Education, can it be matter of surprise that teachers look askance at all attempts to supply a rational psychological basis for the art of teaching?

Not only would this treatment by means of a basis of development all along the line, a synchronous development of all the psychological elements, not interfere with our author's effort to popularise his subject, it would positively assist him in that effort. The method actually adopted has the defect of separating the facts

bearing upon each child who figures as a subject in the text. The frequent reference to the same child in different parts of the book in connection with different stages of development, and different phases of that development, is somewhat confusing, and sometimes weakens the argument for evolution. When, for example, our author seeks to show a gradual evolution from the vague, formless scribble to primitive design, and thence to a more sophisticated treatment of the human figure, the reader has an uncomfortable feeling that the argument passes from the vague, formless scribbling of one child to the more sophisticated treatment of the human figure by another. No doubt it is perfectly fair to argue from a great mass of work done by children of a given age as compared with that of children of the same class at a more advanced age. But this is hardly Mr Sully's method. He reasons from a comparatively few, though no doubt highly characteristic, cases. The statistical method is not adopted.

Accepting the general plan of the book, the reader cannot fail to be highly satisfied with the execution. Parents and young teachers cannot rise from its perusal without having benefited greatly, and that with the minimum of effort. The book is extremely interesting. The student of Mr Sully's other works will not find very much that is strikingly new in substance in the first part of the book, though he will assuredly find many of his old facts very freshly stated, and very prettily illustrated. In the chapters on *The Child as Artist* and *The Young Draughtsman*, however, we find ourselves on fresh ground. It would be too much to expect here an exemplification of the theory of the parallel development of the race and the individual. Such a work is beyond the scope of the book. Yet, by a comparison of many drawings by savages with those of similar subjects by children, Mr Sully has at least made a beginning for such an investigation. Those two chapters are full of fresh and interesting matter. The last hundred pages of the book are given up to an examination of direct records of the development of a boy and a girl—the boy C., and the girl George Sand. Here the method is of more value than the matter. The forty-year-old reminiscences of a powerful imagination, trained by novel-writing, can hardly be treated as very solid material for psychological inference as to child-life, while the father, whose diary is examined, is not free from the parental fallacies. Mr Sully shows great tact and open-mindedness throughout his book, but nowhere more conspicuously than in those final hundred pages, where the temptation must have been very strong to apply the evidence to the support of pet theories.

JOHN ADAMS.

The Ecclesiastical Expansion of England in the Growth of the Anglican Communion.

The Hulsean Lectures for 1894-95. By Alfred Barry, D.D., D.C.L., formerly Bishop of Sydney and Primate of Australia and Tasmania. London: Macmillan & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. 387. Price, 6s.

Euthaliana.

Studies of Euthalius, Codex H of the Pauline Epistles, and the Armenian Version, with an Appendix containing a collation of the Eton MS. of the Pseudo-Athanasian Synopsis. By J. Armitage Robinson, B.D., Norrisian Prof. of Divinity, Cambridge. 8vo, pp. 120. Price, 4s. net.

Studien über Zacharias-Apokryphen und Zacharias-Legenden.

Von A. Berendts. Leipzig: A. Deichert. 8vo, pp. 108. Price, M.2.

Die katholische Lehre von der Reue.

Dargestellt und beurteilt von Lic. Theol. Carl Stuckert. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 96. Price, M.2.

In four lectures Dr Barry gives a rapid sketch of missionary activity and progress on the part of the Church of England. In the first lecture, on "The threefold Mission of England," Dr Barry shows how religious expansion, which is also ecclesiastical, ought to keep pace with national expansion. As in the past, so in the present, the missionary duty of the Church has a threefold direction. In the past the Church of Christ, as a missionary Church, had to address itself to the conversion of the Empire, the conversion of the barbarians, and the building up of Christian nations. So now, only in a different order, the missionary duty of the Church lies in the sphere of Colonial expansion, the missions to India and the East, and the conversion of the Lower Races. An admirable account is then given of the stimulus to missionary activity afforded by Simeon of Cambridge and the evangelical revival, as well as from other sides by the High Church movement and the influences of the Broad Church school. In the following lectures the work of the Church in the Colonies, in India and the East, and among the barbarian races, is graphically described, and the author deserves to be heartily congratulated on his success, both in the distribution of his materials and their comprehensive treatment, and in the

admirable proportion which he has observed in dealing with a subject branching out in so many directions. The selection of examples, too, under his several sections has been made with great wisdom and discrimination. A fine manly tone rings through the whole book. In the second and fourth lectures the references to slavery, the Queensland labour traffic, the sale of firearms and spirituous liquors to savage races, are all that could be desired. After speaking of the abomination of slavery and of the need of persistent effort to secure the utter overthrow of the remnants of it, he denounces in one strong sentence the cruel wrong still inflicted by Christian nations on savage races. "If the slave trade abomination is mainly of the past, there is now a less outrageous, but hardly less fatal, cruelty in the unscrupulous European traffic, sacrificing humanity for the sake of reckless gain—by the sale of firearms, helping and stimulating that internecine war between rival tribes which is the natural curse of barbarism—by the introduction of fiery and poisonous strong liquor, of which it has been said that it may make civilised men brutes, but that it turns barbarians into devils." In three appendices, pp. 213-387, details are given in illustration of Church missionary work in the Colonies, in India and the East, and among barbarian races. We find here generous recognition of good work done by other Churches and missionary societies, whose zeal and success are quite fairly made use of to stimulate in the Anglican Communion a worthy and honourable emulation. The book is written throughout in an interesting and attractive style, and the evidence it gives of warm and hearty enthusiasm on the part of the writer, as well as the large amount of useful information which it imparts, cannot fail to advance the cause of Missions in other communions as well as in the Church of England.

The third part of the third vol. of Cambridge Texts and Studies, edited by Prof. Robinson, deals with questions regarding Euthalius and his edition of the Acts and Epistles. In 1698 Zacagni published at Rome a collection gathered from Euthalian MSS. of the Acts and Catholic and Pauline Epistles, assigning A.D. 458 as the date of the earliest part of the work. Prof. Robinson suggests that this may rather be the date of a copyist of some Euthalian MS. The Euthalian authorship of the *Martyrium Pauli*, in which this date and also the earlier one of A.D. 396 are given, is disputed, and substantial reasons shown for setting it aside, pp. 28-30, and it is argued that the genuine work of Euthalius, which this tract closely imitates, must be earlier than A.D. 396 and subsequent to A.D. 323. As it would seem that the work was subjected to a revision in A.D. 396, probably by Evagrius, whose name occurs in some MSS., it must have been in circulation for a considerable time and have won authority. Prof.

Robinson assumes that it may have been written at least twenty-five years previously, say about A.D. 370. In that case the dedication to Athanasius of Alexandria might really be to the great Athanasius. Still further, as a system of chapter numbering was introduced by early hands into the Codices *A* and *B*, and in a slightly modified form by Jerome in his Vulgate, which is ultimately traceable to Euthalius, Prof. Robinson thinks that his date may fairly be placed not later than A.D. 350. Our author has given an interesting chapter on Codex *H* of the Pauline Epistles, written probably from a Euthalian Codex collated with the Codex of Pamphilus, the Euthalian Codex being followed for the sake of its colometry or division in lines. Some lost pages have left such an impression on the leaves opposite to which they had originally been, that Prof. Robinson has been able to recover a considerable portion, which he prints in the work before us, pp. 50-65. There is still much to be done in sifting the materials which go under the name of Euthalius. In this treatise we have an important contribution in this direction, which will supply most valuable help to any one who may undertake a critical edition of the Euthalian manuscripts.

The treatise, designated as *Altislavische Beiträge* 1, deals with the Apocrypha and legends that have arisen out of an attempt to explain the allusion to the death of Zacharias in *Matt.* xxiii. 35, and *Luke* xi. 51. After a careful examination and classification of lists of canonical and extra-canonical books in which the Zacharias Apocryphon in one form or another is named, our author discusses the confusion that appears in the descriptions of the author or subject of the book referred to, sometimes given as the canonical prophet, sometimes as the father of John the Baptist. The idea that a pre-exilian prophet (son of Jehoiada) or the post-exilian prophet of that name may have been subject or author of an Apocryphon is dismissed on the ground that no proof is forthcoming of the existence of any such work. The difficulty connected with the statement in *Matt.* lies in the occurrence of the phrase "son of Barachias" as designating the Zacharias there mentioned. Can this be the father of John the Baptist? It will be remembered how scornfully Keim rejects this supposition, equally with the current explanation that Abel and Zachariah are quoted as examples from the first and last books of the O.T. Canon. Our author, however, patiently examines three different forms of the tradition as associated with the Zacharias of the N.T. (1) There is that of Origen, who understands the reference in *Matt.* to be of necessity to a contemporary deed of violence, and reports a tradition that Zacharias, father of John, acting as high priest, had admitted Mary after the birth of Jesus to the place in the temple reserved for

virgins, on the plea that she was still a virgin, and that he was put to death "by the men of his generation" between the temple and the altar as an offender against the law. We find the same story with variations in Basil, Cyril of Alex., Gregory of Nyssa, and others. (2) Epiphanius tells of a book called *Γέννα Μαρίας* among the Ophites in Egypt, which contained the story of Zacharias, but gave as the motive of the murder the disclosure by Zacharias of the secret worship of the ass on the part of the Jews. (3) A third tradition attributes the murder of Zacharias not to the Pharisees but to Herod, who, after failing to find Jesus in Bethlehem, sent to Zacharias for his son, and on his declaration that he knew not where He was, caused him to be slain. This last-named tradition, which also appears in the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and in the Pseudo-Epiphanian *Vitæ Prophetarum*, is the one given independently in the Slavonic MS. with which our author deals. It forms one of the documents classed, by the Metropolitan Macarius of Moscow (1482-1563), in his great collection of hagiographical literature, under 5th Sept., the day almost universally dedicated to Zacharias, father of John. This MS. is entitled: "An account of the birth of John the Forerunner and of the Slaying of his father Zacharias." Berendts prints the text in full, with short critical notes, pp. 71-80, followed by a full and careful commentary, pp. 81-99. While Joseph took Jesus down to Egypt and remained there for twelve months, Elizabeth fled with John to the mountains. When Zacharias could not tell Herod's men where John was, they slew him near the altar, and his blood running out on the pavement became hard like stone, as a witness against Herod. Then Elizabeth, in great fear, sought refuge in the mountain, which opened up to afford her shelter, while Uriel attended to serve her and her son. After John had been four months in the mountain, the Lord, accompanied by Gabriel, came from Egypt and commanded Uriel to bring up John to the temple. In the holy place the corpse of Zacharias was revived, and he and John were baptized by Jesus. Zacharias was then put to sleep again and buried before the altar. Jesus with Gabriel went back to Egypt, and John with Elizabeth to the wilderness. At the age of nine months John was weaned, and had wild honey given as his food; and at the age of five years Uriel dressed him in a garment of camel's hair, bound with a leathern girdle, — a robe, like the Lord's, woven without seam. Berendts concludes, p. 98, that the Slavic MS. is probably a translation from a Greek original in the form of a chronicle. It was just thus, through the Slavonic literature, that Greek texts for the most part made their way into Russia. As to the date of the Apocryphal book, it may be assigned to the 3rd or 4th cent., the peculiar features of its contents being reproduced by Eustathius,

an Antiochean writer of the 4th or 5th cent. The treatise is severely technical, and a perfect model of patient investigation of minute textual and critical details. It will prove a most useful guide to students of the Apocryphal Gospels of the childhood.

Herr Stuckert finds the distinguishing characteristics of the Catholic doctrine of repentance to arise out of the Roman tendency to enforce law and strict outward discipline. From Tertullian onward this was the point of view generally assumed. Repentance, as condition of forgiveness, was conceived of as the giving of satisfaction; the making of confession and the receiving of absolution. Against all this mechanical externalism, and the corruptions which it introduced, Augustine and Abelard made notable protests. They insisted upon the indispensableness of contrition of heart and deep humiliation because of sin; not fear of punishment but love of righteousness must lead to repentance. No mere outward performances can avail before God. Notwithstanding all such protests, the Church doctrine continued to develop more and more in the direction of a hard and unethical externalism. It reaches its full development in the distinction accepted by Tridentine and post-Tridentine theologians between *attritio* and *contritio*, between an incomplete and a complete repentance. *Attritio* is awakened by fear of hell and punishment, by *timor servilis*; *contritio* is born of child-like fear (*timor filialis*) and love. A strange vacillation is shown by Romish theologians, for while they maintain that *attritio* is sufficient for the receiving the sacrament of penance and consequent absolution, they still wish to say that these require a turning of the will from sin and a hope of forgiveness which do not belong to the idea of attrition. Earlier Jesuit directions for the confessional (*e.g.*, those of Lopez and Suarez) declare plainly that *attritio* is sufficient; yet the dying are to be advised not to rest satisfied with it. In a later Jesuit manual it is declared that a man will be saved who has often broken all the commandments of God, and has never fulfilled the first commandment of the love of God, if with mere attrition he receive the sacrament and straightway dies. This is the prevalent doctrine, which has been enforced, in opposition to the protests of Jansenism and the Synod of Pistoia, by the bull of Pius VI. in 1794. No attempted explanations by Bellarmine or Möhler can gainsay this statement. Our author further shows how in the Romish doctrine, as distinguished from the Protestant, faith is altogether overlooked. According to the Romish doctrine man is saved *solo timore*, according to the Protestant, *sola fide*. The contrast is well illustrated by an outline of Luther's teaching about repentance, and apt quotations from his

writings. The treatise concludes with an admirable and appreciative statement of the evangelical doctrine, that only in Christ have we the ideal and the power needed for complete and true repentance. The writer shows a thorough mastery of his subject, and his style is singularly interesting and clear.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

"St Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen."

By *W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., LL.D., Professor of Humanity, Aberdeen.*
London: Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo., pp. 410, cloth, with map,
10s. 6d.

FIRST NOTICE.

IN an interesting note (*Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 6), Professor Ramsay tells us how he submitted with reluctance to the examination in Divinity, required of all Oxford undergraduates reading for "Greats," and how he dates from the study of *Galatians* for this examination, and of Bishop Lightfoot's edition of that Epistle, a fresh epoch in his own thought and work. If, as we may assume, his previous books, and his recent account of St Paul, are two of the results of the studies commenced in undergraduate days, all students of theology and literature may be thankful that the interest thus awakened has been so ably and so brilliantly sustained.

In the opening page of the book before us, Professor Ramsay asks how an unprejudiced citizen of the Roman empire would have regarded the new social force, *i.e.*, Christianity, if he had studied it with the eyes and temper of a nineteenth century investigator? His first duty would have been to make up his mind about the trustworthiness of his authorities. The authorities are two (1) a work of history commonly entitled the *Acts*; (2) certain Epistles, purporting to be written by Paul. Of (2) Professor Ramsay proposes to make only slight and incidental use, but we may notice in passing that he acknowledges the authenticity of the Epistles of St Paul contained in the New Testament, and that he adds that even those who dispute the authenticity of these writings would admit that the facts used are trustworthy, as being the settled belief of the Church at a very early period (p. 1). But we find that Professor Ramsay has made an important advance upon the theory maintained as to the composition of *Acts* in his former book. The "Travel Document" is Luke's own written notes, his diary where he was an eyewitness; and his notes of conversation with Paul and

others were worked into the book of *Acts* (p. 384). If we turn back to p. 4, we find Professor Ramsay placing the author of *Acts* among historians of the first rank, because he shows the true historian's power of seizing great facts, and marking clearly the stages of development in his subject. It is this sense of proportion in *Acts* which most impresses Professor Ramsay. But it is somewhat startling to find that from his standpoint, it is not he, but critics like Bishop Lightfoot who would reduce *Acts* to a second-rate history, in their attempt to identify the wrong events, and in their avowed principle that *Acts* is full of gaps and disproportion (p. 19).

But we may venture to suggest that Bishop Lightfoot was no less alive than Professor Ramsay to the plan of St Luke, and to its development. *Acts* i. 8 strikes the keynote of the book (comp. *St Luke* xxiv. 48), and the words correspond, as Dean Plumptre pointed out, to the great divisions of the *Acts*—Jerusalem i. vii., Judea, ix. 32; xii. 19; Samaria viii.,¹ while with regard to the latter part of the verse, Bishop Lightfoot has himself reminded us that the success of Paul's preaching in Rome was a fitter termination to the history of the *Acts* than any other incident which could have been chosen, "it is the most striking realisation of that promise of the universal spread of the Gospel, which is the starting-point of the narrative" (*Philippians*, Introd. p. 3).

Passing from the trustworthiness of the book to its hero, Professor Ramsay lays stress upon two or three facts, of which an apologist may fairly make use. He points out that in *Acts*, as in the Epistles, Paul is represented as in agreement with the older Apostles, that the Paul of *Acts* is the Paul of the letters, and that such a view of the whole position could not have been taken by a second century writer, when the Church had passed into new circumstances, and was interested in different questions (p. 22).

In Chapter II. the family and personality of St Paul are discussed more fully. Professor Ramsay makes an interesting point in suggesting that at a later stage in his career, in his appeal to Rome, the apostle must have been possessed of some considerable private means. His previous poverty is best explained on the supposition that the bitter Pharisaic spirit of his family showed itself, not merely in driving him from the home-circle, but in depriving him of wealth and influence. To this we shall return.

Some of the most important historical questions, raised in the following pages, gather round a memorable incident in the early

¹ Comp. the remarks of Professor Blass, pp. 12, 13, in *Prolegomena* to his edition of *Acts*, 1895. If it appears strange that witness to "the utmost parts of the earth" (*Acts* i. 8) is fulfilled by Paul's coming to Rome, it is perhaps worth noting that in *Psalms of Solomon* viii. 16, we read of Pompey, that he came ἀπ' ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς—i.e., Rome—the same phrase as in *Acts* i. 8.

history of the Church at Antioch. Saul and Barnabas are the delegates chosen to carry relief to the brethren in Judæa, and thus Saul's second visit to Jerusalem is regarded and related by Luke as an important moment in the development of the Church (p. 52). For the delegates—in Professor Ramsay's view—did not merely convey money; they brought food and gave it, encouraging and comforting the distressed (pp. 50-52). And thus far distant parts of the Church are united—the poor in Jerusalem recognise a sense of brotherhood, and to Antioch there was given "that consciousness of native life and power, which comes only from noble work nobly done" (p. 52).

In Professor Ramsay's opinion, we have another account of this second visit to Jerusalem: Gal. ii. 1-10 describes this visit, and not, as is held by almost all critics, the third. But Professor Ramsay's view, amongst other demands, requires us to believe that the special and primary object of the visit to Jerusalem, narrated in Gal. ii., was to help the poor, although, doubtless, another purpose was achieved in that journey, but that was a mere private piece of business (p. 57). But do the words (Gal. ii. 10) "One charge alone they gave us to remember the poor" really give this sense? If the Pillars of the Church knew, as *ex hypothesi* they must have known, that St Paul came to Jerusalem, bringing food and money for the poor, it seems strange that the "one charge alone" which they gave him was to do the very thing which he actually came for the purpose of doing. And if Barnabas and Saul had just been associated in helping the poor, is it not strange that we should find the first person singular (*ὁ καὶ ἐσπούδασα*) (Gal. ii. 10), as if Paul—unlike himself—would claim, to the exclusion of Barnabas, the sole credit in this work of love and danger?¹ In Acts xi. 29, moreover, the only object of the visit is the relief of the poor, and there is no hint that the question of circumcision was connected with it. Comp. *Acts* xii. 25.

But whilst we cannot accept the identification of Gal. ii. 1-10, we may fully recognise the good results which followed upon the charitable action of the Christians at Antioch, and endorse Professor Ramsay's remark, that it is no mere accidental collocation that immediately on the return of Barnabas and Saul comes the record of the flourishing state of the Church in that city, with its band of prophets and teachers (p. 64).

Chapter IV. gives us an account of the missionary journey of

¹ In the *Expositor* for March (p. 183) Professor Ramsay emphasises the fact that Luke *pointedly records* that the distribution was carried out to its completion by Barnabas and Saul in person (*Acts* xii. 25). Why then does Paul only refer to his own zeal in remembering the poor, if *Acts* xi. 29 and xii. 25 = *Gal.* ii. 1-10? Ought not *ὁ καὶ ἐσπούδασα* to be read in the light of 1 *Cor.* xvi. 1-3?

Barnabas and Saul (an account full of interest not only in the incidents narrated, but in its bearing on St Luke's character as an historian). Four Greek words contain all that is said about the passage of the missionaries through the island of Cyprus (Acts xiii. 6). The brevity of the historian is not accidental, it is typical (p. 72). No special effect followed the Apostolic preaching, and as at Salamis, the Word was proclaimed in the synagogue of the Jews, and not directly to the Gentiles. Here lay the reasons of St Luke's silence—the absence of the facts on which he always lays special stress, and which marked the stages of his history—signs of the Divine power as a guarantee of Paul's mission, and the steps by which he turned more and more to the Gentiles (p. 73). In the Magian Bar-Jesus of Paphos Professor Ramsay sees, not a false prophet, who dominated the mind of Sergius Paulus, but one of the train of *comites* who always accompanied a Roman governor. It may be that Professor Ramsay is somewhat inclined to overrate the Magian's powers and knowledge; but apart from this, the chief interest of the narrative lies in the fact that Christianity, the new religion, is here brought face to face with the strongest influence on the human will that existed in the Roman world, with a religion which completely crushed all sense of human individuality and responsibility, and dominated the moral and mental nature of its votaries (p. 79). By a marvellous stroke of historic brevity the writer sets before us the past and the present in the simple words—"Then Saul, otherwise Paul, fixed his eyes upon him and said" (p. 85). In the earlier part of the book, as a Jew among Jews, we have only the Apostle's Hebrew name. Even in Cyprus he had gone through the country as a Jew, city by city, synagogue by synagogue. But now he stands in the hall of the proconsul, and we can scarcely doubt that in such a presence he would be guided by the rule of action which he himself proclaimed (1 Cor. ix. 20). Two results follow. In the first place, as a rule, we read henceforth of Paul and Barnabas, not Barnabas and Saul; and in the second place, Paul thus inaugurates a new policy, and marks for us the second stage in the admission of the Gentiles to the Christian Church. Paul the Christian speaks in his character of a citizen of the empire to a fellow-citizen, and the result approved and ratified his step. "How delicate is the art which, by a simple change in the order of a recurring pair of names, and by the slight touch at the critical moment, 'Saul, otherwise Paul,' suggests and reveals this wide-reaching conception in Luke's mind of historical development" (p. 85).

In pursuing the further incidents of this first missionary journey, Professor Ramsay puts forward another thoughtful theory with regard to the meaning of St Paul's "thorn in the flesh." He

regards it as a chronic malarial fever, with its distressing and prostrating paroxysms, with the contempt and loathing for self which it often brings (p. 54 *ff*). The travellers reach Perga with the apparent purpose of preaching the gospel in the next districts, but for some reason there is a change of plans, and they pass rapidly to the Pisidian Antioch. The reason of this change is (in Professor Ramsay's view) Paul's serious illness. As the travellers passed from Perga to the Pisidian Antioch they would also pass from the Roman province Pamphylia to the Roman province Galatia. In his Epistle to the Galatians, Paul himself tells his converts that by reason of physical infirmity he preached the gospel unto them on the first of his two visits. Hence we may infer that Paul had an illness brought on by the enervating atmosphere of Pamphylia, which obliged him to leave Perga and come to Antioch. The situation of Antioch, some 3600 feet above the sea, marked it as a suitable place for an invalid to recruit his strength (p. 93).¹ If we ask why Luke did not state this simple fact, the answer is that he passes very lightly over the sufferings and dangers which Paul encountered : his method and purpose lay not in the recital of personal details, but in the essential facts of the evangelisation of the world (p. 93). Professor Ramsay's remarks on "the thorn in the flesh," the peculiar and striking symptoms to which he refers, and the inadequacy of the view that reference is made to some affection of eyesight, are all worthy of more than a passing reference. The history of the interpretation of St Paul's *σκόλον* is too long even to touch upon here, and if we can never arrive at a satisfactory explanation, we can at least see from his own language in 2 *Cor.* x. 4, that the suffering was a discipline in the school of Christ, just as the mysterious agony (as Dean Stanley characteristically remarked), which seized sometimes upon our own King Alfred in the midst of feast and revel, confirmed his saintliness and strengthened his heroism.

In the visit to Antioch, Professor Ramsay again sees abundant proof of St Luke's accuracy and care. He notes, *e.g.*, how the influence of the women at Antioch is in perfect accord with the manners of the country, as contrasted with what would have been the case at Athens or in an Ionian city : he lays great stress upon the fact that the Word of the Lord was said to be spread abroad throughout all the *Region*, an expression which affords a test of accuracy, and adds a new fact about the Roman administration of Galatia, in which there were a number of distinct *Regiones* (or *χῶραι*) (pp. 104 and 124). So, too, in the next chapter, *Acts* xiv., when the Apostles flee from Iconium, we are told that they went

¹ Comp. also *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 63, 82, 86.

"into Lycaonia, especially to the part of it which is summed up as the cities, Lystra and Derbe, and the surrounding *Region*" (xiv. 6). Here again Professor Ramsay finds a remarkable proof of accuracy and date. The description is not only accurate, but it was so at no other time except between 39-72 A.D., and its only meaning here is to distinguish between the Roman or *Galatic* part of Lycaonia, and the non-Roman part ruled by Antiochus (pp. 110, 111). This reading of the passage is strengthened by the subsequent narrative, in which Paul is described as visiting only Lystra and Derbe, and if we ask why then are we told that he proceeded not only to them but to the *Region* in which they lie, the answer is to be found in Luke's habit of defining each new sphere of work according to the existing political division (p. 112). Of course all this, *e.g.*, the placing of St Paul's illness in Pamphylia on his first missionary journey, his *sanatorium* at the Pisidian Antioch, the reference of *Gal.* iv. 13 to this illness, the technical use of the word *χώρα*, and much that follows (see Chap. VI.), depends upon the acceptance of the South Galatian theory, which Professor Ramsay has so powerfully advocated elsewhere, and which has provoked so much discussion, especially in the pages of the *Expositor*. If we accept this theory, then we can understand how important was the change of plan which brought St Paul to the Pisidian Antioch (p. 92), how Professor Ramsay can speak of it as "the most critical step in the Apostle's history" (p. 140), removing him, as it did, from an outlying corner, and placing him on the main line of political development, at the outset of his work in Asia Minor" (pp. 139, 140). But the more we emphasise in such language the importance of this event, the more difficult appears the total silence of St Luke as to the providential illness which led to it.

Chapter VII. is devoted to the consideration of the Apostolic Council, and here again we come to an event, which brings Professor Ramsay into direct collision with the critics and commentators of widely different schools of thought. Space forbids us to enter in detail upon a very tempting subject, but there are two points which must be briefly considered: (1) the account of the Council in *Acts* xv., and its relation to *Gal.* ii.; (2) the conduct of St Peter in *Gal.* ii. 11-14. With regard to (1) not only have conservative critics like Lechler and Godet refused to regard the alleged differences between *Acts* xv. and *Gal.* ii. as irreconcilable, but scientific critics, as we may call them, like B. Weiss and Reuss,¹ and still more advanced critics like Lipsius. Nothing of course is proved by quoting the names of great critics,

¹ Compare amongst recent critics the remarks of Glöel (whose early death was the subject of so much regret) in his *Die jüngste Kritik des Galaterbriefes* 1890.

but the reasons which weighed with Reuss may commend themselves to others: the subject of the discussion in *Acts* xv. 5 and *Gal.* ii. 2 ff. is precisely the same, the reason for the decision in *Acts* xv. 12, corresponds with that mentioned in *Gal.* ii. 7 ff, whilst the proviso found in *Acts* xv. 21 unmistakably meets us again in the compact *Gal.* ii. 9.¹ With regard to (2), the strong language which Professor Ramsay uses (p. 164, 165) might almost frighten the boldest challenger of his position. But we may still venture to place against it Dr Hort's calm discussion of what he calls St Peter's plea of inopportuneness,² or Dr Sanday's estimate of the character of St Peter—at once powerfully impulsive, and timidly sensitive to the opinion of others—in which he finds the true explanation of the incident in *Gal.* ii. "A little more attention to this," he adds, "would have saved many doctrinaire objections to the narrative of the *Acts*, where the inconsistency, which is really one of character, is treated as if it stood in the way of the objective truth of the events."³

After the Council, and the start of St Paul on his second missionary journey, we come to what Professor Ramsay calls "in many respects the most remarkable paragraph in *Acts*, the first of the famous *We* sections—the call into Macedonia, and the coming of Luke (p. 198)." Luke enters into the drama of *Acts* at Troas; ⁴ the introduction of the first person must be intentional, and

¹ *Geschichte der H. S. des N. T.*, p. 60, 6th. edition.

² *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 78.

³ Bishop Ellicott's *New Testament Commentary* ii. 436, and comp. article "*Galatians*" by Dr Salmon in new edition of Smith's *Bible Dictionary*.

⁴ Space forbids any discussion of Codex Bezae, the internal character of which Dr Scrivener once described as an almost inexhaustible theme. But in *Acts* xi. 28, D introduces the reading "and when *we* were gathered together, one of them, by name Agabus, said" etc. To this reading Dr Salmon refers in the Appendix to the recent editions of his *Introduction*, and there is no doubt from his remarks (pp. 592 and 597) that his own opinion with regard to the value of Codex Bezae has undergone a great change. The reading in *Acts* xi. 28 he cites as showing that the Editor of D must have been a very remarkable person: instead of inserting a direct statement of Luke's connection with Antioch, he insinuates it quite in Luke's own manner by a "*We*." So too, with regard to the Apostolic Council, the reading of D in *Acts* xv. 5 affords in Dr Salmon's view an unexpected reconciliation of *Acts* and *Galatians*, in that the former represents the journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem as taken at the command of the church at Antioch, while Paul states that he went up "by revelation" (p. 511): "I find it impossible to believe," writes Dr Salmon, "that it is to a corrector or reviser that we are indebted for the light thrown by D on this question." These previous remarks prepare us for the conclusion on p. 601: "I find no solution so satisfactory as Blass's view, that the reviser was Luke himself." One other reading from D will help to show us what additional light, in Dr Salmon's view, the Codex may throw upon the date and authorship of *Acts*,

everyone recognises a distinct assertion that the author was present (p. 200, 201).

And here Professor Ramsay, in sympathy with Renan as to the Macedonian origin of Luke, advocates the bold suggestion that Luke himself was "the certain man of Macedonia," who appeared to Paul in a vision—that vision which no doubt explained the previous strange intimations of God's guidance—with the cry of entreaty, "Come over and help us" (p. 200 *ff.* and 209). But does anything in the narrative justify this identification? Professor Ramsay asks, Was Luke already a Christian, or had he come under the influence of Christianity through meeting Paul at Troas? The probability of previous intercourse between the two men has given rise to some very interesting conjectures—possibly they may have met, if Luke studied as a student in the medical school of the University (as we may call it) of Tarsus. But in the chapter before us (*Acts* xvi.) the succeeding words in v. 10 "assuredly gathering that the Lord had called *us* to preach the gospel unto them," lead to the natural inference that Luke too was a preacher of the gospel, and had already done the work of an Evangelist. Professor Ramsay, however, admits that the meeting with Luke may have been sought by Paul on the ground of the former's professional skill (p. 205), and in passing we may notice that he bears testimony to the soundness of the general argument contained in Dr Hobart's *Medical Language of St Luke*. Some years ago Dr B. Weiss spoke of the supposed traces of medical language in St Luke's writings as mere *Spielerei* (*Einleitung in das N.T.*, 2nd edit., p. 555), but in the recent edition of *St Luke* in Meyer's Commentary, we find his son Johann Weiss not only referring to Dr Hobart's book, but also quoting instances from it.

In Luke's narrative of the voyage from Troas to Philippi, Professor Ramsay marks again his true Greek feeling for the sea, in the difference between the scanty details in the land journeys, and the love which notes the voyage, the winds, the runs, the see Appendix, p. 600. See also his article on Blass's Commentary in the recent number of *Hermathena*, No. XXI., 234-242.

On the other hand, Professor Ramsay does not introduce the reading of D into his text in *Acts* xi. 28, and while he speaks of the Western Text as of priceless value, he regards it as really a second century commentary on *Acts*, which will undoubtedly afford much study, and some discoveries, in the future, but the most vivid additions to which are for the most part subsequent appendages to an already existing narrative. (*Paul the Traveller*, pp. 23-27, and a criticism on Professor Blass in *Expositor* 1895). In his recent review of Blass's work, Dr Holtzmann frankly admits that he has done much to break down the existing prejudice against the correct appreciation of D. This may undoubtedly be admitted, but for the present the caution of Dr Jülicher, (*Einleitung in das N. T.*, 271) may well be preserved.

appearances of the shores; and it is of interest to remember that Professor Ramsay, equally with James Smith of Jordanhill, holds that Luke was not a trained sailor, though he reported nautical matters with such accuracy (p. 206).

The vexed word, *πρώτη*, by which St Luke describes Philippi, is another indication of the historian's national training, and true Greek pride (p. 209). The rivalry between Amphipolis and Philippi for the title "First," is a situation familiar to every student of Greek history, and although, as Professor Ramsay points out, we are dependent upon this passage for the fact that Philippi had at this period claimed the title, yet the notice is in itself sufficient (p. 207). "The descriptive phrase is like a lightning flash amid the darkness of local history, revealing in startling clearness the whole situation to those whose eyes are trained to catch the character of Greek city history and city jealousies."¹ By his graphic sketch of the ventriloquist girl at Philippi, Professor Ramsay emphasises the fact that here, as at Ephesus, the opposition to Christianity came from the owners of the poor slave, who felt that their comfortable income was endangered, and who sought to revenge themselves upon the teachers who had done the mischief—a motive by no means rare in later outbursts of persecution (p. 217).

In the narrative which follows of the imprisonment of Paul and Silas, we owe our thanks to Professor Ramsay for a few simple explanations which throw light upon the whole scene. If we think, for example, of the doors of our own prisons, and of our handcuffed prisoners, we may feel puzzled at some of the incidents recorded. But the view of a Turkish prison would go a long way towards the removal of our difficulties (p. 221), and from his own observation of the great earthquakes of 1880 at Smyrna, and 1881 at Scio, Professor Ramsay had seen and noted their strangely capricious action. So, again, we might be tempted to ask, why the prisoners did not run away, when their fetters were loosed? The answer is that a semi-oriental mob would be panic-struck by an earthquake, and it was quite natural that the prisoners should make a dash for safety (p. 221)). In the subsequent scene with the prætors, Professor Ramsay makes a point of interest in remarking that the word *ἀκατακρίτους* "uncondemned," is misleading, if not incorrect. It seems to suggest that after fair trial the prætors might have condemned Paul to be flogged, but this was a punishment which they could not have inflicted upon a Roman citizen in

¹ The word *πρώτη*, even if we do not accept Professor Ramsay's explanation, cannot at all events be alleged as a proof of St Luke's inaccuracy, as hostile critics have sometimes argued, for the Greek may simply mean that it was the first city to which they came in their journey.

any case (p. 224), and the phrase which Luke thus translates shows to us his inability as a Greek "to sympathise with the delicacies of Roman usage"—it was probably *re incognita*, 'without investigating our case.'

At Thessalonica the work of the Apostle seems to have extended beyond the synagogue, and to have reached to the general population of the city. It is another indication of accuracy that the notice of the noble ladies, who were gathered to Paul and Silas, is quite in accordance with what we know of the position of women in Macedonia, and in Asia Minor, as compared with Athens, a prominence assigned to them by St Luke in the three Macedonian cities (pp. 227-229). Professor Ramsay rightly emphasises the danger and subtilty of the charge against Paul at Thessalonica (and beyond all doubt at Berea), in the assertion "that there is another emperor, one Jesus." In the face of such a charge, the politarchs were bound to take action, as nothing was more ruinous than even the suggestion of treason (p. 230). But the steps taken were the mildest that could have been taken in consideration of the circumstances.

In the picture drawn in chap. xi., Professor Ramsay makes us feel that if, as has been maintained, St Paul was insensible to the beauties of natural scenery, he was keenly alive to the "sights" and the culture of Athens, where he was the student of a great university, visiting an older but yet a kindred university (p. 238). But this interest was soon overpowered by indignation, as he beheld the city full of idols. This feeling prompted him not only to reason with the Jews, or any chance-comers in the market-place, but with certain also of the Stoics and Epicureans. Of these philosophers it is said that they "took hold of Paul," in which expression Professor Ramsay finds a stronger feeling than that of contempt and curiosity: it denotes here (as most frequently in *Acts*) hostile action, and the apostle is brought before the Council of Areopagus, by men full of dislike and malice, to give an account of his teaching and to undergo a test as to its character (p. 245-247).

Professor Ramsay argues that ὁ Ἀρειος πάγος is frequently used for the Court or Council of Areopagus, and that the meaning of *Acts* xvii. 19 is that the apostle stood forth in the midst of the Court before which he had been brought. The phrase, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρειον πάγον, is fairly translated in this way, as ἐπὶ is used in four passages in *Acts*, of bringing a person before a judge or a tribunal, and in fact ἐπὶ is the regular Lucan word in this sense.¹ Moreover, though the Council of Areopagus derived its name from Mars Hill, it did not necessarily and always meet on the Hill:

¹ *Expositor*, September 1895.

"Demosthenes is our authority that, in certain departments of its duty, it met in the King's Stoa (στοὰ βασιλῆος) a large hall on the Agora. . . . No one that has any conception of what practical work means could believe that the general business of the Council was ever conducted on the exposed and confined top of the Hill. Even in cases of murder, it was doubtless only the concluding stages of the trial that took place on the sacred Hill-top."¹ In the expression thus explained by Professor Ramsay, we may therefore see another instance of the way in which Luke catches the very word employed in educated conversation (p. 261).

But if this explanation is adopted, and in favour of it Professor Ramsay makes out a strong case against Dr Blass, St Paul's address was not delivered to a malevolent band of philosophers only, but also to the general audience of the Athenian people (*Acts* xvii. 21), the *corona* which made it applause or disapproval felt not only in the theatres but even in the law-courts (p. 248). And it is evident that the apostle forgets neither section of his audience. We may venture to think that Professor Ramsay hardly attaches enough weight to the philosophical side of the address, although he acknowledges the Stoic ring in verse 22 *ff.* (p. 252). But he carefully emphasises the suggestive and important fact that both at Lystra and at Athens there is nothing overtly Christian in St Paul's words (with the exception of the truth to which the whole address before the Areopagus led up, verse 31), and that this is certainly not accidental: the author of *Acts* must have been conscious of it, and it is a strong proof of the genuineness of the speeches; no one would invent a speech for Paul which was not markedly Christian (see p. 150).

Nothing more strongly indicates the disappointment of Paul at the result of his first and only visit to Athens than the opening chapters of 1 *Corinthians*, and his determination "not to know anything save Jesus Christ and Him crucified"; and Professor Ramsay makes another interesting conjecture in suggesting that *Acts* xviii. 5 points to Luke's observation of this change and simplicity in the Apostle's preaching. Silas and Timothy find him wholly possessed by and engrossed in the Word (*συνείχετο τῷ λόγῳ*)²—a strong expression, unlike anything else in the book (p. 252). In the account of St Paul at Corinth, the action of the imperial government in protecting him from the Jews, and declaring freedom in religious matters, made his residence an epoch in his life, and gave fresh clearness to the aim that Christianity should be spread throughout the civilised, *i.e.*, the Roman world (pp. 260 and 307).

R. J. KNOWLING.

¹ *Expositor*, October 1895.

² Dr Blass, however, seems to find in the uniqueness of the phrase a ground for the acceptance of another reading, *Acta Apostolorum*, p. 196.

Orpheus.

Untersuchungen zur griechischen, römischen, altchristlichen Jenseitsdichtung und Religion. Von Ernst Maass, ord. Prof. der classischen Philologie in Marburg. München: Beck, 1895. Large 8vo, pp. vii. 334. Price, 8s.

THIS is the latest representative of a series of *brochures* (two of them, Dieterich's *Nekyia* and Anrich's *Das antike Mysterienwesen*, have already been noticed in this review) which, following a kind of fashion during recent years, have sought to probe into that Orphic "theology" and Orphic "life" which supplied the spirit and nerve to the last dying struggle of Paganism against Christianity in the second and third centuries. *Orpheus*, however, is rather a misleading title for a work that is neither continuous nor complete. So far as the various sections have a concentrated aim, it is to prove that Orphism is originally Hellenic. But the book is not, as the title *Orpheus* might suggest, a systematic investigation into the Orphic religion either in its origin or in its subsequent conditions, but rather a series of more or less detached contributions to its history, largely based upon data taken from those later times when, in the general opinion, the bulk of existing Orphic literature had been forged by Alexandrian philosophers and Christian grammarians, and when, consequently, it is often hard to disentangle the earlier nucleus from the later accretions. Root problems, such as those of the relations of Onomacritus (6th cent. B.C.) to "Orpheus" and "Musæus," his literary honesty, or dishonesty in the service of his religion, the date and origin of the rhapsodist "Theogony" (on which Lobeck and Zeller held different views), and other questions germane to the title assumed, are left in the main untouched. At the same time it must be said that what the author has been content to do displays great learning and considerable ingenuity, though his method is not always convincing, nor are his results by any means invariably unassailable.

He commences with a chapter on *Athens and the Orphic Religion*, arguing that in the spiritual stir preparing the way for Christianity and pervading the early Christian centuries, Athens, with Greece generally (except the city of Corinth, the metropolis of Greece by natural situation and Roman influence, but of all Greek cities the least Greek), had remained conservative, seeking satisfaction, not in a congeries of new cults from abroad, but in harking back to the cults that were ancient and national. "The wild license of international god-mixing had no footing in Athens" (p. 8). Yet the State care for the worship and festivals of the gods had

decayed with the diminution of population and the growth of poverty, as Athens descended from her first rank as a city and as an emporium, to be a provincial town of moderate consequence, living upon students and strangers. Yet she was fain still to claim the primacy in clinging to the old faith, and so upon rich individual citizens, when available, fell the duty of supplementing the deficiencies of State devotion. Among these was Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, better known as Herodes Atticus to those who have wandered about the Odeum below the Acropolis. Herr Maass, with good reason, fixes upon him as the Claudius Herodes of a second century inscription recently discovered at Athens in a sacred precinct of Dionysus "of the wine-press," where, among signs of the later date, are found also remains of the sixth century B.C. This precinct seems to have been abandoned by the State, perhaps after desecration during Sulla's invasion (first century B.C.), and to have been taken over by the devotees of the Iobacchic cult, of which cult Herodes Atticus now appears in the inscription as the incoming priest and reorganiser. But the author views this inscription, with its ceremonial regulations, not merely as a monument of the religion of its time, but as an index to a much older period, when the cult now represented by the Iobacchic society was a general cult provided for by the State. The private cult of this society the author dates at least as far back as those private cults which overran Greece before the Sullan period, and makes it akin to the *θίασοι*, or "brotherhoods," which can be traced to the fifth century B.C., and which, in opposition to the extreme view of Foucart, Herr Maass associates with Greek, and not with foreign deities alone. He further argues that the Iobacchic cult, as exhibited in the inscription, included in its circle of deities the triad, Dionysus, Corè, Orpheus, and that this was also the triad of the Lesser Mysteries—the mysteries of Agræ beyond the Ilissus—which, having been originally celebrated separately by Athens, became connected with the Eleusinian Mysteries when Athens had subjugated Eleusis. Thus it will be seen that the author is not content with the view that Orphic elements had intruded themselves into the State cults, but asserts that Orphism was itself a recognised State cult, Orpheus being anciently and organically connected with Corè (Persephone) and with Dionysus (whose *Vorgänger* he was), and Dionysus and Orpheus being, according to Herr Maass, not originally Thracian, but originally Hellenic divinities. For the detailed arguments by which (in some cases successfully) the author supports these and minor conclusions, we must refer our readers to the book itself. Suffice it to say here that some of the links are weak. For the presence of Orpheus as a deity in the Iobacchic cult he has to rely

in the main upon two titles of very doubtful signification in the list of persons among whom the offerings were to be divided, *βουκολικός* and *πρωτεύρυνθος*. The former he defines as the priest of Orpheus, who was the *βουκόλος* or shepherd of his community, and the latter he translates as "the master of song, music, and the dance"; and who can this be but Orpheus himself? In both interpretations he is at variance with Dörpfeld. For the organic connection of Orpheus with the Lesser Mysteries he refers to the *Rhesus* of Euripides (or pseudo-Euripides) and to Plato. But he seems not to distinguish sufficiently between mysteries celebrated *in* the State and mysteries recognised and celebrated *by* the State, or to allow sufficient weight to Plato's "bitter mockery" of the Orphic literature possessed and the Orphic purificatory ceremonies promoted by quacks and sooth-sayers of his time, who went about among the rich from door to door professing to have power from heaven to expiate any crime by sacrifices and incantations—a bitter mockery hardly possible for Plato if Orphism had been a recognised State cult and Athens had solemnly celebrated the Orphic mysteries. The ancillary evidence, which he adduces from Apollonius of Tyana (first century A.D.), Clemens Alexandrinus (second century), Himerius (fourth century), and Nonnos (fifth or sixth century), is of too late a date to be effective.

The part of the book immediately following this is practically a structure based upon it. The second chapter supports the theory that Orpheus was a Greek god, but evidence drawn from the genealogies of Attic demes does not seriously shake the tradition of his Thracian origin sanctioned by Æschylus. The other chapters are full of Orphic material from the Orphic Book of Hymns, from the Descent of Vibia to Hades—in which Herr Maass decides that there is no Christian element—and from the Apocalypses—pagan, Jewish, and Christian—with special reference, of course, to the Apocalypse of Peter, in which the presence of Orphic elements, in phraseology at any rate, is generally admitted. In these sections the criticism is often delicate and the treatment suggestive. An excellent index closes the book and adds materially to its handiness and value.

J. MASSIE.

Notices.

In two noble volumes, splendidly printed and presented in a form in every way worthy of the Clarendon Press, Mr Gladstone issues his edition of the *Works of Joseph Butler, D.C.L., sometime Bishop of Durham*.¹ These volumes are to be followed by another,

¹ Oxford: Clarendon Press. Demy 8vo, pp. xxxvii. 461, 464. Price 28s.

in which Mr Gladstone is expected to give, in a series of *Essays*, his mature estimate of Butler, and his judgment on things in the *Analogy* and *Sermons* which had to be omitted or but briefly handled in the present work. These *Essays* will be eagerly looked for. But meantime it is much to get this superb edition, which at once throws all others into the shade. Bishop Fitzgerald, indeed, in what he did for the *Analogy*, made some approach to what an edition of Butler should be. But, on the whole, the works of the great Bishop have been somewhat poorly dealt with in this respect, and it is all the more welcome to get now, at last, one that far surpasses any hitherto attempted. The points in which it is easily superior to all others meet the eye at once. In the first place it is the only complete edition. The first volume contains, together with the *Analogy*, the two dissertations "Of Personal Identity" and "Of the Nature of Virtue," and the correspondence with Clarke. The second volume contains, in addition to the *Sermons*, Documents extracted from "Some Remains (hitherto unpublished) of Joseph Butler, LL.D., sometime Lord Bishop of Durham"; two Letters from Butler to the Duke of Newcastle; a conversation between Butler and Wesley; a letter from Whitefield to Butler; a letter to a lady on Church Property; a sermon published for the first time by Bartlet and regarded as probably genuine. It is also the only edition that can claim to have given sufficient attention to the text. In particular the text of the *Analogy* has been revised with the help of the corrections and collations furnished by Fitzgerald. The usefulness of the edition is increased by the preparation of sectional divisions and headings, abundant indices, and occasional notes. These latter, however, are neither lengthy nor frequent, but limited to such as are most needful for elucidation or most apposite for illustration. Mr Gladstone proceeds upon the just principle that the editor should come in as little as possible between the author and the reader. He has, therefore, restrained himself in the matter of annotation. Yet the remarks which he does allow himself are of much interest, sometimes as expressing his views on philosophical questions, sometimes as indicating his estimate of the permanent value of Butler's work, sometimes for other reasons. An enormous amount of labour has been spent on these volumes. Much of it is not of the kind that catches the common eye. But it has been a labour of love, and it has been well spent. We have travelled far, it is true, since Butler wrote; the questions which we have to face are very different from those which pressed on him and his time; and the answer which was adequate to Deistic thought is not so applicable to the problems of our century. But there is an element in Butler's work that will survive. There are principles in it

which will give it a classical value, and the veteran statesman has the satisfaction of having provided the classical edition.

Few men belonging to any of the branches of the Scottish Church of our day have had the place in public esteem which was spontaneously given to Dr John Cairns.¹ Few men have thought less of distinction, or have been more desirous of doing the work to which God has called them, in quietness and simplicity. The honours which fell to him were wholly unsought by him, and often declined. But the man was too great to escape public notice and recognition. His gifts were too large, his acquisitions too extensive, his character too strong in its rare unconsciousness and disregard of self, to make it possible for him to avoid exercising a wide public influence. The story of his life deserved to be told, and the task of telling it could not have been committed to better hands than those of Dr Alexander MacEwen. The book is a large one. One's first impression is that it is too large for its subject, and its materials. But that is an impression which soon fades as one reads. There is not much we could well part with. The Letters are numerous, but not too many for their purpose. They show us what the man was on different sides of his character, his interests, and his actions. They give us an insight, which is worth having, into the workings of his mind, his immense conscientiousness, the enormous pains he took in making up his mind on any public question, the tenderness of his feelings, the depth of his family affections, his profound and robust piety, his scrupulous fairness, his consideration for the positions and views of those opposed to him, his readiness to prefer others to himself, his modesty, his rugged strength of purpose. All this and much else give us the picture of one of those lives which enrich a people, and we should not like to miss any of the things that go to make that picture.

The book more than justifies the popular impression of Dr Cairns's intellectual powers. His faculty for philosophical inquiry is well known to have been large. It might have led him to high academic position and to a great name among thinkers, had not his sense of duty to his Church and congregation concentrated his energies elsewhere. His gift for the acquisition of languages, too, was understood to be exceptional. But this volume gives us a new idea of his devotion to linguistic studies, and his facility in mastering different tongues. There is much else of interest in the *Life*—records of his intercourse with eminent men: memorials of a conversation with Wordsworth, glimpses of recent ecclesiastical

¹ *Life and Letters of John Cairns, D.D., LL.D.* By Alexander MacEwen, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Second edition, 8vo, pp. xv., 799. Price, 14s.

movements in Scotland, of doctrinal controversies, of the currents of theological thought in Germany and elsewhere. The book, in short, takes hold of the reader, and retains his attention. Dr MacEwen has done a good bit of work, and he has done it in excellent taste and style, never obtruding himself.

Messrs Maclear and Williams have written *An Introduction to the Articles of the Church of England*.¹ The volume has been in preparation for some time, and is published as one of Messrs Macmillan's *Theological Manuals*. The authors give first a statement of the origin and history of the Articles. This is brief, occupying only 22 pages. While sufficiently good so far as it goes, it would not have suffered by extension. The Articles are then taken up in five groups, and the doctrinal sense of each clause is expounded, references to Scripture and frequent quotations from theological and historical literature being furnished in foot-notes. There is also an Appendix, dealing with the Lambeth Articles and furnishing Chronological Tables and good Indices. The plan of the work is expository, and the controversial element appears but little. The authors disavow any thought of competing with works like those of Bishops Burnet, Beveridge, Browne, and Forbes. Their object is a more limited one, and they aim specially at "clearness and distinctness of statement." In this they have succeeded well, and the book will meet the needs of a considerable class of English readers.

The Principal of Ely Theological College publishes a Series of Addresses on the *Decalogue*, originally delivered to students preparing for Ordination. They are sensible, unambitious, devotional expositions of the Commandments.²

Professor W. H. Bennett contributes a volume on *The Theology of the Old Testament*,³ to the *Theological Educator* Series. Only those who have attempted the task can understand what it means to comprise within the limits of so small a volume a digest of the numerous, diverse, and intricate questions belonging to a scientific statement of the great ideas of the Old Testament. Professor Bennett has succeeded in providing a remarkably distinct, full, and informing summary of these questions. He divides his matter into two unequal parts—*Jehovah and Israel*, and *God and the Universe*. The former necessarily occupies almost the whole volume.

¹ By the Rev. G. F. Maclear, D.D., Warden of St Augustine's College, Canterbury, etc., and the Rev. W. W. Williams, M.A., formerly Vice-Principal of the Missionary College, Dorchester, etc. London: Macmillan & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. xii. 447. Price, 10s. 6d.

² *The Law of Sinai*. By B. W. Randolph, M.A. London: Longmans. Small 8vo, pp. viii. 194. Price, 3s. 6d.

³ London: Hodder & Stoughton. Fcap. 8vo, pp. xvii. 218. Price, 2s. 6d.

For the latter, a few pages are all that can be given. A sketch of the history of Israel, which helps the appreciation of the ideas, very properly precedes the Exposition of the Theology. Then follow chapters on the *Ideal Israel*, *Jehovah as the God of Israel*, *Israel as the People of Jehovah*, and *Jehovah and the Israelites*. Under each of these heads the main particulars of the subject receive careful, scholarly treatment. The author's self-restraint and disciplined judgment are seen in his statements on such topics as the Doctrine of Sacrifice, the Messianic Idea, the Conception of the Future Life. The volume is a worthy companion to Professor Adeney's *Theology of the New Testament*. It has the best qualities of a Text-book.

Several additions, each with its own special features, have recently been made to the excellent series of *Books for Bible Students*, edited by the Rev. Arthur E. Gregory. One of these is a study of the Revelation of St John, described as the *Divine Parable of History*, by H. Arthur Smith, M.A., of the Middle Temple.¹ Mr Smith, who passes a cordial encomium on the fairness and acuteness of Dionysius of Alexandria in his discussion of the question of authorship, sees no reason to doubt the ancient and continuous opinion of the Church, "which identifies the revealing seer with the disciple whom Jesus loved." He accepts the view which takes the book to have been written shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem, within or soon after Nero's reign. On this basis, and following Tyconius, Augustine, Alford, and other advocates of the "resumptive theory," he expounds the Apocalypse as a book which tells us how, in a time when the Church had need of the Divine help as she never had before, the Divine intervention came and the Divine encouragement was given. The volume reads well. It is written with taste and without pretence. It should "encourage perusal afresh," as the author hopes it may do, "of words so pregnant with instruction and consolation."

Another contribution is made to the same series by Thomas G. Selby on *The Ministry of the Lord Jesus*.² It is in the main a treatise on our Lord's teaching, and it is one with a distinct value of its own. In style it is all that Mr Selby's former writings have led us to expect from his expert and cultured pen. In matter it follows a selective method which omits some things usually included, and adds others usually passed by or less definitely dealt with. It gives a representation of our Lord's teaching, which does not aim at anything like completeness, but fixes on certain of its prominent lines, and brings these close to understanding and to life. This representation is given, moreover, not in the form of a systematic

¹ London: C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 256. Price, 2s. 6d.

² London: C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 315. Price, 2s. 6d.

exposition of the topics, but rather in that of popular addresses such as belong to the highest work of the pulpit. In this way we have chapters on Christ's *Counsels against Worldly Care*, His *View of the Scriptures*, His *Ideal of Prayer*, His teaching about His own *Death*, and about *Heaven*, His *View of Retribution*, and the like. Along with these we have statements on such subjects as the *Springs of Authority*, the *Racial Limitations of the Ministry*, the *Sensitiveness of the Teacher to His Environment*, and these are all fresh and full of interest. Among many excellent things in Mr Selby's volume there is nothing better than his wise and weighty words on our Lord's interpretation of His own death, and on the place given in His teaching to the doctrine of final retribution.

The third addition to the same series is a study of *The Books of the Prophets in their Historical Succession*,¹ by Professor G. G. Findlay, of Headingley College. Professor Findlay has made some important contributions to New Testament subjects, and his volume on *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle* has deservedly won wide and appreciative acceptance. He now enters the field of Old Testament scholarship, and this new effort of his careful pen certainly shows him to be well entitled to do so. The present volume is the first of a series of three, which are intended to cover the whole field. It covers the period closing with the Fall of Samaria. The second volume will carry the exposition on to the Chaldean Exile, including Isaiah i.-xxxix. and Jeremiah. The third volume will take us on to the cessation of Prophecy, and will embrace Ezekiel, the second half of Isaiah, and the Post-Exilian writers. The object of the whole is to furnish English readers with a "continuous historical introduction" to the Prophetic writings. Something has been done in this way already by Professor Kirkpatrick, Dr A. Duff, and especially Mr Buchanan Blake, with which last Professor Findlay agrees in the main in the matter of the chronological arrangement of the books. But there is much for the Church to do yet in the exercise of her right and duty to "examine and rectify her Biblical traditions," and there is ample room for further studies such as Professor Findlay here makes. For, as he justly remarks, "for some time to come it will be the work of Criticism—the higher (literary) and the lower (textual) Criticism—by the aid of the fresh tools that God has put into the Church's hand, and under the impulse and guidance of the wonderful light that His providence is now shedding upon the ancient world, to remove the obstacles which a faulty tradition has set in that way, to illuminate its dark places and recover the lost thread of its broken and disjointed passages." What Professor Findlay has done in this first instalment of his contemplated work is to give the introductory

¹ London : C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 297. Price, 2s. 6d.

information which is most needed on the idea and vocation of the Old Testament prophet, his names and titles, and the form and contents of his writings; and then to give an orderly exposition of the prophetic succession in the Pre-Assyrian, Assyrian-Israelite, and Assyrian-Judean ages respectively. The prophecies dealt with, therefore, are those of Obadiah, Joel, Isaiah xv. xvi., Amos, Hosea, the earlier Zechariah, and Micah. All are presented in their historical situations, and the book closes appropriately with a statement of the doctrine of the earlier prophets. In undertaking this series of studies, Professor Findlay looks to the fact that "the traditional setting of the Old Testament, received by the Church from the Synagogue, is undergoing a revision—a recasting indeed—which to observant minds has long seemed inevitable." He speaks wisely of the "very serious issues" depending on "the temper in which the pending revision, and the debates that it involves, are carried on." Books like this, small as they may be, should do something to prevent the disastrous possibility of a confessed breach between historical science and Christian faith.

In 1887 Mr G. J. Spurrell, Hebrew Lecturer at Wadham College, Oxford, published a volume on the *Text of Genesis*,¹ which was at once recognised as a great help to students and teachers, and a welcome example of the best and soundest type of English scholarship. It has been largely used and much appreciated during these years, and it now appears in a second edition, revised and corrected. It is a larger book by some forty pages. Much attention is given to matters of geography, all questions of site and the like being brought up to date. The best use is made of the most recent additions to our knowledge of Hebrew grammar. Many of the Notes are recast, and many new ones are added. Above all an *Introduction* is given, which provides a remarkably succinct and helpful *vidimus* of the history and particulars of Criticism, the theories of the different documents, analyses of the grammar and vocabulary of these documents, and a statement of the way in which *Genesis* may have been compiled out of J, E, and P. There is also an elaborate appendix on the names of God. Able, learned, and useful as the book was in its first form, it is made much more so now. No pains have been spared by the author to bring it up to the ripest scholarship of the day. Nor has anything been wanting on the part of the Clarendon Press to present it in the best form.

The son has judged rightly of what is worthy of the father's memory in publishing *The Epistle of James and Other Discourses*,²

¹ Notes on the Book of Genesis. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Cr. 8vo, pp. lxi. 416. Price, 12s 6d.

² London, Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pt. ix. 315. Price, 6s.

by the late Dr R. W. Dale of Birmingham. Some of the discourses which make up this volume have already appeared in the *British Weekly*, but they are welcome also as part of this book. The first and smaller section of the volume contains a series of ten lectures on the Epistle. The second and larger section is occupied with a series of ten sermons on various topics—the *Two Gospels*, the *Parable of the Prodigal* and the *Doctrine of the Atonement*, *Perfect Salvation*, *Personal Responsibility*, and others. All are marked by the strong sense, logical statement, and robust style of the late lamented author. These qualities are not less conspicuous in the expositions of the great passages of the Epistle of James than in the select sermons. It would be difficult indeed to point to any section of the New Testament more congenial to the strong, reasonable, practical genius of Dr Dale, than this Epistle, and in dealing with it for pulpit purposes, the great preacher must have been often at his best. The volume is an acceptable addition to others left us by Dr Dale.

The second volume of the English translation of Weizsäcker's stimulating work on *The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church*¹ embraces Books IV. and V. of the original, those dealing with the *Farther Development* and with the *Church*. The translation is by the Rev. James Millar, B.D.; it is both correct and in good style. The volume itself is full of interest, and as is the case with all the author's writings, rich in suggestion. Two chapters are devoted to Jerusalem, in connection with which we get Professor Weizsäcker's views of James and the Christ-Party, Ebionitism, the Epistle of James, the Discourses in Matthew and Luke, and the Narratives. The announcements of judgments in Matthew xxiv., are referred to about the year A.D. 66, before the flight to Pella. Different historical strata are distinguished in the Synoptists. The records of incidents like the feeding of the multitude and the Transfiguration are assigned to the later tradition, and are dealt with as narratives so far created by the faith in Jesus. Two chapters are next given to Rome, Paul, and the Roman Church, Peter and Clement's Epistle coming under review in this section. Then four chapters of very great interest are occupied with Ephesus, in which we get a careful discussion of the Johannine tradition, and a penetrating analysis of the Apocalypse, the Fourth Gospel, and allied compositions. The fifth book is taken up mostly by a minute examination of the questions relating to the meetings of the congregation, ecclesiastical order, the celebration of the sacraments, liturgical forms, and the development of the constitution of the Church. In connection with this, the origin and nature of the offices of presbyter, bishop, and teacher are investigated. The

¹ London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 425. Price 10s. 6d.

concluding chapter deals with the ethics under three divisions—Jewish Christianity, Paul and Gentile Christianity, and Later Growths. The work, it needs scarce be said, has attained a great reputation for the acuteness of its discussions, the fertility of its ideas, and the novel setting it gives to many things. It has not a few doubtful and assailable positions, especially in its criticism of the New Testament writings, as in the case of Acts and the Fourth Gospel. But at many points it makes allowances which would have been strange to Baur, and it gives a picture of the Apostolic Age in its unity and variety, of the apostolic literature, and of the apostolic men, which the student of Primitive Christianity, whether on the literary side or on the ecclesiastical, cannot afford to disregard.

Professor George B. Stevens of Yale University, who has written well on the *Pauline Theology* and the *Johannine Theology*, publishes a volume of a different kind under the title of *Doctrine and Life*.¹ It contains a series of studies of "the principal truths of the Christian religion in their relation to Christian experience." It opens with a chapter in which the primary question is dealt with—"What is the relation of doctrine to life; of theology to religion?" The various replies given to this question by Roman Catholics and different orders of Protestants are succinctly stated, and the underlying unity is exhibited. Then follow essays on the soul as "naturally Christian"; Belief in God, Revelation and the Bible, the Trinity, the Person of Christ, Sin, Atonement, the Future Life, and other fundamental Christian doctrines. Each of these truths is considered in the light of the attestation which it finds in Christian experience, in its adaptation to the needs of the soul and its use in the Christian life. The idea of the book is well conceived, and it is ably carried out. The statements made on these great subjects are reverently thought out, and cannot fail to profit and instruct.

The projectors of the *Theological Translation Fund* judged rightly when they decided on including Hausrath's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* in their series. The first instalment of the undertaking was given so far back as 1878, and the second in 1880. So far only the first portion of Hausrath's work—that on *The Time of Jesus*—was finished. At last, however, we have now the whole treatise in English, the *Theological Translation Library* having continued and completed the task begun by the *Theological Translation Fund*. In four handsome volumes we have Hausrath's presentation of *The Time of the Apostles*.² The translation, which reads

¹ New York: Silver, Burdett & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 247.

² London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 4 vols. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 215; viii. 240; viii. 276; viii. 295. Price 10s. 6d. each vol.

well, is by Mr Leonard Huxley. The whole work is introduced by a Preface from the pen of Mrs Humphry Ward, of which all that need be said is that it has all the attractiveness of her easy and pleasant style, and something of her rapid and precarious fashion of disposing of critical and historical questions.

In providing this good rendering of Hausrath's volumes, Messrs Williams & Norgate have done a great service to the English reader. For Hausrath's work has the double interest of being a fresh contribution to the subjects of which it treats, and at the same time a piece of admirable writing. It has the note of style which is so lacking in the German theologians, and it has the rare quality of artistic skill in its construction. It holds a place of its own, too, among books of its order. It follows its own plan and concentrates its strength on parts of the field of enquiry, which are less attended to in other treatises of the kind. Among other things, Professor Hausrath's review of the condition of religious life in the Roman Empire—the stages in the development of Polytheism, the mysteries and the cults, is particularly vivid and instructive. The account given of the religious mission of the Jewish Dispersion is not less luminous. But the best things probably are to be found in the chapters which deal with Paul's history, ministry, and influence. In these chapters we have the fruits of independent and protracted studies, which Professor Hausrath also embodied in his well-known and valuable treatise *Der Apostel Paulus*. In his *Time of the Apostles* we find some modifications of his former positions. Less is made, for instance, of the direct testimony of the Fourth Gospel. But, generally speaking, he adheres to the opinions expressed elsewhere,—the vision-hypothesis, the identification of the appearance to the five hundred brethren with the event reported as the descent of the Spirit in the second chapter of Acts, the theory of the inclusion of two letters in Second Corinthians, and others. But the work is a brilliant study from which much is to be learned.

We are glad to see the issue of another section of the *International Critical Commentary*, which has made so admirable a start with Professor Driver's *Deuteronomy*, Professor Sanday and Mr Headlam's *Romans*, and Professor Moore's *Judges*. The new volume is *The Gospel according to St Mark*,¹ by Professor Ezra P. Gould, of the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia. We can say of it at present only that, while it follows the general plan of exposition adopted in the former volumes of the series, it makes a special study of the Second Gospel in the light of the prevailing critical theory of the inter-

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. vi. 317. Price 10s. 6d.

dependence of the Synoptists and the priority of Mark. This is what gives it a distinct character and a special place among commentaries on this Gospel.

The Rev. Henry Veale, B.A., of University College, Durham, has prepared, "at the advanced age of seventy-nine," as he explains in a few modest words in the Advertisement, a painstaking edition of *The Devotions of Bishop Andrewes* in the Greek and Latin Texts.¹ This edition is constructed on the basis of that of 1828, but with a careful collation of other editions, including the original of 1675. It is furnished with very complete indices, new head-lines, a glossary of selected words, a very useful arrangement into sectional paragraphs, and a series of references and notes which add to its value. There is also an Introduction which deals, among other things, with the theological opinions of Andrewes. Here the editor gives good proof of the Bishop's belief in the great doctrines of grace, and also investigates the question of his views and practice on the subject of intercession for the dead. He rebuts the charge that has been made against Wright, the bishop's amanuensis, of suppressing in his MS. the prayers for the departed, and further contends that there is no sufficient evidence to shew that Andrewes either favoured or offered such prayers. The editor himself expresses his own strong conviction that "the doctrinal truths of the Gospel of Christ can find no place for such a practice." There are other things of interest in the Introduction and Notes. But it is enough to say that the primary purpose which Mr Venables has had in view is to make these Devotions "more accessible and more popular," and that this purpose should be made good by his edition.

The handsome volume entitled *Thoughts and Aspirations of the Ages*,² consists of a large and impressive collection of choice passages, both in prose and in poetry, from the religious writings of the world. It is a book of the kind published by Mr Moncreu Conway some twenty years ago under the title of *A Book of Ethnical Scriptures*, and it is issued at the instance of the South Place Ethical Society, London. It is on a larger scale, however, than Mr Conway's work, and does not limit itself to extracts taken from Oriental literature. Beginning with passages representing the wisdom and the exalted sentiment of Egypt, China, India, Persia, Greece, and Rome, it next lays Judaism, Primitive Christianity, Islam, Sufism, Medieval Christianity, and most of the branches of the Modern Church under contribution. It concludes with representations of the best thought of Positivism, Sikhism, the

¹ London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 431. Price 8s. 6d.

² Edited by William Chatterton Coupland, D.Sc., M.A. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. xiv. 715. Price 10s. 6d.

Brahma-Somaj, Babiism, and with a number of miscellaneous and unclassified excerpts. It would be an improvement to have the names of the writers and writings given with the passages themselves, instead of in a separate general list. The work is done with good sense and in a catholic spirit. It makes a valuable addition to the *Half-guinea International Library*.

Bishop Ellicott issues a second series of his *Foundations of Sacred Study*.¹ The subjects dealt with in the seven addresses which make up the volume are well chosen for their timeliness and importance; and they are expounded with the Bishop's usual fulness of information, precision, and practical purpose. Three of the addresses are given to the principles of Christian Ethics, their application and their development. These are the best. The prescribed limits preclude anything beyond a general statement; but that is given in an admirably clear, telling, and informing manner. Two addresses on Biblical History and Archæology follow, which summarise the main results of recent discoveries and their bearings on the verification and elucidation of Scripture. The volume closes with a statement on Church History, especially on Early Church History, with the view of awakening the interest of clerical brethren in a subject which Bishop Ellicott believes suffers from neglect with many, and of furnishing some guidance in its study. There is at times an unreasonable fear of the ways of criticism. These addresses, however, should be of much use to those for whom they were specially prepared.

A scholarly addition is made to the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges* by the Rev. A. E. Humphreys in his Commentary on *The Epistles to Timothy and Titus*.² The question of the Pauline authorship of these Epistles is dealt with at considerable length. The main objections taken from the kind of ecclesiastical organisation which appears to be implied in the Pastorals, the peculiarities of style, the difficulty of harmonising the historical references with the account we get elsewhere of Paul's career, and the supposed indications of a too developed type of heresy, are stated very fairly and are carefully weighed. The strength of the external evidence furnished by the witness of the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, the versions, the churches, the historian Eusebius, and the councils is forcibly brought out. Much space is given to the consideration of the Internal Evidence, in connection with which we may specially refer to the judicious statement of the relation of these Epistles to the whole question of Early Church order. This is done in the form of a review of the four great epochs in the history of the organisation and teaching of the Christian Church, which

¹ London : S. P. C. K. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 228. Price 2s. 6d.

² Cambridge : University Press. Extra fcap. 8vo, pp. vi. 271. Price 3s.

are marked by the dates A.D. 33, 66, 99, 133. All this is particularly well handled. The conclusion reached is that the Pastoral Epistles are by Paul, and that the weight of the scholarship of the present day is really on this side. The exegesis of the Epistles is exact without going into superfluous niceties. The book will take a good place in the able series to which it belongs.

Emeritus-Professor W. P. Dickson of the University of Glasgow, so well known by his Mommsen, his edition of Meyer, his Baird Lectures on *St Paul's use of the Terms Flesh and Spirit*, and other publications, sends a pamphlet on the volume, *The Saviour in the New Light*,¹ which was reviewed in the January number of this Journal. Mr Robinson's book is subjected to a minute, critical analysis, which leaves none of its statements unnoticed. Its faults in scholarship, in taste, in judgment, are brought into the light with a faithful, though not unkind, hand. Dr Dickson's conclusion is that the author "sits loose from the recognised principles and rules of exegesis," and that his "attempted construction consists not of a series of objective statements of historical fact ascertained from testimony, but of a congeries of subjective judgments on his own part, couched in various forms . . . and entitling the performance . . . to rank among the curiosities of literature."

Messrs Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier have projected a new series of brief, moderately-priced Lives of *Famous Scots*. They begin with Carlyle,² and the beginning is a worthy one. Mr Macpherson has produced a thoroughly readable and appreciative study of the Sage of Chelsea. The main points in his career are presented in a clear, quick narrative, which keeps the attention, and never wearies. The closing chapter gives a short, but well-considered, statement of the position assignable to Carlyle as a social and political thinker. The series starts well, and should be popular.

We notice with pleasure a second edition of *The Master's Guide for His Disciples*,³ an arrangement of our Lord's sayings "for easy consultation and systematic reading," which has had a wide and well-deserved circulation.

To Mr A. E. Brooke, Dean of King's College, we are indebted for an edition of *The Commentary of Origen on St John's Gospel*,⁴ in two handy and admirably-printed volumes. The text is carefully

¹ *The Newer Light of a Recent Book*. Glasgow: Maclehose & Son. 8vo, pp. 52. Price, 6d.

² By Hector C. Macpherson. Small post 8vo, pp. 151. Price, 1s. 6d.

³ With a Preface by Eugene Stock. London: Elliot Stock. Small 8vo, pp. 268. Price, 1s. 6d.

⁴ Cambridge: University Press. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxviii. 328, 345. Price, 15s. net.

revised, and a brief Introduction is given, in which all necessary information is furnished regarding the extant MSS. The relations of these MSS. are exhibited in a genealogical scheme, and it is shown that we are dependent upon one thirteenth century manuscript, the Codex Monacensis, for our knowledge of the text of the extant books. The materials left by Richard Bentley (in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge) have been examined, and a list is given of the emendations which he made in the copy of Huet's edition of the commentaries. For the text of the Fragments, the Catena, published by Corderius, and three MSS. (two of Rome and one of Venice) have been used. The Fragments from the Philocalia, however, have been rightly taken from Professor Robinson's recent edition. It is of interest to notice that Mr Brooke's experience in the preparation of this edition has shown him that the Catenae of the tenth and eleventh centuries are practically useless for textual purposes, that those later are wholly useless, and that a "systematic examination of early Catenae is much needed."

In *The Permanent Message of the Exodus*,¹ an able Scottish preacher gives a series of studies in the Life of Moses. It is to be regretted that in his Preface he takes up an unfortunate attitude to Criticism, and speaks as if the verdict of the Church must be pronounced against the view generally taken by Old Testament students of "how the Spiritual grew up in Israel, and especially of the manner in which the Old Testament Canon was gradually formed." He tells us that "the great mass of intelligent Christians in our country, as events seem urging them to a decision, are conscious of a growing revulsion from the whole hypothesis, springing out of considerations which are central to that belief in the unity of revelation, which faith cannot renounce." This, surely, is a mistaken and dangerous position to assume for oneself, or to present to a congregation. To demand that the conclusions of literary and historical investigation be carefully tested before they are recommended for acceptance, is one thing; to speak as if there were some necessary inconsistency between these conclusions and faith, or some call upon the Church to intervene, and give its verdict against them, is another thing, a very different and a very perilous thing. But apart from this, and when the author keeps within the large field which it is the preacher's function to occupy, the book is a strong and sensible one. It expounds the great passages in the career of Moses, as told in Exodus, in a clear, terse, and telling style, with not a little local and historical colouring, and with pointed applications to the moral, social, and religious conditions of our own time. It has a practical power and a

¹ By the Rev. John Smith, D.D., Broughton Place Church, Edinburgh. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 306. Price, 3s. 6d.

vivacity which give a fresh interest and a present-day meaning to the familiar narratives of the Red Sea, Marah, Elim, Rephidim, and the rest. The volume is so tasteful in its form, too, that it is a pleasure to handle it.

The *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Græcorum et Romanorum*, published by the house of Teubner in Leipsic, proceeds with commendable expedition. We have several new issues of this excellent and most useful series to hand, carefully edited and furnished with Prefaces. These include *Callinici De Vita S. Hypatii Liber*¹; *Benedicti Regula Monachorum*²; *Anonymi Christiani Hermippus de Astrologia Dialogus*³; and *Marci Diaconi Vita Porphyrii Episcopi Gazensis*.⁴

The tenth section of the *Sammlung ausgewählter Kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften* consists of the famous *Commonitorium*.⁵ It is admirably edited by Professor Jülicher of Marburg, who also furnishes an Introduction, giving a brief critical account of Vincent and the principles which make the basis of the treatise. It is altogether a helpful, handy, and scholarly edition. In the eleventh part of the same series Lic. Carl Albrecht Bernoulli furnishes an equally useful and careful edition of Hieronymus and Gennadius *De Viris Illustribus*,⁶ with a very full Introduction and Apparatus Criticus.

We have received the first part of a series of *Archäologische Studien*, to be issued under the editorship of Professor Johannes Ficker of Strassburg. This *Heft* gives an instructive account and careful interpretation of one of the most attractive pictorial finds in the Roman catacombs, one which has a place of peculiar interest in archæological science and in the history of early Christian art.⁷

Under the title of *Sowing to the Spirit*⁸ we have a series of brief, simple, well written discourses on such topics as *prayer, temptation, sin, grace, service*, etc.

¹ Ediderunt Seminarii Philologorum Bonnensis Sodales. Cr. 8vo. pp. xx. 188. Price, M.3.

² Recensuit Eduardus Woelfflin. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 85. Price, M.1.60.

³ Ediderunt-Guilelmus Kroll et Paulus Viereck. 8vo, pp. xi. 87. Price, M.1.80.

⁴ Pp. xii. 136. Price, M.2.40.

⁵ Vincenz von Lerinum *Commonitorium pro Catholicæ fidei antiquitate et universalitate, adversus profanas omnium hæreticorum novitates*. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xiii. 78. Price, M.1.50.

⁶ Pp. lvi. 98. Price, M.2.80.

⁷ Ein Familienbild aus der Priscillakatakomben mit der ältesten Hochzeitsdarstellung der christlichen Kunst. Von Otto Mitius. Mit. 3 Abbildungen. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. 28. Price, M.1.

⁸ By A. B. T. London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 196.

Dr James Dodds contributes an *Exposition of the Apostles' Creed*¹ to the *Guild Text-Book Series*. No attempt is made to give the history of the Creed, which has been judged too intricate a subject for a book of the kind. A short statement of the broader facts, however, would have been useful. On the other hand, the doctrinal meaning of each of the clauses of the Creed is explained in a suitable and sufficient way, with the necessary references to the Scripture passages on which it is based. All is done succinctly, clearly, and interestingly.

The Rev. John Harries has prepared a useful *Handbook of Theology*.² It is intended to be a Homiletical Manual, and gives lists of Questions for Examination. It goes over the main topics briefly, intelligently, and without any undue bias. It is written in a plain and popular style, which will make it useful to others than professional readers. But it will also be consulted with advantage by students and preachers. The author has read diligently, and is able to brighten and confirm his statements of doctrine by brief, pertinent passages from the writings of distinguished theologians of different schools.

The sixth volume of *The Preacher's Magazine*³ is also to hand. This magazine, which is admirably edited by the Revs. Mark Guy Pearse and Arthur E. Gregory, is meant for preachers, teachers, and Bible students, and is well suited to their need. Among those contributing to it are Professors Beet, Davison, Findlay, Geden, Waddy Moss, Randles, Slater, Tasker, Dr Benjamin Gregory, Messrs Moulton, J. Robinson Gregory, T. G. Selby, and others. In addition to a great variety of articles, it gives brief but careful reviews of books.

In his *Home-Making*,⁴ Dr J. R. Miller gives us another of his pleasant practical books, one which deals with the opportunities and responsibilities of each of the members in the family in a simple, easy, edifying style.

Record of Select Literature.

I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

LEWIN, M. *Aramäische Sprichwörter u. Volkssprüche. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis e. Ostaramäischen Dialekts sowie zur vergleich. Parömiologie.* Frankf. a/M.: Kauffmann. 8vo, pp. xii. 90. M.2.

¹ London: A. & C. Black. Pp. 110. Price, 6d. net.

² London: Elliot Stock. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 166. Price, 3s. 6d.

³ London: C. H. Kelly. 8vo, pp. 580. Price, 5s.

⁴ *Home-Making; or, The Ideal Family Life.* London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 291. Price, 3s. 6d.

- STOSCH, G. *Alttestamentliche Studien*. 1. Tl. Die Entstehg. der Genesis. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. viii. 160. M.2.
- BACHMANN's, J., *Präparationen u. Commentare zu den gelesenen Büchern des Alten Testaments. Kleine Propheten*. 11. Hft. Sacharia. Analyse, Uebersetzg., Disposition. Berlin: Mayer & Müller. 8vo, pp. iii. 80. M.1.20.
- SAYCE, A. H. *The Egypt of the Hebrews and Herodotos*. London: Rivington. 8vo, pp. 358. 7s. 6d.
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- GREEN, W. H. *The Unity of the Book of Genesis*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons. 12mo, pp. xvii. 583. Dolla.3.
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- WADE, C. W. *The Book of Genesis. Ed. with Introd., Critical Analysis, and Notes*. London: Hodder Bros. 8vo, pp. 272, with 2 Maps. 6s.
- WINTER, J., u. Wünsche, A. *Die Jüdische Litteratur seit Abschluss des Kanons. Eine Prosaische u. Poet. Anthologie m. Biograph. u. Literargeschichtl. Einleitgn., unter Mitwirkg. v. W. Bacher, S. Bäck, Ph. Bloch u. A. hrsg. 25. (Schluss-) Lfg. Trier, Mayer, 3. Bd.* 8vo, pp. xii. 753-923. M.2.50.
- MOOREHEAD, W. G. *Studies in the Mosaic Institutions: the Tabernacle, the Priesthood, the Sacrifices, the Feasts of Ancient Israel*. Dayton, O.: W. J. Shuey. 12mo, pp. 246. Doll.1.
- EHRENPREIS, M. *Kabbalistische Studien 1. Die Entwicklung der Emanationslehre in der Kabbala des XIII. Jahrh.* Frankf. a/M.: Kauffmann. 8vo, pp. vi. 48. M.1.50.
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The International Critical Commentary.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St Mark. By the Rev. Ezra P. Gould, LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896. Post 8vo, pp. xv. 583. Price, 10s. 6d.

COMMENTARIES on the second Gospel are comparatively few, and therefore an addition to their number cannot be deemed a superfluity. On this account, as well as in view of its own merits, this work by Professor Gould, of the Divinity School, Philadelphia, will doubtless receive a hearty welcome. The aim of the writer, in harmony with that of the series to which it belongs, is to supply a commentary "based on the more recent criticism of the sources, and of the history contained in the book." He aspires to produce in English a work which may be associated with the contributions of Meyer, Weiss, and Holtzmann, if not in ability, at least in critical method and results. He accepts the prevailing view as to the relations of the three Synoptical Gospels, regarding Mark as the source of the narrative part of Matthew and Luke, their reproduction of the triple tradition being supplemented and modified by material taken from the book of Logia, written, according to Papias, by the apostle Matthew. In the execution of his plan he takes advantage of opportunities for verifying this critical hypothesis, indicating as they occur harmonies and divergences, and the marks of interdependence.

A commentary constructed on this method might very easily be overweighted with matter of merely critical interest, which is not what the bulk of readers are in quest of. The author has not erred in this direction. The contribution which he makes to what may be called *comparative* or *synoptical* exegesis is slight and elementary compared with the monumental work of Dr Bernhard Weiss on the Gospel of Mark and its Synoptical Parallels, which, though published in 1872, has not yet been translated into English, and probably never will, just because of the thoroughness of its attempt to establish exegetically the author's view of the Synoptical problem. Possibly Professor Gould might have done a little more in this line without diminishing the practical value, or disturbing the proportions of his work.

The Introduction proper consists of only nine pages, containing chiefly a statement of the critical question respecting the relations of the synoptists, and an analysis of the story told by Mark concerning the public ministry of our Lord. In four subsequent chapters of introductory matter are discussed in succession *The*

Person and Principles of Jesus in Mark's Gospel, The Gospels in the Second Century, Recent Critical Literature, and the Greek Text. The whole is good reading, but we miss something. There is no adequate attempt to characterise Mark's presentation of the image of Jesus in contrast to that of the companion Evangelists. The author refers, in a passing sentence, to the vividness of Mark's style, and the descriptive touches which frequently occur in his pages. But the *realism* of Mark's Gospel is not remarked on: The blunt down-right way in which we are allowed to see Jesus as He actually was, spoke, and acted, in contrast, *e.g.*, with the idealising manner of Luke, where Jesus is seen, as it were, with an aureole round His head. This feature in Mark, manifest at many points, speaks not only to narratives based on the oral statements of an eye witness, like Peter, but to a comparatively early date of composition. Luke writes at a time when reverence for the Lord in glory controls the Evangelic historian. Mark writes at a time when this influence was kept in check by vivid recent memories. The realism of Mark stamps his Gospel as comparatively *archaic*.

As the heading "Recent Critical Literature" would lead us to expect, the author has noticed in his Introduction only a few of the more outstanding works produced within the last quarter of a century. The list includes Meyer, Weiss, Beyschlag, Holtzmann, and Morison. Throughout the Commentary these are the names chiefly referred to. The neglect of the older literature is justified by the remark that those selected as guides are so trustworthy in exegesis as well as in criticism, that their contributions "give a largely antiquarian or historical interest to the preceding literature" (p. xliv.). To a certain extent this is true, and one can thoroughly sympathise with the modern commentator who wants to rid himself of the intolerable burden of nineteen centuries of exegesis. If one were to take full account of all that has been written on any one book of the New Testament, it would issue in a work as large as the whole Series to which this volume belongs. But Professor Gould's book is of very moderate dimensions—the Commentary covers only some 300 pages—and he might with advantage have gleaned some happy comments from older authors not yet altogether out of date. Many good things were written before the era of criticism dawned. I have myself found great delight and profit in the Commentary on the Gospels by Euthymius Zigabenus, a Greek monk of the twelfth century. In his preface to his Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews in the *Handcommentar* Von Soden claims the right to act on the principle: "Let the dead bury their dead," and declares that it is high time to break with the opinion that a useful commentary must be a collection of mummies. Our author is evidently of the same mind, and every exegete who is

not Rabbinical in spirit must largely sympathise. Yet, on the other hand, who does not feel a desire to know the history of opinion in some tolerable degree; and who would not wish to enrich his pages with well selected sentences from writers of insight in all ages, and to compensate for the poverty of individual thought by golden words borrowed from Chrysostom or Euthymius, or Calvin, or Bengel? Such words should be well chosen, and references to mere names by the dozen are, of course, to be avoided; but judicious citation of important views by authors of weight is profitable for all. Then the philological commentators such as Kypke, Pricaeus, Raphel, Wetstein, Fritzsche, who discuss the meanings of words and phrases, are by no means to be despised. Modern scholars do not despise them, but still cite them as may be seen in the eighth edition of Meyer on the Gospels by Weiss.

Professor Gould has certainly named and used, and used with judgment, the most outstanding of *recent* contributors to the exposition of Mark. But when the available literature was so scanty it might have been well to make the list as far as possible complete. One important book he has, I think, altogether omitted, the Commentary on Mark by Dr Paul Schanz, Professor of Catholic Theology in the University of Tübingen, published in 1881. Schanz does not accept current critical views on the Synoptical Problem, but he is a thoroughly competent exegete specially valuable, as might be expected, in reference to Patristic opinion, but generally excellent and up to date as an expositor both of thoughts and words. He has also published companion works on Matthew (1879) and Luke (1883). Besides this important work by Schanz there is that of Klostermann: *Das Markusevangelium nach seinem Quellenwerthe für die Evangelische Geschichte* (1867), of special importance in its bearing on the critical problem.

But the main question, after all, in a work of this kind is, What is the value of the author's own contribution? Taking all things into consideration my estimate is high. In Greek scholarship it is careful and accurate. The criticism of the text, while avowedly slight, is sufficient. There is ample evidence of insight into the thoughts and spirit of Jesus, an indispensable requirement for exegetical work of real permanent value. The style is good, the page clean and clear, and the whole book from beginning to end is interesting and readable. In his theological attitude the author is distinctly modern, as is shown by his handling of such topics as the Temptation in the wilderness, demoniacal possession, and the healing ministry of our Lord in general. In church connection, as I understand, Episcopal, he is anti-Sacramentarian, as is sufficiently evident from what he says regarding the meaning of the words: "This is my body." "The literal meaning is impossible to Jesus.

It would pull down all that he had been at pains to set up throughout his ministry—a spiritual religion.”

I have no doubt this commentary on Mark will be popular, and run through several editions. In view of this probability it would be well if the author were, in a leisurely way, to prepare for its enlargement and extension by fuller treatment at many points. To illustrate what I mean I may refer to what is said on the expression ἐπιβαλὼν ἑκλαιε (xiv. 72). The translation given is, “having thought on it, he began to weep,” and the comment, “This meaning of the participle is clearly established now, and it is clearly the best rendering, if allowable.” Then in a footnote it is added: “See Morison for best statement of different views.” This is unsatisfactory. Why not give the leading views in this new commentary, instead of referring to an old one of which the writer’s estimate is in some respects far from high? The main alternative senses could have been given in a few sentences; and certainly the one supported by Theophylact and adopted by Dr Field in *Otium Norvicense*—“having covered his head”—ought to have been mentioned.

A. B. BRUCE.

“St Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen.”

By *W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., LL.D., Professor of Humanity, Aberdeen.*
London: Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. 410, cloth, with map,
10s. 6d.

SECOND NOTICE.

WE were already indebted to Professor Ramsay for a whole store of information bearing upon St Paul’s stay in the next great city which claims our attention—Ephesus. Although these two typical cities of heathendom, as Bishop Lightfoot calls them, Athens and Ephesus—the one, the heart and citadel of Greece, the other, the home of every oriental quackery and superstition—differed so widely, the *Acts* portrays to the life their religious and moral atmosphere no less than their local colouring. It is tempting to dwell upon the discoveries which have enabled us to realise so much more fully St Paul’s residence and reception in Ephesus.¹ But in the book before us our attention is turned to the hard and fast line of demarcation which the author draws between *Acts* xix. 11-20—the incident of the Jewish exorcists—and the rest of the chapter. In the former passage the writer seems to him more like a picker-

¹ The very cry, *e.g.*, of the mob, “Great Artemis!” (as D reads) is reproduced on the inscriptions.

up of current gossip than a real historian, and if there were many such contrasts, Professor Ramsay would become a believer in the composite character of Acts (p. 273).

But whatever difficulties may surround this section of the chapter, in such a city it was inevitable that St Paul should be brought face to face, as at Paphos and Philippi, with prevailing superstitions and magical arts; and in Ephesus, as elsewhere, the power of the Gospel prevailed. The miracles of healing (ver. 12) were, at all events, of such a kind as to appeal to a superstitious people, who would naturally and eagerly seize upon the Apostle's handkerchiefs and aprons as soon as the report of his healing powers were spread abroad. The fact that they are called miracles, *οὐ τὰς τυχοῦσας*, seems in itself to point to their employment as a special adaptation to a people who were wont to see in charms and amulets and mystic spells a marvellous healing power. But in this accommodation to special forms of ignorance and sin we are never allowed to forget that God was the real source of all power and might, and that the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified. The well-known *Εφέσια γράμματα* probably included all kinds of magical formulæ to ward off or expel demons—formulæ often containing the names of the gods of the nations, but "*jam cuncta illa nomina inania irritaque præ Jesu nomine putabantur*" (Blass *in loc*). May we not, moreover, note in the whole recital its sobriety no less than its strangeness? It is surely a mark of truthfulness, as Dean Plumptre has reminded us, that the record should stop where it does. A forger, we may well believe, would have crowned the story by a picture of the man, after baffling the impostors, healed by the word or the touch of Paul.

But whatever may have been the feelings of hostility provoked against the Apostle by the tradesmen, who made their living from pilgrims to the great Ephesian temple—"for the most sensitive part of 'civilised' man is his pocket" (p. 277)—the friendly attitude of the Asiarchs and the Town-Clerk, or rather the Secretary of the State of Ephesus, affords a further proof of Luke's plan, viz., to show not only the groundlessness of the charges, but that the policy of the empire was not as yet opposed to the new religion (pp. 282 and 305).

Upon the details of Paul's stay in Jerusalem and Caesarea Professor Ramsay declines to enter, as he tells us that he is not at home on the soil of Palestine (p. 313). But the moment of the Apostle's arrest in Jerusalem must be regarded, if we would read *Acts* in the true historical light, as leading up to the great event of the whole work (p. 304). Throughout the history, from the time when the centurion Cornelius is introduced, this favourable disposition of the Romans to the Christian teachers can be traced,

and in the third Gospel there is the same care in bringing out the relations between Christianity and the Imperial Government (p. 304 *ff.*). In the last scenes of the *Acts* this recognition acquires a fuller and more definite meaning, and even Felix and Festus may be cited as evidence for it (p. 306).

Professor Ramsay maintains that Luke is amply justified in attaching such importance to the trial of Paul, and he adds a most significant proviso, that this importance is only intelligible if Paul was acquitted: "that Paul was acquitted follows from the pastoral Epistles with certainty for all who admit their genuineness; while even they who deny their Pauline origin must allow that they imply an early belief in historical details which are not consistent with Paul's journeys before his trial, and must either be pure inventions or events that occurred on later journeys"¹ (p. 308). But if an acquittal was recorded, then this first trial might be called a charter of religious liberty, a permission by the supreme court of the Empire to preach Christianity, although that permission was afterwards reversed (p. 308). But further, it is very difficult, if not impossible, in Professor Ramsay's opinion, to suppose that Luke would thus relate at length the preliminary stages of the trial, and yet wholly omit the final result, to which alone they owe their meaning and purpose. And so Professor Ramsay finds fresh evidence for the view first put forward on an earlier page (pp. 23, 27), that the historian intended to write three books, the Gospel, the *Acts*, and a sequel, which should contain the final stages of Paul's trial, his acquittal, and his use of the permission thus given him to preach, and to organise the Church, in new fields of labour, and, finally, his second trial, when Nero's rule was at its worst (p. 309).

And here no one will fail to notice another interesting suggestion in the view taken of the finances for the trial. If we ask from whence was the money procured, no light sum in an appeal to the Emperor, we cannot believe that Paul would have used the money collected from the poverty of the churches (p. 312), and there seems no alternative but to suppose that his own hereditary property was employed. If Paul hitherto voluntarily abstained from using his fortune, he now found himself justified in acting differently; if on the other hand, he had for the time been disowned by his family (see pp. 35, 36), then either a reconciliation had been brought about during his danger (perhaps originating in the bold kindness of his young nephew), or, through death, property had come to him as legal heir (p. 312). Certainly this picture of St Paul as a man of wealth seems at first sight at variance with what we gather of him from the New Testament. In his farewell

¹ We may compare the remarks of Blass, *Prolegomena to Acts*, pp. 23 and 24.

address to the Church of Ephesus, which carries us up to within a few years of his appeal, he was still apparently a poor man, as he speaks with touching pathos of the hands which had ministered unto his own necessities, and to the necessities of those that were with him. It is difficult to believe that St Paul would have voluntarily abstained from using his fortune (if he possessed one), when day by day there came upon him the care of all the Churches, and we think it far more probable that he was able to procure the help of wealthy friends. That Paul had made such friends is evident, and Professor Ramsay himself lays stress upon the social rank of the high-born ladies of Macedonia, who were impressed by the Apostle's teaching. Lydia, too, at Philippi, is not only ready with large-hearted hospitality, but her trade in itself demanded the possession of a considerable capital (p. 214). Is it fanciful to suppose that such women might have ministered to Paul of their substance, just as in St Luke's Gospel the women ministered to our Lord in His earthly life? St Paul himself gratefully acknowledges the personal help which he had received once and again from his converts at Philippi. Moreover, is it so certain that Professor Ramsay is right in alleging that a poor man would never have received such attention, or aroused such interest, as Paul secured before a Felix or an Agrippa? Has not St Luke told us in his Gospel of the Herod who desired to see the Son of Man, Who had not where to lay His head, and might not the same feeling which prompted Herod, the feeling of curiosity, the hope of seeing some new thing, have prompted the desire to see Paul and to test his wonderful powers?

But St Paul had made his appeal to Cæsar; and nothing is more satisfactory in the book before us than the way in which Professor Ramsay endorses the value of the contribution to the accuracy of St Luke in the monograph of James Smith of Jordanhill on the voyage and shipwreck of St Paul, a book of which the late Dr Whewell remarked that it ought to be in the hands of every student. "One of the completest services," writes Professor Ramsay (p. 341), "that has ever been rendered to New Testament scholarship is James Smith's proof that all the circumstances narrated in *Acts* xxvii. 39 ff. are united in St Paul's Bay."

But of equal value with the recognition of the truthfulness of the narrative, is the recognition of the consistency of the character of St Paul (p. 336 ff.). Holtzmann's attempt to excise xxvii. v. 21-26 is justly condemned, and the only reason discoverable for the rejection of the passage is, as Professor Ramsay plainly says, that it introduces a superhuman element. But, as he takes care to tell us elsewhere, the superhuman element is essentially involved in this book of *Acts*, and it cannot be cut out by any

fairly conducted critical process (p. 339). No one has recognised more candidly than Carl Weizsäcker the historical character of St Paul's voyage and shipwreck, its manifest freedom from interpolations, and its consistent representation of the Apostle's bearing—the history is, for him, “a pearl of priceless value.”

St Paul in Rome is a tempting subject, and Professor Ramsay does not disappoint us. The Apostle's confinement in the imperial city was evidently marked by the utmost leniency, and *Acts* concludes with a distinct indication of easier and more hopeful circumstances (p. 349). The tone which marks the Epistles, *Colossians*, *Ephesians*, *Philemon*, is an evidence of this. But here again Professor Ramsay is at issue with Bishop Lightfoot as to the date of *Philippians*, which he places *after* the other letters of the first captivity (p. 357 ff.). The critical question is a very difficult one, and great names may be quoted on either side, Dr Hort, amongst more recent critics, endorsing the view of Bishop Lightfoot, and Professor Godet maintaining the later date of the Epistle in question (*Introduction au Nouveau Testament*, I. 609, 610, 1893). Professor Ramsay points out that Lightfoot and others are undoubtedly right in assigning to *Colossians* and *Ephesians* a more advanced stage in the development of the church, but he objects to the inference that therefore *Philippians* was written earlier (p. 359): “*Philippians*,” he writes, “occupies the same place in the first as 2 *Timothy* in the second trial” (p. 360), a very suggestive remark, when we recall the familiar passage in the latter epistle, in which we may possibly read a retrospective reference to words and expressions in the Philippian letter (Bishop of Derry in *Speaker's Commentary on the New Testament*, iii. 588).

In this second Epistle to Timothy we have the testament of a dying man (p. 361). The circumstances are changed, and the Apostle's confinement much more rigorous than at his first trial. But this second trial, like the first, evidently had its delays. After his first examination (the *πρώτη ἀπολογία*, 2 Tim. iv. 16), the Apostle could still write for his friends to come to him, and Professor Ramsay inclines to the conjecture of Conybeare and Howson, that this first charge was one of complicity and sympathy with the incendiaries who had burnt Rome in 64, and that that charge was triumphantly disproved (p. 361). But the second and fatal charge, heard later, was doubtless “that of treason, shown by hostility to the established customs of society, and by weakening the Imperial authority.” Paul, however, was not now condemned, any more than at his first trial, for preaching the new religion—that in itself was no crime, the charter of freedom (p. 282) was not yet abrogated, and legal offences had still to be proved against Christians, they were not punished because they were Christians (p. 362).

All this is of course in accordance with the position taken up in the *Church in the Roman Empire*, and we know how strongly Professor Ramsay maintains that with the Flavian dynasty there came a change of policy—Christians were condemned as such. It was a protest against this policy, and a contrast between it and the former attitude of the Roman authorities which Luke designed to enforce, and which formed a very important, if not the chief, part of his plan in writing *Acts* (pp. 309, 362, 386).

But when Professor Ramsay goes a step further still, and asks us to believe that the book as it stands is incomplete, and that the author evidently designed a third treatise, we may hesitate to follow him. Bishop Lightfoot's remarks in his valuable article on *Acts*, contained in the new edition of Dr Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, are well worth recalling in this connection, as they not only give his final opinion on the book in question, but also his answer to the position maintained by Professor Ramsay: "The writer was clearly not interrupted so as to leave his work finished . . . nor did he contemplate a "third treatise" as some have imagined. There is indeed no conceivable plea for any third treatise if our view of his main design is correct."¹ Again, whilst no one has done more than Professor Ramsay to refute the idea that *Acts* could have been written so late as Trajan, the date at which he places the book is open to serious criticism, viz., in the year immediately following the reign of Titus as sole emperor, 79-81, (p. 387) i.e. in the early years of Domitian: "There runs through the entire work a purpose which could hardly have been conceived before the state had begun to persecute on political grounds." (P. 388). But where is the evidence for this statement? and *when* did the State begin to persecute on political grounds? "The Flavian policy had declared Christianity illegal and proscribed the Name," writes Professor Ramsay (p. 388.) But the first of the three Flavian emperors was Vespasian, and there is no positive evidence (as Professor Ramsay himself apparently admits in the *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 256) to constitute him the originator of a definite State policy against the Christians. Whatever evidence there is, points presumably, not to Vespasian, but to Nero.² May we not be pardoned for thinking that Professor Ramsay reads the *Acts*

¹ What that view is we have already stated, and the article to which reference is made finally endorses it: "The author closes with the event which his aim required. The occupation of Rome the capital of the world was the one eventful crisis which closed an epoch," p. 27. "At hic liber non est imperfectus, cum longi cursus evangelii Roma terminus sit." Blass, *Prolegomena*, p. 3.

² Comp. Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*, p. 80 (1894). See also Professor Mommsen's Letter to the Editor in the *Expositor*, July 1893.

(just as he reads 1 Peter), in the light of the position which he had taken up in his former book (*The Church in the Roman Empire*) as to the relations between the State and Christianity? But before we finally accept that position as bearing upon *Acts*, we must be more convinced that the leading purpose of St Luke is thereby made any clearer. St Luke wrote to mark "the essential stages in the evangelisation of the world" i.e. the Roman world (as Professor Ramsay again reminds us), and not to draw up, or issue, a religious-political manifesto.¹

There are, moreover, some indications that recent critics are not all averse to assigning a much earlier date to the third Gospel and the *Acts*. Dr Blass, e.g., who, equally with Professor Ramsay, may claim to approach the subject with an unrivalled classical knowledge, and with freedom from theological bias, is prepared to date St Luke's gospel and the *Acts* before the fall of Jerusalem²—a position which he will no doubt maintain in spite of the somewhat satirical condemnation of Holtzmann,³ and Professor Hahn of Breslau in his elaborate commentary on St Luke's Gospel (1894), carries back its date to the sixties.⁴ The story told of the famous Dr Routh by Dean Burgon in his *Lives of Twelve Good Men* may not be out of place in this connection. Dr Routh had not the least doubt that *Acts* was the work of St Luke: "For you may have observed," he would say, "that the sacred writer ends by saying that Paul dwelt at Rome two years in his own hired house." "Now sir," (here he tapped my fingers in the way customary with him when he desired to enforce attention) "no one but a contemporary would have ended his narrative in *that way*." "We should have had all about St Paul's martyrdom" (he looked archly at me, and slightly waved his hand—as much as to say, And we all know what sort of thing *that* would have been) "all about his martyrdom, sir, if this narrative had been subsequent in date to St Paul's death." That story (which affords a parallel to the remarks of Dr Salmon, *Introd.* p. 311, 312, 5th edn.) contains a very useful moral, although we may not be able to accept the date which it advocates. It may be of some help to us

¹ Professor Ramsay argues that *Acts* must have been written to a Roman official of high rank, and that the name Theophilus must be a name given to him at baptism, and used or known only among the Christians, and he further maintains that this baptismal name is used in *Acts*, because it was dangerous for a Roman of rank to be recognised as a Christian (p. 388, 389). But it must not be forgotten that Theophilus was by no means uncommon as a Jewish name. Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, i., p. 25, new edition, and see also article "Theophilus."

² Prolegomena to *Acts*, p. 5, 1895.

³ *Theologische Literaturzeitung* Nr., 3, 1896.

⁴ Hahn, however, attributes the third gospel to Silas.

in considering a still more serious question, viz., the way in which Professor Ramsay regards *Acts* i.-v. If it has been truly said that there is no more striking apology for the canonical gospels than the apocryphal, may we not say the same thing of the contrast which exists between the canonical and apocryphal *Acts*?¹

But the author of the former, we are assured, had means of knowing the later events with perfect accuracy, whilst the means which helped him there, failed in Chapter i.-v., and moral apologues and popular tales do the work of real history (p. 367).² But if Luke "everywhere follows with minutest care the best authority accessible to him" (p. 384) had he not accessible as sources for these early chapters, the testimony of John Mark (to say nothing of Philip the evangelist), to whom Professor Ramsay himself refers as the undoubted authority for the story of St Peter's imprisonment and escape, an episode which "bears all the marks of vivid personal witness" (p. 385)—John Mark "who is pointedly mentioned as being in Jerusalem (*Acts* xii. 25), and who was afterwards with Luke and Paul in Rome" (p. 385)? Had he not opportunities of learning the events of the Church's birth and infancy from James the Lord's brother, whom he met at Jerusalem (*Acts* xxi. 18), or from men like Silas, who is mentioned as one of the chief among the brethren in Jerusalem (*Acts* xv. 22), and who himself may well have been, from his manifest position of authority, one of the disciples of the Lord (see Dean Plumptre *in loco*); or from Mnason (*Acts* xxi. 16) his fellow-traveller, an early disciple (*ἀρχαῖος*), who had been, as the word implies, a disciple from the beginning of the Church's history? It is no unreasonable supposition that just as St Luke's gospel apparently begins with a distinct document, bearing many marks of an Hebraic origin, so the first five chapters of *Acts* may have been incorporated from some earlier document; but that this document was at all events of Jewish-Christian origin, and undoubtedly originated from an eye-witness of the events, is admitted by those who dispute as keenly as Professor Ramsay the historical character of the chapters in question.³ But not only do these chapters come from an early and Hebraic source, but they carry upon the face of them undoubted evidence as to their historical value. Take, *e.g.* the attitude assigned to

¹ Compare the remarks of O. Zöckler, *Kurzgefasster Commentar*, ii. 145, and Dr Salmon's criticism on the *Apocryphal Acts*.

² Professor Ramsay would apparently not go so far as Jülicher and maintain that nowhere in the New Testament are purely legendary elements so powerfully apparent (*Einleitung in das N.T.*, p. 266) as in *Acts* ii.-xii., since he attaches so much weight to the testimony of John Mark, (p. 385). But even Jülicher is compelled to admit a genuine kernel of fact, (p. 270).

³ B. Weiss, *Einleitung in das N.T.*, p. 574, 2nd edition.

the Sadducees as the chief opponents of the preachers of the new faith, as we might well expect, since the Resurrection was the cardinal point of the apostolic preaching ; or the fact, which appears so strange at first sight, but which is in strict accordance with the testimony of Josephus, that the members of the hierarchy were in the main of the sect of the Sadducees ; or the speeches of St Peter, so full of coincidences with the First Epistle which bears his name, so characteristic of a man fed upon the Old Testament Scriptures, and reading those Scriptures for the first time in the light of the Passion and the Resurrection.

In criticising the trustworthiness of this early part of *Acts*, Professor Ramsay gives several examples of "suspicious stories." He takes, as his first instance, the two accounts of the suicide of Judas, the one in *St Matt.* xxvii. 5-8, and the other in *Acts* i. 18, 19. Of the former, he says that there can be no hesitation in accepting the vivid and detailed description of the incident ; in the latter, he can only see the growth of popular fancy and tradition. Now it is quite true that the two accounts give two reasons for the name *Field of Blood*. But why should there not be two reasons ? If, as Dr Edersheim evidently holds, the traitor in the agony of his remorse rushed from the temple into the valley of Hinnom, and across the valley to "the potter's field" of Jeremiah, the old name of the potter's field might easily become changed in the popular language into that of "field of blood," whilst the reason given by St Matthew for the name might still hold good, since the blood-money which, by a fiction of law, was still considered to belong to Judas, was employed for the purchase of the accursed spot as a burial ground for strangers.¹ At all events, there is nothing disconcerting in the supposition that we may have here "some unknown series of facts, of which we have but two fragmentary narratives."² In our examination of these early chapters may we not bear in mind some words of Professor Ramsay himself in an earlier part of his work ? (p. 93) : "We are dealing with a first century, and not a nineteenth century historian . . . one who works for a public that was quite satisfied with a statement of facts without a study of causes. There is too much tendency to demand from the first century writers an answer to all the questions we should like to put."

It is undoubtedly open to Professor Ramsay to maintain that these incidents occur in what is necessarily "the weakest part of *Acts*" (p. 367). But we cannot forget that this

¹ Dr Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, II. 575, 576, and Dean Plumptre on *St Matt.* xxvii. 5-8 in Bishop Ellicott's *Commentary*, I. 171 ; see also Nösgen *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 85, 86.

² See article "Judas" in new edition of *Smith's Bible Dictionary*.

"weakest part" could never have been written, unless there had been before it and behind it the Life of the Strong Son of God, and that the opening verses of the first chapter bid us look back to the promise of the Father, which should clothe the witnesses of and to that Life with power from on high (*Acts* i. 4; *Luke* xxiv. 49). If that promise was fulfilled, we are face to face with the working of a divine energy and will, in other words, with the supernatural, and that supernatural element is bound up as inextricably with the earlier as (on Professor Ramsay's own showing) it is with the later part of *Acts*.

But if Professor Ramsay throws doubt upon (what we recognise as) historical records, we thankfully acknowledge that, in the first place, he does a service of inestimable value in helping to establish the truthfulness of St Luke as an historian, not only in the remaining portion of *Acts*, but in other cases also. Thus he has defended the accuracy of the Evangelist not only in his statement about Philip in *Luke* iii. 1; but in a much more important case, in the statement of the census under Quirinius in ii. 1 (p. 385) in connection with the Birth of our Lord. We are only inclined to ask him how, with all this high appreciation of St Luke's extreme accuracy and care, he accounts for the fact, that in the third gospel, much more frequently than in *Acts*, and no less frequently than in the Gospel of St Matthew, or of St Mark, there are strange and mysterious cases of those possessed with demons, cases in which there is ground for believing that Luke, as a cultured medical man, had been specially interested,¹ but in which he found himself confronted by a power which baffled human skill. Is it said that, in this matter, St Luke only conformed to the superstitions of his age? how then do we account for the overwhelming contrast which exists between the descriptions of the "demonised" and of their healing in the New Testament, and the notions and practices which meet us in the writings of the Jewish Rabbis?²

And, secondly, in the freshness and keenness with which he has treated of the journeys of St Paul, and of the scenes which he visited, in his picture not only of the historian, but also of the traveller, Professor Ramsay has made us realise the force of the answer made by B. Weiss to Holtzmann's charge that Christianity

¹ Hobart, *Medical Language of St Luke*, especially pp. 12-14, 17-20; and also *Our Lord's Miracles of Healing*, pp. 180, 188 (2nd edition, 1890), by Dr Belcher, a medical man of considerable distinction.

² See the valuable appendix on this subject, Edersheim, *ubi supra* ii. 770-726. This marked contrast between the New Testament and the prevailing ideas of the first century is also seen in the cures of the "demonised" attributed to Apollonius of Tyana at Ephesus and Athens. See Smith & Wace's *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, vol. i. 136.

had been "book-religion" from the beginning: "Christianity has from the beginning been life; and because that life pulsates in its primitive documents, these cannot be explained or understood on the hypothesis of literary dependences."

In the Paul of the *Acts*, and in the Paul of the Epistles, we have the character of a man who might well become a "hero" to his companions. We see in him a great creative genius, directing from the first the path which the Church had to tread (p. 139); we see in him the womanly tenderness, the delicate courtesy of the true Christian gentleman (pp. 149, 359); we see in him the extraordinary versatility, which could move in every society as to the manner born (pp. 238-246), and yet the true Christian spirit which could guide into the right channel all men's aspirations after culture and progress, raising them into a finer sphere of thought and action, because its possessor had learnt to appropriate from the surrounding world everything that was worthy in it (*Phil.* iv. 8) (p. 149). It was "the heart of the world," and it was the heart of a man—*εἰ καὶ Πᾶνλος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπος ἦν*.

R. J. KNOWLING.

Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form, die Grundgesetze der ursemitischen Poesie erschlossen und nachgewiesen in Bibel, Keilinschriften und Koran, und in ihren Wirkungen erkannt in den Chören der griechischen Tragödie.

Von Dr. Dav. Heinr. Müller, Ord. Öff. Professor an der K. K. Universität Wien. Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1896; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. I. Band, *Prolegomena und Epilegomena*, pp. 256; II. Band, *Hebräische und arabische Texte*, pp. 136. Price, M.16.

BOTH the importance of the subject and the vast learning of the author entitle this work to very serious consideration. The manifold difficulties and uncertainties which confront us in the prophetic books of the Old Testament, render it all the more necessary to examine, as closely as possible, the literary methods of the writers, that is to say, their various modes of expressing and grouping ideas. It is manifest, at a glance, that in many respects the literary methods of the Hebrews differed widely from those of ancient Greece and modern Europe, while, as we might have expected, they often bear a great resemblance to those of the other Semitic peoples, in particular the Arabs. Hence the

comparative study of the Semitic literatures is no less indispensable to the interpreter of the Bible than the comparative study of the Semitic languages, and since this is very frequently ignored, Prof. Müller deserves our gratitude for having once more called attention to the subject.

The special theory here propounded is of a somewhat startling character, as the author himself remarks more than once. He professes to unveil truths which have remained hidden for thousands of years (p. 252). "The sacred poems which have always had so strange a fascination, no less difficult to explain and analyse than the scent of the rose, now acquire form and shape, and reveal to us the mysterious sources of their power" (p. 190). The discovery by means of which Prof. Müller believes himself to have achieved these wonderful results may be briefly summed up as follows. It has long ago been noticed that the discourses of the Hebrew prophets often fall into sections more or less similar in general construction, but it was reserved for Prof. Müller to perceive that the essence of the prophetic style consists in the studied repetition of the same words, phrases or ideas in the corresponding parts of two or more sections. To this method of repetition he gives the name of "responsion." Together with "responsion," the Prophets frequently employ "concatenatio" (*i.e.*, the repetition of the concluding words of one section at the beginning of the next); and "inclusio" (*i.e.*, the use of the same words at the beginning and end of the same section). Prof. Müller traces the development of this system among the Prophets, from Amos down to the time of the Exile; moreover, he endeavours to prove that the same system appears in the other Semitic literatures, in the religious writings of Babylonia and in the Koran. "Responsion" is, in fact, a peculiarity of the Semites, dating from primitive times — "*eine ursemitische Eigenart.*" Neither in Sanscrit nor in Iranian literature do we see any trace of such a thing (p. 243); since however it is found in the choruses of the Greek dramatists, Prof. Müller concludes that the Greeks borrowed the practice from the Phœnicians. He also holds that the writings of the Hebrew prophets were, like the Greek choruses, intended for public recitation by bands of singers. Thus Amos, when he appeared at Bethel, was accompanied by a number of his disciples, acting as choristers under his personal supervision (p. 248). The prophet began by reciting chap. i. 2 of his book, and thereupon the choir sang three pieces, each composed of a strophe and an antistrophe (chap. i. 3—ii. 3). Other parts of the book of Amos are analysed by Prof. Müller in a similar fashion.

It is obviously unsafe to pronounce a definite opinion as to the merit of these theories until we have subjected them to a very

close scrutiny. That the phenomenon which Prof. Müller calls "responson" is found in the Semitic literatures cannot, of course, be doubted; the important question is whether it constitutes a regular system, in other words, whether we are here dealing with a specific literary form, or merely with a rhetorical habit which appears, more or less frequently, in all the literatures of the world. In order to answer this question satisfactorily, we must ascertain what is the *proportion* of cases in which the supposed rules are observed, and also how far Prof. Müller is right in believing "responson" to be a peculiarity of the Semites. The investigation, it will be seen at once, demands much time and labour, so that it cannot even be attempted within the short compass of a review. It may, however, be permissible to offer a few remarks for the purpose of pointing out certain difficulties.

As to the proportion of cases in which "responson" occurs, it must be admitted that the examples cited by Prof. Müller himself are by no means uniformly favourable to his theory. Where no "verbal correspondence" (*Wortresponson*) can be detected, he satisfies himself with a "correspondence of ideas" (*Gedankenresponson*), which is sometimes of a very doubtful kind, or even with a mere "resemblance of sound" (*Assonanz*). Moreover, there are cases in which "responson" is absent altogether, e.g., Is. i. 28-31, a passage which Prof. Müller supposes the prophet himself to have added at a later time, "somewhat pointlessly and without any proper connection" (p. 77). If this be so, it follows that Isaiah at least did not consider "responson" as essential to the prophetic style. But what excites most suspicion is that part of Prof. Müller's work which deals with Arabic literature. Since his profound knowledge of this subject cannot be questioned, it would be rash to pronounce his conclusions impossible, but they are, to say the least, such as few other scholars would accept. He tells us in the Preface that he has borrowed his examples from the Koran rather than from the Arabic poets, because Arabic poetry, in his opinion, was developed "under Greek influence." How does this agree with the known facts? Of the pre-Islamic poets the majority belonged to the nomadic tribes who dwelt in the interior of Arabia; as Prof. Nöldeke has observed (*Die semitischen Sprachen*, 1887, p. 46), the Arabs of the North West, who were subjects of the Byzantine Empire, played no part in the history of Arabic poetry. Even in the North West, the only district in which the Arabs came into close contact with Greeks, a knowledge of Greek *poetry* can scarcely have been common, if we may judge by the analogy of the Syrian Christians, who took a great interest in Greek theology and philosophy, but seldom show any acquaintance with the Greek poets. Prof. Müller suggests that the art of

"strophic composition," as distinguished from metrical poetry, was practised in pre-Islamic times by the Arabian soothsayers, one of whom communicated "the secret" to Mohammed: hence the Mohammedan tradition fails to explain the "strophic arrangement" of the Koran (p. 60). But if "strophic composition" was habitually practised by the soothsayers, it is not easy to see how it can have escaped the notice of the early Mohammedans, who had precisely the same opportunities of learning about it as Mohammed himself.

Nor is it of less importance to inquire whether we have a right to deny, with Prof. Müller, the existence of "responsion" in Indian and Iranian literature. On this subject the testimony of a specialist would be welcome. But, whatever may be the case as regards India and Iran, I venture to think that in modern European literature we find examples of "Strophenbau mit Responsion" at least as perfect as any that Prof. Müller has cited. If we open Heine's works, for instance, we light upon a poem which, on account of its shortness, may here be quoted entire. It will be observed that the first, third, and fourth lines of each stanza exhibit *Wort-responsion* of the most striking kind, while in the second line of each there lurks a subtle *Gedankenresponsion* :—

Den König Wismamitra,
Den treibt's ohne Rast und Ruh,
Er will durch Kampf und Büssung
Erwerben Wasischa's Kuh.

O, König Wismamitra,
O, welch ein Ochs bist du,
Dass du so viel kämpfest und büssest,
Und Alles für eine Kuh !

A. A. BEVAN.

Studien zur Textkritik der Vulgata.

Von Ernst von Dobschütz. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1894; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xi. 139. Price, M.6.

HERR VON DOBSCHÜTZ introduces his "Studien zur Textkritik der Vulgata" with a full description of a handsome Vulgate MS., formerly at Ingolstadt, now in the University Library at Munich, which has been hitherto imperfectly known and described, and, alas, imperfectly collated.

Tischendorf collated it, rather hastily as it seems, and inserted

some of its readings in the eighth edition of his Greek Testament (under the sign *ing*); and his collation was bought by the Clarendon Press, and used by the Bishop of Salisbury and myself for the Oxford edition of the Vulgate. Tischendorf's own mistakes, and the difficulty we sometimes found in deciphering his handwriting, have combined with our own oversights in producing the rather formidable list of errata of which Herr von Dobschütz convicts us on pages 4-6 and 19-20; by far the greater number of mistakes quoted in the latter pages are due to the insufficiency of Tischendorf's own work, and must have been made by any one who used his collation. Yet Tischendorf was, as a rule, a remarkably accurate collator; his edition of the Codex Amiatinus contains very few slips; and in this particular collation the explanation of his haste and comparative inaccuracy is probably to be found in the fact that the work was quite subsidiary to his main task. For our own mistakes all that we can do is to acknowledge them, and to promise that we will do our best to make our list of *corrigenda et addenda* as complete as we can. On p. 20 von Dobschütz expresses the very reasonable hope that the other collations in our Edition are more accurate; in this connection I may perhaps be allowed to refer to a note of M. Samuel Berger's in a review of the Vulgate St Mark (*Bulletin Critique*, 1891, No. 16, p. 302); M. Berger compared our collation of the Manuscript G (g_1 of St Matthew) with his own notes, and only discovered four small errors in the whole of St Mark's Gospel.

Herr von Dobschütz, however, makes the Ingolstadt MS. (I) the basis of a really elaborate and thorough attempt at classifying the Vulgate MSS. He examines first the *Capitula* to the Gospels, then the *Praefationes* or *Argumenta*, and lastly a selected portion of the text—the 23rd chapter of St Matthew. His three lines of investigation seem all to point him to the same conclusion, that in the famous Codex Amiatinus we possess the best extant representative of the Vulgate text.

Most Vulgate MSS. possess tables of *Capitula*, or headings to the various chapters in each book, placed not at the head of the chapters as in an English Bible, but all together at the beginning of the book. The *Capitula* admit of being grouped, and we have printed six columns of them in Sts Matthew, Luke, and John, and five in St Mark. Von Dobschütz examines them with a great deal of patience and acuteness; most of them he would trace back to a common source anterior to the Vulgate recension; but the Codex Amiatinus and a small group of other MSS. possess a much more elaborate system of capitulation, and where they use New Testament phrases the language is nearer to the Vulgate than in the other groups; they are, that is, *Vulgate* rather than *Old*

Latin Capitula. Next are considered the *Praefationes* or *Argumenta* to the Gospels; these extraordinary compositions have long been a source of despair to the student; the Latin at times is almost untranslatable, and they are apparently full of mystical references, the key to which has been lost; Sedulius Scotus, who wrote an "expositiuncula" upon them in the time of Charles the Great, seems often to be in as much doubt as to their meaning as the most modern scholar can be. They are at any rate anterior to Jerome, and in the preface to St John confusion is worse confounded by the attempts of later scribes to alter the text to suit the Vulgate order of the Gospels; this preface is remarkable, too, for containing the earliest assertion that I know, that St John wrote his Gospel *after* he had written the Apocalypse; von Dobschütz (p. 90) indeed thinks the author is here simply reproducing the usual Catholic tradition on the subject, such as is given in Irenaeus III. 1. 1; V. 30. 3; but the latter passage implies, though it does not directly state, that the Apocalypse was written quite at the end of St John's life ("Neque enim ante multum temporis visum est, sed paene sub nostro saeculo, ad finem Domitiani imperii"). The examination of these prefaces is marked by the same care and acuteness as the examination of the Capitula, the author differing from our own position mainly in the higher value he assigns to the Amiatine MS.

Finally we have an examination of the text of the 23rd chapter of St Matthew; von Dobschütz sums up again very strongly in favour of the same manuscript, and he has the valuable support here of Prof. J. H. Bernard, of Dublin (*Hermathena*, Vol. IX., No. xxi., 1895, p. 181), who says of its text in St John, "The excellence of the famous Codex Amiatinus is as clearly brought out here as it was in the preceding Gospels." Next to the Amiatinus, von Dobschütz lays great stress on the value of the Rushworth Gospels as a representative of the Irish family of Vulgate MSS.; it is indeed a valuable and interesting MS., and one of the very few that shew traces of independent correction from the Greek, e.g., it alone reads *per esaiam profetam* in Mt. xiii. 35, with \aleph^1 1, 13, 33, 124, 253, 346, 556. Of course an examination of one chapter in one Gospel cannot be expected to conduct us to final results in a problem which is seen to be more difficult and complicated with every page that is studied; but the author's work is an honest and vigorous attempt to grapple with a very difficult question; and though he differs from us often enough, we should be ungrateful if we did not acknowledge our obligation to him for making it.

I have only very few more misprints to add to his list of errata, p. 50, note, l. 2, iii. should be iiiv.; p. 53, l. 4, lxvi. should surely be

xlvi.; and in the note to the same page, l. 4, xlviii. should be xlviii.; p. 67, note, "p. 16, z. 2 bei *est*" should be "p. 16, z. 12 bei *est*."

H. J. WHITE.

Un ancien text Latin des Actes des Apôtres retrouvé dans un manuscrit de Perpignan.

Par Samuel Berger [tiré des Notices et extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. Nat. et autres Bibliothèques ; tome xxxv., 1^{re} Partie]. Paris : Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1895. Edinburgh and London : Williams & Norgate.

THE critical importance of the "Western Text" in the Acts of the Apostles has had a new light thrown upon it since the publication of Prof. Blass' *Acta Apostolorum* (Göttingen, 1895). Scholars have often remarked the extraordinary interpolations, as they were considered, in the text of the Codex Bezae in this book. Blass boldly raised the question whether they were interpolations at all, and did not rather belong to an earlier, not a later form of the work—an edition compiled, perhaps, somewhat hastily by St Luke, and intended for the private instruction of Theophilus; the text more familiar to us being, he thought, a revised edition prepared for the general use of the Church, and with many of the local and personal details omitted.

Whatever opinion we may ultimately come to on this theory, and it is certainly an attractive one, it is obvious that we first require to have the Western text before us in as complete and pure a form as possible. Blass himself does not consider the Codex Bezae (D and d) to be a pure specimen of it, and imagines that in the African version—the Fleury palimpsest (h), the quotations in Cyprian and certain treatises of Augustine—the best form of the text is to be found.

M. Samuel Berger has already laid students under a deep obligation by his accurate and scholarly edition of the Fleury palimpsest (Paris: Fischbacher, 1889); and he has now rendered them an additional service by his discovery and publication of another important specimen of the Western text. It is needless to say that the present publication is marked by the highest accuracy (I have not yet discovered a single misprint in the text), and is accompanied by an introduction which is adequate and graceful; those who know M. Berger's other published works are prepared for this. The *Old Latin* MSS. of the Acts are few and far between; yet additions to their number may be made to an almost indefinite extent by a careful examination of the *Vulgate*

MSS.; the Vulgate MSS. are frequently marked by a very strong admixture of Old Latin elements, and in the MS. before us, the early chapters as far as xii. 7, and the latter verses of the last chapter (xxviii. 16 *ad fin.*), are Old Latin; the rest of the Acts, though written in the same hand and preserving the same peculiarities of spelling, etc., is Vulgate.

The MS. is numbered 321 in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, is of the 13th century, and contains the whole of the New Testament according to Jerome's revision, though in the Acts, and to a less degree in the Epistles, these interesting Old Latin readings are preserved. The strange orthography, and a calendar with the names of local saints at the end of the book, suggest the South of France as the place of its origin, and an inscription on the first leaf definitely assigns it to Perpignan. M. Berger regards the text of the Old Latin portions as mixed, yet as being allied to the Codex Laudianus (E e), the Gigas (gig.), and the Codex Bezae; in addition to this it seems to possess certain elements which are peculiar. I venture to subjoin a very few of the more interesting readings:—

- Acts vii. 58. Of the stoning of St Stephen, *et falsi testes deposuerunt uestimenta sua*, etc.; the *falsi* is, I believe, peculiar; h has *et illi testes*.
- viii. 21. St Peter's address to Simon Magus, "Thou hast neither part nor lot in this *faith*" (*fide ac*); this variant is found in syr.^{sch} ar.^e Ambr. Aug., and in a slightly different form in the Apost. Const.
- ix. 4. St Paul after the vision fell to the ground *cum magna mentis alienatione* (*mentis alienacio* is used for *mentis excessus*, x. 10); this addition is, I believe, peculiar; similarly the interpretation of Dorcas' name (*id est demula*, v. 36; *damula*, v. 39) later in the same chapter.
- xi. 27. The interesting note is found that the Prophets descended from Jerusalem to Antioch, *eratque magna exultacio* (= D d Aug.).
- xii. 3. Of Herod's persecution, *Quod cum uidisset quia placeret iudeis ceptum istud de sanctis et fidelibus* (= D η επιχειρησις αυτου επι τους πιστους, d *conprehensio eius super credentes*; also syr. p. mg.).

I have noticed, too, the use of *in conspectu* for *coram* (ii. 25, viii. 21), and *ante* (vii. 46, x. 30), which is characteristic of the Codex Bezae; but in quoting from the Old Testament (viii. 32) *coram* is retained; *στράτηγος* is translated *praefectus* (v. 24, 26), and *prepositus* (iv. 1; similarly in d Lc. xxii. 52); other noticeable

variants, *conuencio* for *synagoga*, *consuetudines* for *traditiones*, *sublimissimus* for *altissimus*, etc., have been already noticed by M. Berger (p. 22, and *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 78); yet surely *magnum falsum uatem* is not a translation of *ψευδοπροφήτην*, but of *μάγον ψευδοπροφήτην*; i.e., *magnum* is a slip for *magum*, and *falsum uatem* is the equivalent of *ψευδοπροφήτην*.

H. J. WHITE.

The Literary Study of the Bible.

By *Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Literature in English in the University of Chicago.* London: *Isbister & Co.*, 1896. 8vo, pp. xii. 533. Price, 10s. 6d.

WITH this interesting and suggestive book Mr Moulton has broken new ground in the study of Scripture. Apart from the usual remarks on the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, which, since Bishop Lowth's day, have found a place in every work on Old Testament Introduction; apart also from the almost forgotten book of Professor John Forbes of Aberdeen on "The Symmetrical Structure of Scripture," we know of no attempt to enter on a systematic analysis and classification of the forms used in Biblical prose and poetry. Mr Moulton perhaps would not care to maintain that these forms were as highly developed or as consciously followed as in classical poetry, though in the later psalms and in the Wisdom literature there are increasing signs of artificiality of structure. But even granting that the forms he discusses were spontaneous,—the moulds into which the heat of passion and thought ran unconsciously,—his book becomes all the more instructive, as dealing, not so much with artistic technicalities, but rather with the underlying processes of reasoning and expression. In this way it might not unjustly be described as a series of exegetical studies, founded, not on minute considerations of grammar and biography, but on broad interpretations from a literary point of view; and as, in any view of its inspiration, the Bible is not a book but a literature, there should be wide and hearty welcome for a volume which, with keen insight and reverent feeling, makes it easier to recognise the beauty, dignity, and force of that literature.

According to Mr Moulton, "the Bible is the worst-printed book in the world," and a sentence from his preface will explain his meaning. "Let the reader imagine the poems of Wordsworth, the plays of Shakespeare, the essays of Bacon, and the histories of Motley to be bound together in a single volume; let him suppose the titles of the poems and essays cut out, and the names of

speakers and divisions of speeches removed, the whole divided up into sections of a convenient length for parsing, and again into lessons containing a larger or smaller number of these sentences." Beyond a doubt our English Bibles are not printed in such fashion as to afford the best guidance to one who is not looking for proof-texts or scraps for doctrine and edification, but is desirous to read with intelligence the books in their entirety. The revisers made some improvement when they relegated to the margin the marks of the division into chapters and verses, printing the prose in paragraphs, and the poetry in parallel lines. Much more, however, might still be done to place the books of the Bible before the ordinary reader in a manner that will help him towards making his own interpretation, and in Mr Moulton's volume will be found principles and rules which may help towards such better printing of the Bible.

He reveals the possibilities contained in his literary method of interpretation by devoting forty pages of an introduction to a skilful and suggestive analysis of the book of Job. With this analysis and the revised version in hand, the ordinary reader may make his way into what Carlyle called "one of the grandest things written by pen"; though, as it stands in the Authorised Version, it might also be called one of the most obscure. The Prologue with its three trials of Job—by bereavement, by personal suffering, and by time which brings no remedy—states the problem, viz., the mystery of human suffering; and the poem, dramatic in style, though not in form, presents from varying points of view five different solutions. In the working out of these solutions lies the literary beauty of the whole. The suggestion that the Satan of the book is not the spirit of evil, the adversary of God, but rather a kind of *advocatus diaboli*, is to us novel; but there is considerable freshness in the whole analysis.

In entering upon the main part of his work, Mr Moulton starts from the simplest forms in which the Hebrew parallelism appears, the couplet and the triplet; and with these builds up the quatrains, double triplets, and stanzas of various forms that are traceable in the poetry of the Bible. He is careful at once to show that these are not mere technicalities, but helps to a clearer conception of the thought. "When the genius of a language rests the whole system of its versification upon symmetry of clauses, it becomes a safe presumption that parallelism will penetrate very deeply into its logical processes of thought." In a chapter on "The Lower and Higher Unity of Scripture," he fully vindicates the value which a careful study of literary forms may have for the exegete; and his ingenious remarks on the unity of authorship in Biblical poetry have an important bearing on not a few problems which have

been set up for us by the Higher Criticism. The modern conception of authorship which associates a poem or book with its individual writer is wholly out of place in times when poems or books were not considered individual property, to be kept sacred and unchanged, but were handed down from generation to generation to be revised, altered, and added to, and thus became the product of many minds.

Mr Moulton gives as the four cardinal points of literature, Description and Presentation, Poetry and Prose; and traces the steps by which the ballad-dance, which is the beginning of all literary form, passes through the influence of these cardinal points into the lyric, epic, and dramatic forms of poetry, and the historical, philosophical, and rhetorical forms of prose. His classification is fully illustrated by the discussion of actual passages, and as examples of the freshness and suggestiveness of such discussion and analysis we have noted his remarks on Ps. cxiv. (p. 60), Ps. cvii. (pp. 65-67), Ps. cxxxix. (pp. 77-80), Job xxviii. (pp. 86-89), Gen. i. (pp. 71-72). Similar examples are taken from the prophetic writings—Amos i., ii.; Joel ii. 1-11; Zephaniah.

Book II. is devoted to the Lyric Poetry of the Bible, the songs of Deborah and Miriam receiving special attention. No less noteworthy are his remarks on what he calls the liturgical psalms, *e.g.*, Ps. lxxxvi.; and on Ps. xc., regarding which he argues that while its title is undoubtedly "Life as a Passing Day," the setting of its thought is in images taken from a mountain sunrise. The treatment of History and Epic in Book III. is briefer and less satisfactory, but in the following book on the Wisdom Literature, under which head Mr Moulton includes Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon, his methods yield excellent results, and many will turn to this part of his volume as the most instructive of all. Succeeding books are occupied with the Literature of Prophecy and of Rhetoric. Nor should Appendix I. be overlooked, "A Literary Index of the Bible," as it is practically a summary of the whole and a general application of the methods expounded.

Some of the interpretations proposed may not find general acceptance, but that does not detract from the value and importance of Mr Moulton's book as a whole. The professed exegete will miss a good deal by neglecting it, and the general reader will be led by it into a new appreciation of the beauty and sublimity of Biblical literature. The whole tendency of modern exegesis is to treat the books of the Bible as separate wholes, to be studied in relation to their own peculiar circumstances and character. This book may induce even those who are not scholars to abandon the unintelligent method of reading Scripture in arbitrary sections and for quotable texts, and to take pleasure in a broader method which, while taking cognisance of the literary form, unfolds more com-

pletely the spiritual power. Mr Moulton has applied his methods on a larger scale in special editions of Proverbs and of Ecclesiasticus in a series called "The Modern Reader's Bible." We hope he will be encouraged to publish other books of the Bible in similar form.

DAVID HUNTER, D.D.

Avestan Difficulties not a Hindrance.

Communication from Dr. L. H. Mills, Oxford.

NOT pausing to inquire here why it is that Zendists, or rather, as I am forced to say, some self-styled Zendists, differ so widely from each other as to their interpretations of the Avesta, I would at once endeavour to show what the nature of those differences is; as to their degree and variety, see the very able remarks of Mr Moulton in the January number of this review. While I try to show what these very minute and frequent divergences in opinion among experts are, I would at the same time endeavour to explain to enquirers why they are of little importance to us in our practical use of the Avesta, and especially in our use of the Gâthas, for the purposes of comparative theology. If I understand the matter aright, the questions of interest to the critical clergy are such as these—"What is the conception of God which appears in the Gâthas?" "Are His attributes of the pagan type or of the so-called spiritual or monotheistical type?" "What is the nature of man as portrayed in them?" "Is he really immortal?" "Is he moral, that is to say, in the Socratic sense?" "What is the moral idea in the Gâthas?" and the like.

Now I doubt whether any scholar living will deny the following statement, which I make without reserve:—The very prevalent uncertainties as to the exegesis of the Gâthas leave these great questions untouched, strange as it may seem. To explain:—The effort of Zend specialists to recover their texts, and the meaning hidden in them has largely reference to the point of the *syntax*; and this happens to leave all that is most dear to theologians totally, or almost totally unaffected. There is as little uncertainty in the general report of the Gâthas as to the nature of God, man, and his soul, as there is in the Old Testament, and perhaps less (if it be not improper to compare the two). To come at once to the proof, explanation and illustration, of this statement, we may begin with what is the most striking circumstance which is involved in the inquiry, and which lies at its very foundation. It is this: The consecutive words in the Gâthas are in their great mass closely

related to *Sanskrit* words¹; and not only so, but they are to a large extent equivalent with them, as to their roots, and also approximately as to their forms; so much so that a continuous translation of them into Sanskrit, or an inter-translation between them and the Sanskrit, may be made, which would show an approximate identity between them at once. And as the Sanskrit has been widely studied not only for thousands of years in India, but since Wilson also in Europe, of course the Sanskrit has become a practically interpreted language, which makes its evidence complete. A vast array of texts exist in print and manuscript; very many grammars have been written and commentaries and dictionaries made; when then Zend is reduced to Sanskrit it is obvious that our task is greatly furthered, if not, indeed, as we may say, at once one-half completed.

This approach to identity between the Zend and Sanskrit forms is a fact so important, so interesting, and, above all, so practical, that, on being invited to contribute an article to the *Festgrüss* of the late Professor Roth of Tuebingen, I followed his own example,² and gave a chapter of the Gâthas in the Sanskrit forms (for which also I may say in passing, for it touched me deeply, I received the special thanks of the eminent scholar in a last letter received from him before his death). Let anybody glance over those pages³ and he will see the Sanskrit equivalents of the Gâtha in continuity, or syntax, as well as in their inflectional and conjugational forms, and he will be able to trace their connection; as it were in a sweep of the eye.

This is, of course, not the proper place to print even a strophe of them in transliteration, but if I should print a page and mark its doubtful words with a coloured pencil, but few such strokes would be visible as the sheet lay open before our view.

Take the very first strophe:—With the exception of a proper name, and with some slight changes in declension, the whole twenty-two Sanskrit words are identical with the Zend as to both root and form, that is to say of course, after the phonetic changes have been made, and nobody anywhere will question it. So for the most part with the second strophe and the third, and so on (with the exception of the fifth)⁴ throughout. Here and there

¹ The first duty and one half of the work of a Zendist is to trace the relation between the Zend and the Sanskrit.

² He translated a chapter of the *Yasna* into Sanskrit in the *Zeitschrift D.M.G.*

³ *Festgrüss an Rud. v. Roth zum Doktor-jubiläum.* Stuttg. 1893, p. 193. See an interesting reference to it in Oldenberg's "*Religion des Vedas.*"

⁴ The fifth strophe is a remarkable instance exactly in point to illustrate the most abrupt differences in interpretation, while the tone remains the same, and the alternatives present doctrines elsewhere often reproduced.

one form, say, in twenty may be doubtful, and once I have translated by an analogous but not identical root, which, if I were writing at present, I should avoid. And not only are the words almost all of them from the beginning closely identical with the Zend *mutatis mutandis* as to both root and form, but they are all of them, or almost all of them, not only possible and formable but also clear and well-known Sanskrit words; and what is true of this chapter is true in differing degrees of the rest of the Gâthas, and indeed of the entire Avesta. Here and there a word appears which lacks a Sanskrit equivalent as to root; but only here and there. If this be the fact (and the document lies open to the public), the non-special, but, none the less, "critical" reader will then at once ask, "How then are uncertainties possible? Uncertainties so great as have been described, and admitted?"

I answer first; they are possible on account of the *differing shades of meaning* which the same words bear in Zend and in Sanskrit; and secondly they are possible on account of the *poverty of the syntax* which is present in the Gâthas.

As to the first, no linguist should regard it as at all possible that identical words in two languages, or in different dialects of the same language, should retain or should even have ever possessed unvaried shades of meaning. The different times and places in which a language is used infallibly develop changes in meanings; witness the differences prevailing even between mediæval English and Victorian English, between English English and provincial English, not to speak of the difference between English and Scotch, or between English and Cornish, etc. The early Indian, as we know, differed, but hardly *a fortiori*, with time and place, and the Vedic language later fell into the spoken Prakrit and the classic Sanskrit. It is in consequence of these changes that we are always endeavouring to sound for closer similarities in shades of meaning everywhere, in order to offset them, but we are quite as apt to come upon rich divergences as upon rich connections.

In harmony with this familiar condition of things the Gâthic meaning must differ from the Vedic as the Zend must differ from the Gâthic, or the Vedic from the Sanskrit; and as to which shade of meaning we shall accept in a given case, we must depend upon our educated instinct. A correct grouping of these various linguistic peculiarities with the related facts from comparative history has long been recognised as the only just criterion by the aid of which we may form our opinions as to what ancient oriental texts may mean. Etymology possesses fascination, but it belongs more closely to the *Sprachforscher*. The *Philolog* has in charge both

etymology and exegesis.¹ Syntax, however, is a sturdy problem directly in our path, and the syntax of the Gâthas is certainly less firm than the syntax of most other compositions, including, as the nearest approach to the Gâthas, the Rik. Of course, the question of differing texts also meets us, and we must at once shake off all confused hesitation on this subject; for we must challenge every text at every moment. To restore our texts by well-justified and prepared conjecture is not our first duty only because it goes on hand-in-hand with exegesis; for how can we possibly approach the question of the translation of a text before we have decided that we have a text to translate? Yet in spite of every conceivable difficulty the one striking result remains and comes out beyond all question; it is what I at first more vaguely stated, "the possible differing translations of the Gâthas are limited in their number, for the language present is of such a nature that even when its syntax is varied it cannot be forced to express other than a certain class of ideas; and any one of two or more possible renderings is identical with each and all of the others in the one supreme characteristic, viz., the expression of a lofty, if imperfect, tone of sentiment. I will at once produce passages which illustrate this view, and as I proceed I will bring in that application which alone gives the subject and the argument importance to critical theologians for the purpose of establishing the facts which may constitute the framework of a comparative theology; that is to say, I will endeavour to show step by step how grave the difficulties are for grammar, and how trivial they are as to creed. Take again the first strophe which meets us in Yasna XXVIII, 1, b., we have there either "actions toward all done in the Right (Asha)" or "all actions done in the Right." What has this possibly to do with the moral theology of the passage? Then we have also to choose between a text which gives "the grace of Mazda, the bounteous spirit," and one which offers "of Thy bounteous spirit, O Mazda:" this last has interest for the theology of the Avesta, but does not touch what we most desire to investigate from our present point of view. In the second verse, or strophe, we have "adherents placed in welfare" or "recipients placed in beatitude," while each translator attributes a distinctly religious element to this "welfare" or "beatitude;" and their differences do not touch the striking line before, which reads "gifts for the two lives give me, this bodily life and the

¹ But the main particulars in etymology are supposed to have been long familiar to both the one and the other, and if so to every investigator who undertakes these texts; it is for this reason that we are to some extent ashamed to mention etymologies and confine our suggestions for the most part to those which offer themselves from the objective data and from the realistic point of view. This is, however, almost aside.

mental," a distinction which tells at once for "immortality" and the "moral idea." In the third strophe we have a beautiful word saved from "tradition," as I would hold, by Sanskrit analogy. "O Righteousness, and thou Good Mind, with surpassing chants I'll praise you." Here I prefer the text *apaourvīm* = *°viyem* which means "having no first, having nothing beyond it," while others prefer the text *paourvīm* (= *°viyem*)¹ meaning simply "I will praise you the first;" another, reading with me as above, gives merely the meaning "new," "I will praise you anew." Here are three differing renderings involving details not uninteresting to a specialist, but of what possible importance are they to Christian theologians desiring to get an idea as to what the Gāthas really teach in their main burden, "God and His attributes praised as *the first*," is good; "I will praise anew," is better; "with a surpassing hymn," is best. In the next strophe we have a moment's change off from the controversy, for we meet a word, upon the origin of which no one is certain, but which means "everlasting," as all agree. "Mazda for whom our Piety aids the *everlasting* (i.e., the imperishable) kingdom." But at once our conflict reverts, for we are not sure whether we have "O Righteousness (Asha) and thou Good Mind, O Piety and Kingly Power, come ye to my calls," or "let Piety (zeal, alertness, *aramaiti*) come" (the other words being gathered to another verb); and again, does "Piety promote, or is she promoting?" (*sic*). Now these differences are real and interesting to one examining the syntax; but are they not trivial for our present purpose? and the majority of Gāthic difficulties, with occasional exceptions, is of this character.² If then, as Mr Moulton well puts it, "the Gāthas, or Hymns of Zoroaster, are by far the most precious relic we possess of Oriental Religion, the only sacred literature which in dignity, in profoundness, in purity of thought and absolute freedom from unworthy conceptions of the divine could ever for a moment be compared with the Hebrew Scriptures;" if this be a fair report of them in their bearing upon comparative theology, then critical readers will be glad to know the obvious facts which I have stated. I am not aware that others have called attention to them before, but I cannot conceive how they can be contested. We have now collated all the ancient translations and all the modern ones, and I say that there is none of them worth considering, nay none of them which exists, which does not express what as theologians we most admire.

¹ So I also preferred myself in S. B. E. XXXI, then placing my now preferred text in the second place.

² For an extraordinary case of subordinate uncertainty see my Gāthas, page 398, on Y. XXVIII., 5; yet even here each view has the one thing which we at the present moment are seeking for.

Take a very few further instances. "I who my soul am giving to watchful zeal with Thy Good Mind."¹ Here I formerly preferred a text which gave "to the Mount," that is to say to the Mount Alborj, where souls are to pass the Judgment-Bridge which stretches over Hell. That first suggestion pleased my keen friend Roth, but I would now put it in the second place; yet if we have not the "Mount" here, we have the Bridge itself in Y. 46—"forth to the Judge's Bridge with all I go," "when on the Bridge they come (the Judgment's pathway²)"; and as to the watchfulness of the soul, or "the song of the soul" (another possible view), are they not both in harmony with "Judgment"? The soul "watches and sings its praise" in view of "judgment," and each idea is given elsewhere, if not here; while all conceptions radically heterogeneous to these are excluded by the next line, which reads, "I knowing the rewards of actions given by Ahura," which is itself followed by what we may term (with time and place in view) the "immortal" words, "O Holiness (Asha),³ when shall I see Thee," etc.

But here a reader might be pleased with a little explanation. How can these ideas or "meanings" be thus restricted? What is it which keeps them within this limit? Vedic and other anthologies do not present such a feature or peculiarity. The explanation lies in the constant use of words not only of a similar radical cast with each other, but conveying among themselves certain clear cut and closely related ideas, and a sustained resemblance in meaning also with the corresponding Indian words (which latter circumstance by no means goes without saying). But how did this last come about? for it is most singular that the Gâthas should be hemmed-in as to the scope of their expressions. If they were cold and dry like metaphysics or mathematics, little else could be expected; simplicity, poverty, and repetition in the choice of terms would be *de jure* the order of the day in them, but they are not cold in the sense of metaphysics; they burn with life in the excited passages, and glow with it in calmer ones; notice the vocatives everywhere, the second personals, and the iterations. It is indeed most fortunate for us, I may remark by the way, that the genius of the composer was fervent rather than florid, giving us this sameness in his terms as they recur; but what was the reason for it, or, if you please, what was the excuse for it? I would answer, "It was the names of the Amshaspend."

The crisis explains this. The strong interest of the moment

¹ See Gâthas, pp. 397 and on Y. XXVIII., 4.

² Words supplied from the previous verse.

³ I translate Asha freely and indifferently by Holiness, Righteousness; sometimes by the "Right," "Truth" in my metrical renderings; this is in order to fill out the metre or round the rhythm.

centred in the person and attributes of God, in His law, love, power, and action, and His immortal weal, and for the solid reason that this personality and these attributes were needed at every moment to save the people and their constitution (religious, legal, military) from overthrow, because a belief in God and His attributes was all that kept things compact, and saved the enthusiasm of the nation which, at this moment, alone upheld its existence. The smallest "let-up" and all would have crumbled to powder. But the names of these attributes as they recurred in their chief documents, the Gâthas, *of themselves make up a vocabulary*, and they come back ceaselessly because they were at every moment needed, like the theme in a symphony.

The remark has indeed been made that the Gâthas were a "glorification of the Amshaspends." They are too passionate and serious to be a "glorification" of anything less than the Amshaspends; but as these are the personified attributes of God aroused into saving grace for His people we might allow that the Gâthas were indeed the "Amshaspends' glorification," and, as they recur at every step for the reasons given, this alone carries with it the restriction referred to. There was *little room* for analogous terminology. Asha, Vohu Manah, Kashathra, Aramaiti fairly crowd out other moral expressions from the strophes, and what words could possibly take the place of Haurvatât and Ameretatât? And we owe the alternative certainties in the Gâthas as to these matters to this fact; the same cast of sentiment was forced to come out everywhere because *these all-pervading words could not do other than express it*. Vohu Manah is the Benevolence of Deity, for we cannot restrict the word to His "Sanity," or "Wisdom;" Asha is the Holy Order of the Law, now in the mind of God, now in the inspired statutes (including ritual), now in the saintly citizen. Khshathra is the Sovereign Power, Aramaiti is the activity, alertness of His purpose; Haurvatât is the result, wholeness or beatitude, while Ameretatât, immortality, is its permanence. How can sentences in which these terms are for ever recurring, and which are dominated by their especial significance give off other than lofty sentiment? The words in themselves were sacrosanct; so much so that indeed they soon lost their fine meaning and became mere proper names, the sublime personification of poetry yielding to the lower personification of dogmatism; but while their vitality still lingered, and especially while it continued in full strength, when these words came in, great thoughts could not help but come in with them. They must have controlled the sense which followed, and, if their approach was felt, they must have influenced the sense which went before. This alone relieves us sensibly. The Gâthic hymns are poor in terminology because the names of the

Attributes make less impressive language useless, and because they *occupy its space*.

While the *Rik* glows and scintillates with a hundred human passions, rich in its colour beyond a common measure, the *Gâthas* burn with sterner fire, narrowed and severe, a puritan fanaticism. The one is nature eager for acquisition just or selfish, and spread out in its depictions like the red of the auroras; the other was focussed flame, devouring and intense. Read *Yasna XXXII, XXXIII, parts of XXXI and XXXIV*, and the polemic parts throughout; even in the wedding fragment, *Y. LIII*, ferocity appears. The meditative parts are as much preoccupied with deep-felt sentiment as the more vehement ones are engaged with uttered thoughts; everywhere the thrice holy Law, the Love, Power, Busy Will of Ahura pervade the subject matter and show an earnest conviction which is ever pressing to break out. This makes the *Gâthas* easier, only in a preliminary sense indeed; but that is something, nay, it is much. Any reader with a good guide may get the cream of them in a comparatively very brief period of time. To absorb their full significance in all its detail, originally, and as a teacher, this should indeed consume the toil of patient years; and it is, I profoundly regret to say, a task most rarely met;¹ but the study of this close detail these secrets of the syllables, need not engage investigators who are searching for the main doctrines; *obscurities can wait*. They were solved, let us not forget, to the first hearers of the *Gâthas*. The perfervid throngs saw all the backgrounds of the subjects brought before them; they could feel the force of each allusion, and get the help of every side light. The songs were repeated doubtless by rhapsodists on many a feast, and to groups coming from the remotest spots of Iran; see the very words which head a leading *Gâtha*, "O ye who come from near and from afar;" and those hymns arose too, from notorious facts which stirred the people's life; little doubt could exist, at least in Iranian minds, as to what their closer meaning was, for all the particulars were familiar and Zaratushtra's priests had taught from tent to tent; but as to their bare language in itself considered, as it stood and stands to-day fixed in its ancient metre, I doubt if the first hearers themselves could always catch its point, that is to say, at their first hearing, and before its full meanings had been purposely expounded; but these immediate allusions and this local point do not constitute their supreme value to us, because the claims of moral investigators,

¹ One of the greatest literary scandals of the century exists in this connection, some of the most prominent representatives of the subject (in another country) having long omitted all study of the most difficult of the many branches involved.

that is to say, our claims in searching ancient lore for the higher developments of human sentiment (as it were, for a history of the soul), morally dominate the interests of the secular historian and of the *philolog*. To work in the moral field is a nobler duty, and for that we need only the body of the thought in the Gâthas, which is very clear.

"But are there then no doubts at all as to these main doctrines of these hymns?" The non-specialist but critical reader will ask—"no doubts whatsoever?" There are no doubts at all, I would plainly answer, that is to say, none which are not solvable like all other ordinary doubts by tact and common sense. If space can be spared me in another issue of this Review, I hope to show some further facts of interest, and illustrate this serious question yet more, for if theology accepts Mr Moulton's estimate of the practical bearing of the Gâthas on comparative religion, it would seem to be a duty for a Zend specialist, who is at the same time a religious teacher, to follow up a general statement with details.

L. H. MILLS.

Studies in the Evolutionary Psychology of Feeling.

By Hiram M. Stanley, Member of the American Psychological Association. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. 392. Price, 7s. 6d.

THE volume consists of a series of studies of a tentative nature, says the author, all too modestly, in Evolutionary Psychology. The current doctrine of Evolution is assumed. Mind is viewed as a biological function continually evolving in the service of self-conservation and self-furtherance. The endeavour is to indicate the stages in the Evolution of Feeling, and to analyse some of its more important features. The conclusion is reached that "mind was at first, and is always as progressive, feeling-impelled will, and that sensing arose as secondary." The author claims to be an enquirer only, offering the best interpretation he can give of certain data. It may be truly said that he is an interesting guide, with an acute and penetrating mind.

Psychology is regarded as the most imperfect of the sciences. It can show no such *consensus*, amounting to practical unanimity, as is found among specialists in the departments of knowledge known as the natural sciences. This lack of generally accepted results is more apparent in the domain of feeling than elsewhere. Feeling has too often been discussed from an *a priori* point of view, as by Herbart.

The physical side of emotion has been so emphasised by the physiological school as to distract attention from purely psychological investigation. As a consequence little has been accomplished in the pure psychology of feeling. The essays attempt a scientific study of feeling regarded as a biological function governed by the general laws of life, and subject in origin and development to the law of struggle for existence.

The first task is to discover the primitive consciousness. Mind, like all other vital functions, must originate in some very simple and elementary form as demanded at some critical moment for the preservation of the organism. Mind could not originate as awareness of object, or in any discriminating activity, for mere apprehension would not serve the being. The demand of the organism is for what will accomplish immediate movement to the place of safety. How is this secured? It is secured by pain. The stone, pressed upon by a heavy weight, does not react to secure itself, but is crushed out of its identity: the organism, however, reacts at once, and through pain. Primitive mind, then, starts as pure pain: a bare undifferentiated pain is the original conscious act. It is difficult to say what this pain really is, since it is quite foreign to the mental acts of which we are conscious. The primitive pain was not a pain of any particular kind, but was undifferentiated, wholly without quality, and is comparable only to a formless, unorganised mass of protoplasm, which has in it potency of future development.

With this primitive act of blind, formless pain the law of conservation requires us to associate the will-act of struggle and effort, which also is simple and undifferentiated. These two we must mark as the original elements of all mental life. Strenuousness, through and by pain, is primal, and is simplest force which can conduce to self-preservation. It is thus that active beings are constituted. The earliest conscious response to outward things has no cognitive value. The first consciousness was a flash of pain, of smallest intensity yet sufficient to awaken struggle and preserve life.

Pleasure plays no part in absolutely primitive consciousness. Pleasure and pain could not both be primitive functions; and of the two, pain is fundamental, in that the earliest function of consciousness must be purely minatory. Pain secures struggle, which ends in the abatement of pain through change of environment or otherwise. As long as pain continues there is effort and self-conserving action; when pain ceases, consciousness ceases, because the need for it has gone. Each fit of pain subsides into unconsciousness as struggle succeeds, and there is no room for even the pleasure of relief, which, indeed, must be accounted a tolerably

late feeling. As far as the lowest organisms have a conscious life it is a pain life; but they have a Nirvāna in a real unconsciousness.

The evolution of pleasure is regarded as a distinct problem. Pleasure is not the original stimulant of will. The pleasure mode enters early, however, to sharpen by contrast the pain mode; and it is only by their interaction that any high grade of psychic life could be built up. The development of pleasure can not be from pain, but as a polar opposite to it. In a sense we may say that pleasure and pain are complementary, like positive and negative electricity, but the comparison must not be pressed; neither is absolutely essential to the other. That pleasure is secondary is suggested also by the circumstance that pleasure is mainly connected with such late formations as the special senses, whereas pain is prominent with earlier functions; thus we have pleasures of taste, but visceral pleasure is scarcely noticeable, though visceral pain as colic may be very acute. The origin of pleasure is to be traced as an intermediary feeling between pain as produced by excess and pain from lack. The original psychic state is to be sought in a pain-effort form.

Now the speculative, and even ethical, interest of all this seems to me to be great, but the question arises, is it verifiable? and if not, can it be scientific? And if not, will it contribute to the establishment of a science of psychology, which is the *desideratum* of our author? Again, Mr Stanley sides with those who make feeling primitive. He is in conflict with those who make cognition primitive, and with those who regard cognition and feeling as inseparable except in thought or analysis: and he presents no *eirenicon*. The necessity for so interpreting the facts will not be apparent to those who do not accept the thesis that the latent and inward order is always from feeling to knowledge, but affirm that feeling never can be said to exist in a pure state as bare pleasure and pain totally without cognitive value, and who hold that cognition, feeling, will, is the order for all mind. We are on an ancient battlefield. Again, the question forces itself upon us, in what does this pain inhere? what is it that feels? what is it that evolves? Life and mind are not identical terms. We read that structure is the result of function: that organs are the result of effort: that effort is essentially voluntary effort. But what is it that puts forth effort? Apparently a function. The author does not expect that the origin of mind can be discovered in the laboratory; but is it discovered to us in undifferentiated pain? And if not, is not the genesis of feeling still an unsolved problem?

The chapters in which the author works out his theory of the evolution of the feelings are far too subtle and elaborate to allow of condensed statement in a short notice like this. It must suffice

to say that the work is done with discrimination, suggestiveness, and originality. Mr Stanley calls no man master; but his independence never tempts him to think lightly of those from whom he differs. He breaks a lance with Darwin, with Mr Herbert Spencer, with Dr James Ward, and many others, but he is an honourable foeman, and is intent on attaining truth. The principle of natural selection is skilfully employed, but its limitations are recognised. Where the conclusions of others are accepted they are set in fresh lights. His "Remarks on Attention" awaken interest in the reader, as also does his discussion of the rise and development of self-consciousness. The chapter on "Induction and Emotion" abounds in fruitful suggestion: those on "Æsthetic Psychosis" and on "The Psychology of Literary Style" amply repay consideration and study; and this is true also of his treatment of "Ethical Emotion" and of "The Expression of Feeling." The volume furnishes throughout interesting and attractive reading, and will be found a welcome contribution on a subject that has received insufficient attention. In a new edition of the work the numerical references in the index will need to be revised.

VAUGHAN PRYCE.

Archäologie der altchristlichen Kunst.

Von Dr Victor Schultze, Professor an der Universität Greifswald. München: Oskar Beck, 1895; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Small 4to, pp. xii., 382. Price, 10s.

"AN uninterrupted study of Christian Archaeology, which has occupied nearly twenty years, and has given me occasion to become personally acquainted with nearly all the more important monuments of that branch of research, both in the east and in the west"—this is the foundation on which Professor Schultze puts forward his claim to speak with authority on his subject. And in truth, there is not a page of this work which does not bear testimony to the painful industry and mathematical accuracy which seem to be the birthright of German scholars.

The work is primarily intended for those who are entering upon the study of the antiquities of the early Christian church. It therefore "aims rather at being to the point than at being complete: the author's object being the compilation of a practical text-book." An admirable feature of the work is the large and full bibliography prefixed to each section; additional references are given in the notes in smaller type, and in the footnotes. This alone would make the book valuable to those for whom it is intended.

Professor Schultze is not afraid to acknowledge his indebtedness to his predecessors in the same field; but the book is no mere abridgement of the work of previous investigators. Both in text and illustrations he claims to have thrown overboard much useless "ballast" which generation has inherited from generation, and to have filled its place with new matter. Much of this new material is the result of a special attention paid to the remains of the church in Syria.

The author has divided his work into five parts, prefaced by a short introduction. In these sections he discusses in turn the subjects of Architecture, Painting, Sculpture, Microtechnics, and Iconography.

The introductory portion of the work is occupied with a short history of the progress of discovery and investigation in Christian Archaeology, containing a remarkably full list of the names of the principal writers; an interesting essay on the relation of the church to art; and another, comparing the general characteristics of the arts of the pagan classic races, and those of the early ages of Christianity. But the most useful chapter of this section is the topographical conspectus of existing monuments. Each country of the ancient world is taken in turn, and a paragraph (to which a good bibliography is in every case appended) is devoted to giving a general account of the remains there existing. We naturally turn to the heading "England," but are disappointed to find nothing recorded except numerous microtechnic remains in the museums, and a few fragments of mosaic pavements. It would, perhaps, have been well for Professor Schultze to have mentioned the recovery of the Basilica of Silchester, or the fragments of Roman work found in one or two of the English churches: but these are all comparatively unimportant; a more serious omission is that of all reference to the rich remains of the early church in Ireland, which form a unique chapter in the history of Christian Archaeology.

In the section devoted to Architecture, the vexed question of the origin of the normal church plans is the first subject discussed. Considering first the basilican plan, Professor Schultze traces its origin to the plan of the ordinary private house of the better sort—the first scene of Christian worship. This discussion is fully illustrated, showing a very close parallel between the parts of a house and those of a basilican church. The atrium becomes the narthex, the cellae surrounding the atrium the cloisters of the narthex, the impluvium the baptistery (an identification which strikes us as somewhat forced); the peristyle court corresponds to the church itself, and the exedra to the apse. This is ingenious, but not absolutely convincing: the atrium is roofed—save for the

hypæthrum—the narthex not so; the peristyle court, on the other hand, is an open garden, whereas the church is roofed. No reference is made to the theory championed by Professor Baldwin Brown¹—that the origin of the Basilica is to be sought in the *scholæ* or club-rooms of friendly societies and similar organisations, which sprang into being at Rome in the days of the Empire. The development of the aisles and their galleries, and the solution of problems of ventilation and lighting; the changes consequent on the increase of clerical power, the elaboration of the ritual, the division of the sexes which was found to be expedient, the development of the noviciary and penitentiary systems, and the supersession of congregational by professional musical services—all these are described with characteristic German thoroughness. We should, however, have liked to see the contrast between the secular and the ecclesiastical basilica fully brought out: the old pre-scientific fallacy which derived the one straight from the other is hard to kill. We note that Professor Schultze calls the plan which shows a western apse in addition to the eastern “abnormal.” It is no doubt rare, but is almost too common to warrant this adjective. The first cathedral of Canterbury, for example, was built on this plan. Among Professor Schultze’s illustrations in this section, perhaps the most interesting is that of a bronzed lamp formed in the shape of a miniature basilica; but we cannot find that Professor Schultze informs his readers where this remarkable relic is to be seen, excepting a hint, sixty pages further on in the work, that it is “North African.” It is probably older than the lamp in the form of a building adorned with towers, of which a figure is given in Spallart, *Tableaux histor. des costumes et mœurs*, pl. xx., fig. 4. This criticism applies equally well to several other illustrations of small objects in the book, and is an unsatisfactory feature, for even though the faithfulness of the author is above suspicion, students would be glad to know where to seek antiquities of interest, such as this lamp, whenever the opportunity of travel should present itself. Professor Schultze regards towers organically connected with the associated building—not excepting the round tower of Ravenna—as the work of that vague period known as the “early middle ages.” This chapter closes with a useful series of descriptions of selected basilicas, among which St Peter’s at Rome naturally receives the fullest treatment.

The description of the domed churches is shorter, and hardly so satisfactory. It is largely occupied with accounts of the two important buildings, St Vitale at Ravenna and St Sophia at Constantinople; but little or no reference is made to general principles, or to the development of the dome from the simple

¹ *From Schola to Cathedral*, ad init.

hemisphere of the Pantheon to the ingenious elaboration of pendentives found in later buildings. A short chapter on orientation and enclosing walls follows, in the course of which we are glad to note a severe remark on the popular notion that a church is oriented towards the point of sunrise on its patron's feast-day. Private chapels then form a subject of brief discussion; reference to the building discovered in 1876 near the baths of Diocletian is made for illustrative purposes.

Professor Schultze proceeds to the interesting subject of monastic buildings—the *laura* and *caenobium*. The remarkable development of the *laura* system in Ireland has apparently missed his attention; such establishments as those of Inismurray and Skellig Michael ought surely to have been mentioned along with the monastery of Iona. To the latter a reference is made; and in this connection the name of Columba's biographer is misprinted "Adaman." This is the only serious misprint we have noticed. Chapters on "church furniture" and "sepulchral architecture" conclude this first section. In the former the altar, stalls, ambo, and lights, with the appurtenances of each, are carefully described; in the latter, perhaps the most interesting portion is the brief description of the catacombs, with plans of some of the more important, and a topographical conspectus of similar excavations in various parts of the world.

The remaining portions of the work are shorter than the first. In Section II. Professor Schultze treats of colour decoration, both painting and mosaic. The mural paintings in the catacombs and elsewhere are first discussed, but Professor Schultze devotes himself entirely to the designs and subjects represented; of the technique of the art he says little, except that our information is at present defective. Of the subjects found in such situations Professor Schultze gives a very full list, with careful notice of the conventions adopted and the incidental symbolism observable; and he calls special attention to the adaptation of ancient myths to Christian teaching on the one hand, and of scenes known to the new religion to the scenes of the old mythology on the other—the well-known Orpheus being perhaps the best example of the first case, the figure of Jonah resting (where Professor Schultze sees a reminiscence of the sleeping Endymion), of the second. Another ancient common-place receives scant courtesy in this chapter—the derivation of the fish symbol from the initials of *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ* is stigmatised as a "Spielerei"; but Professor Schultze offers us no theory to take its place, nor does he explain the well-known reference in the Sibylline verses (viii. 212), nor the Autun acrostic (*Ann. de phil. chrétienne*, 2nd ser., xix. 195). The following chapter, devoted to illuminated manuscripts,

is somewhat disappointing, as it consists rather of descriptions of isolated examples than of an account of underlying principles. Fuller and more interesting than its two predecessors is the chapter on mosaic, of which method of decoration the southern churches offer such rich examples. A large number of specimens are described, and there is a fair selection of illustrations of different types. In a miscellaneous chapter concluding this portion Professor Schultze discusses the mural decoration of the private houses of Christians, and the portraits of deceased Egyptians painted on their mummy cases. Professor Schultze appears to be aware of only two of these substitutes for the carved face of the earlier coffin-case, namely, a man and wife whose mummies are now preserved at Boulaq; but there are at least two more examples in the British Museum.

The treatment of sculpture, in Section III., is similar to that of painting. The subject is divided into sepulchral reliefs (subdivided into sculptured sarcophagi and stelae with graffiti, sculptures, or inscriptions), diptychs, miscellaneous sculptured objects (as capsae, pyxes, &c), and statuary, each branch being very fully illustrated. Small objects, as lamps, ampullae, rings, and various kinds of glass-ware occupy the fourth section. Here, too, there is a large muster of specimens, and a useful table of inscriptions and symbols found upon lamps, classified under different heads. Professor Schultze claims that this latter list (which contains twenty-six entries), while not necessarily complete, is the fullest which has yet appeared.

The most interesting section is the fifth and last, dealing with Iconography. After a few general introductory remarks, Professor Schultze considers the various sources which inspired the artist with subjects—the Scriptures, legends of saints, &c.—emphasising the while the fact that the purely decorative elements are entirely traceable to the ancient art. He then proceeds to a discussion of the persons and scenes represented in early Christian works of art. The first chapter of this discussion is devoted to a history of the representations of the Persons of the Trinity. The author traces the steps by which the artists emancipated themselves from the shrinking, felt in the earlier, purer days of the Church, from representing the Father in bodily form. He then proceeds to describe the representations of the Son, naturally the fullest subdivision of this part of the subject. The first group of these representations consists of the few portrayals of the pre-existing Christ. Then come those which represent scenes in His human life—the Nativity and scenes in the Childhood: the Baptism, the Miracles, and the Passion. Under the latter heading Professor Schultze refers to the coarse caricature of Alexamenos: this he interprets in the straightforward

manner, as Garrucci has done, and does not follow some writers in endeavouring to explain it away as a piece of Gnostic symbolism. Selected representations of the Resurrection, Ascension, Exaltation, and the Last Judgment are then described; following this is a valuable dissertation on the portrait of Christ. The conventional bearded portrait Professor Schultze dates from the fifth century, and shows that two types preceded it. The earlier he regards as derived from an Apollo, the later from an Æsculapius type; but he does not explain the universal agreement upon the later type almost immediately after its introduction. It is a very singular fact that the same ideal type prevails from the fifth century onwards throughout the whole Church, from Constantinople to the remote cemeteries of Ireland, such as that of Killeen Cormaic in Kildare. Notes on the attributes of Christ (with special attention to the nimbus) and to His symbols (the fish, chrisma, &c.) conclude the subdivision relating to the Divine Son. Brief notes on the representation of the Holy Spirit (always typified as a dove) and the Holy Trinity conclude this chapter.

The next chapter relates to representations of Angels, Daemons, and Death. The development of the first Christian conception of the angel—founded on Old Testament scenes and descriptions—as a strong man, bearded, and rather forbidding, into the youthful, winged type with which we are all familiar, is traced and illustrated by the quotation of a series of examples. Professor Schultze states that, though demoniacal figures are introduced into representations of the healing of those possessed, no figure of Satan is to be found in early Christian art, if we except the serpent in representations of the Fall. He has apparently forgotten the picture in the Book of Kells and the Vatican bronze figured by Didron (*Ann. archéol.*, v. 2). With only one exception, Death is always represented in the classic guise of a genius with inverted torch.

Space will not permit us to enter at length into the other chapters of this article on Early Christian Iconography. Let it suffice to say that portrayals of Apostles, Evangelists, and Saints, scenes of varied character in human life, and the personification of natural features, are in turn fully treated. There is a fair number of illustrations, though some are not very good. For instance, we might easily find a better representation of the well-known Justinian mosaic in St Vitale at Ravenna. We are also sorry to notice that to this section the author has not, as elsewhere, prefixed a bibliography.

In conclusion, this work may be confidently recommended to those who are entering upon the subject, and who have the advantage of knowing German. But it is by no means beneath the notice of those who are already well versed in the subject. To

none but the highest authorities could the enormous number of illustrative examples quoted, the full references, and the useful bibliographies, fail to be of value.

R. A. STEWART MACALISTER.

Greifswalder Studien.

Theologische Abhandlungen. Hermann Cremer, zum 25 jährigen Professoren-jubiläum dargebracht. Gütersloh : C. Bertelsmann ; Edinburgh and London : Williams & Norgate, 1895. 8vo pp. 356. Price, M.6.

THESE Greifswald Studies in honour of Cremer, in connection with his professorial semi-jubilee, remind one of the volume of theological essays published a few years ago in honour of Weizsäcker. They are, however, of less importance, as well as of diverse theological tendency. The names of the writers are for the most part little known in this country, and the topics are to a considerable extent special points rather than large wide themes. Among the more suggestive and interesting may be mentioned these: "The Acts of the Apostles as a subject of higher and lower criticism," by D. O. Zöckler; "What Paul means by Christian Faith," by Dr Joh. Haussleiter; "Paul's doctrine of Election," by Joh. Dalmer; "The Man from Heaven," by W. Lütgert; "Faith and the Facts," by Ernst Cremer. The paper on "The Man from Heaven" is a discussion on 1 Cor. xv. 47, and the result arrived at is that the expression *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ* does not point to the *pre-existence* of Christ as a *man* in heaven before He came to this earth, as Baur, Holsten, Biedermann, Pfeiderer, and Weizsäcker suppose, but rather to the supernatural character of His humanity even when He was on earth. "What in its nature is not explicable from this world, what rises above the forces lying in the world, that is from heaven, and has God for its cause." Accordingly the expression *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ* means that Jesus in His person, His life-work, and His acts was wholly produced by God—not an ordinary man, but altogether supernatural. Cremer's article on "Faith and Facts" is a polemic against the Ritschlian school, in so far as it is chargeable with undervaluing the facts, especially the miraculous facts, in the history of Christ. The contention of the writer is that the miraculous facts, such as the resurrection, are not merely *facts*, but *vital to faith*. He is an orthodox Lutheran, and his watchword is, "back to the Confession of the Fathers," or rather, as he prefers to put it, "forward with the Confession of the Fathers."

A. B. BRUCE.

Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums.

By Dr Carl Mirbt, Ord. Professor der Kirchengeschichte an der Universität, Marburg. Freiburg i. B. and Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xii. 288. Price, M.4.

DR CARL MIRBT has done all students of Church History a very great service by the publication of these "sources." He has printed all the most important extracts and documents which bear upon the growth of the Papacy from its first obscure beginnings down to the encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII., dated June 20, 1894. It is no longer necessary for the student to hunt up his references laboriously through more than a hundred volumes; he has them all collected for him and published in the best versions, with references to where the texts are to be found. This book, of less than three hundred pages, is a complete library on the growth of the pretensions of the Bishop of Rome.

He begins with the testimonies to the martyrdom of Peter at Rome, and to the universal belief in the presence of Peter there as a teacher and preacher of the Gospel. He then cites the testimonies of such men as Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian to the eminent place and also to the restrictions of the power of the Bishop of Rome in the early centuries. It is sufficient to state that the notable decision of the Emperor Aurelian with regard to the property of Paul of Samosata is included in the list of "Sources," to shew how carefully this has been done.

The canons of the various Councils from Nicea downwards which bear on the position of the Roman bishop are all carefully given; the edicts of the Emperors Theodosius, Valentinian, Honorius, Charles the Great, and Lothar are all to be found in the collection of authorities. The principal documents in the Investiture Controversy, and the most important Bulls and Briefs of Innocent III., are all printed.

Dr Mirbt does not confine himself to the documents which assert or favour the papal pretensions; his aim has evidently been to collect the documents on both sides. Thus, almost immediately after the Bull "Unam Sanctam" of Boniface VIII., we have extracts from the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsilius of Padua; after the Bull of Alexander VI., bestowing the New World on Ferdinand and Isabella, we have Luther's XCV Theses; and after the Bull of Innocent X. against the Jansenists we find the *Declaratio cleri Gallicani* of 1682.

If it is permissible to criticise such a valuable publication I would venture to suggest that it does not sufficiently bring out by documents

the perpetual protest which never altogether failed against the pretension of Rome, even during the Middle Ages. Thus we should have expected some extracts from the anti-papal writings produced by the disputes between Philip the Fair of France and Lewis of Bavaria and the Popes; such as the *Quaestio in utramque partem disputata de potestate regia et pontificali*, the *Disputatio inter militem et clericum super potestatem prelati ecclesiae atque principibus terrarum commissa*, and the *De Monarchia* of Dante. The protests of the Parliament of England in Wiclif's time may be considered too local to find a place, but surely the Statute of Edward III. about *Premunire* and the *Constitutions of Clarendon* ought to have been quoted. We have a right also to expect the *Juramentum Ottonis* and the *Privilegium Ottonis* of date 962, as well as the *Constitutio Romana* of Lothar.

The famous letter of Columbanus to Boniface IV. (*Opera Epist.* I.) denying the jurisdiction of the Pope over all churches beyond the bounds of the empire, ought to have found a place; and that portion of the proceedings of the sixth Œcumenical Council which declared Pope Honorius a heretic.

Dr Mirbt has given five extracts from Cyprian, but he has not printed two very important passages from the fifty-fifth Epistle;—the one in the eighth section where what is required to make a lawful election to the Roman Episcopate is given, and where at the same time the parity of all bishops is implied; and the other in the ninth section, which, in declaring that Decius would rather hear of the revolt of a usurper to the Empire than of the election of a bishop to the See of Rome, gives us an insight into the important place filled by the Bishop of Rome in these very early days.

Dr Mirbt has given us the list of Roman bishops in Irenaeus, but he ought also to have given the double list in Eusebius, and also the *Catalogus Liberianus* as that has been edited by Mommsen (*Abhandlungen der philolog.-histor. Classe der koenigl. saechs. Gesellschaften*, i. 582-5). It would have helped also to have made this part of the subject clear had we the sentence which Eusebius quotes from Hegesippus to the effect that Anicetas was the immediate predecessor of Soter (*Eccl. Hist.*, iv. 22).

The statement of Hippolytus that Pope Zephyrinus was *ἄνδρα ἰδιωτὴν καὶ ἀγράμματον* (ix. 6, cf. 7) should scarcely have been omitted; and when the extracts from Dionysius of Corinth, Caius, and Clement are given in support of the idea that Peter was in Rome, it might have been well to have also cited extracts from the *Acts of St Peter and St Paul*, and the curious passage in Eusebius ii. 14, which tells us that Peter was brought to Rome to refute Simon Magus, who was deceiving multitudes in the imperial city.

T. M. LINDSAY.

Die Weissagungen Jesu Christi von Seinem Tode, Seiner Auferstehung und Wiederkunft und ihre Erfüllung.

Von Dr Phil. Paul Schwartzkopff, Professor. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Kuprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo. pp. 205. Price, M.4.

THE present publication is intended to form the fourth part of a work whose title, when the whole is completed, will be "The Revelation of God in Jesus Christ, its content, its range, its limits." [Die Gottesoffenbarung in Jesu Christo nach Inhalt, Umfang und Grenzen]. The author publishes the last part of the proposed book first because it handles questions of present urgency. In the completed work he will make it his task to discriminate between what belongs to the divine contents of the revelation and what belongs to its human form. And in this first, or last, portion of his book, he examines the predictions of Christ regarding His death, resurrection, and return, in order to ascertain in these particular instances what belongs to the contents and what to the form.

In the investigation of these predictions the author starts from a twofold postulate : the moral perfectness and mental imperfectness, the sinlessness and mental limitations of Jesus. The latter He does not elaborately exhibit or prove, but considers it sufficient merely to point to our Lord's citation of the 110th Psalm as David's, and to His belief in demoniacal possession. A certain limitation of our Lord's view is indicated here, and this limitation may be expected to appear throughout. But it does not invalidate the contents of the revelation. For in regard to its essential contents the revelation is guaranteed by the sinless perfection of Christ's spiritual life. His sinlessness enabled Him to know God and to perceive the horror of sin ; and, recognising that men in general were in want of that very love of God which was the joy of His own life, He could not but make it the task of His life, to bring them into the fellowship of God's love. The concrete forms of His teaching—the Kingdom of God and so forth—were derived from the conditions in which he lived ; but the essence of His teaching sprang directly from His own sinless consciousness.

Starting with these guiding ideas Professor Schwartzkopff enters upon the examination of the reported predictions by Jesus. His method is not so much exegetical as critical, and his criticism is almost entirely psychological. What is inconsistent with the moral perfectness or mental limitations of Jesus he rejects as impossible. What is consistent with this double aspect of the humanity of Christ he admits. Thus, in connection with the prediction of His death,

Schwartzkopff finds that Jesus could not foresee it from the beginning of His ministry, although from the first He counted on a hard struggle. But as the Old Testament "knew nothing of the Messiah's death," it was only when He recognised the wicked obstinacy of the Pharisees that He felt sure that they would carry their hostility to the utmost, and saw that His death was probable. The author traces with great care the growth of this hostility and the consequent conviction on the part of Jesus. But it was as a religious condition that the necessity of His death was finally borne in upon His mind, and this was the experience He passed through at Cæsarea Philippi. Anxiously His heart asked God whether only by giving Himself to death the salvation of men could be accomplished, and the divine answer came in the strongest affirmative. He knew that man's salvation consisted in his loving God, and that this love could only spring from the sense of God's love. He knew also that in order to produce this sense of God's love the utmost possible manifestation of it must be made—that is, He must yield Himself to death. His forecast of death was thus an essential part of His Messianic consciousness, and is therefore to be accepted.

Very interesting and acute is Professor Schwartzkopff's investigation of the prediction of resurrection. This also he holds to be psychologically assured; because Jesus, being conscious that He was bound in closest love to the God of His life, must have felt sure that the death He looked forward to could not sever that connection. His life rooted in God could not be destroyed by death, but must persist through it. He could not believe in His death without also believing in His resurrection. And this belief He could not but utter to His disciples to arm them against the hopelessness which His death would otherwise have induced. The essential contents and religious value of this belief and of all belief in the resurrection of Christ, consist not in the exact period of three days, for that only means any short time, nor in the bodily visibility of the risen Lord, but in the living presence of the Christ at God's right hand in the place of spiritual supremacy. This was what is valid and to be relied upon in the prediction. It is this which is guaranteed by the existence of Christianity. While this remains, accidental features of the prediction may be questioned. It may, for example, be questioned whether the grave was emptied, or with what body Christ appeared. He expected to pass immediately to Paradise from the Cross, so that, to all appearance, His passing to God and the place of power was not dependent on the rising of His body from the grave. The Resurrection must rather be thought of as His equipment with a *glorified* body to administer and consummate His Kingdom. But one feature of the appearances after the Resurrection is not to be questioned, and that is, the objectivity of these appearances.

Whether they were bodily and visible to every ordinary eye may be questioned, but that they were objective cannot be doubted, because only by the action of God on the human spirit can faith in the risen Lord arise. To say that the Church would be founded on a delusion if the appearances of Christ were visions would only be true if these visions were subjective, not objective. The disciples supposed they saw the body of Christ risen, but to contend that without an actual bodily appearance the Church could not have been founded, is to overrate the historical importance of the form, and to underrate its religious contents.

The essential contents of Christ's prediction of His return are also psychologically guaranteed. Jesus was conscious that the consummation of the Kingdom of God was indissolubly bound up with His presence and energy. And as this Kingdom was to find on earth, perhaps a glorified earth, its sphere and its maturest development and destiny, Christ's return to earth was needful. This is the religious kernel of the belief. As to the rest, the precise time and form of the coming, this is non-essential, and belongs merely to the husk. If error crept in here, and if the general belief of the Primitive Church, that Christ would return shortly, is to be traced to utterances of Jesus which conveyed this meaning, this does not damage the religious value of the expectation that Christ would return. One thing may be held as certain regarding the accompaniments of Christ's return (that is, regarding His coming in the clouds, and with the angels), that they were foretold not in any spirit of self-exultation and vain enthusiasm, but either as the adoption of Old Testament figure or the direct result of His perception of the glory of God in the consummation of the Kingdom, and His desire worthily to impress that glory on the minds of men.

Professor Schwartzkopff's essay deserves ample recognition as an honest, reverential, and able attempt to solve one of the most difficult problems connected with the Person and Work of Christ. There is no critical or theological question that presses more urgently for an answer than this: Do the necessary human limitations of Christ's mental view interfere with the authoritativeness and truth of His revelation? If He was not liable to error, then He was not human; but if He was liable to such error as invalidates His revelation, then He was sent in vain. What is the middle position which at once admits what is demanded by His true humanity, and yet secures His revelation as true? This is the task to which Professor Schwartzkopff gives himself, and in the pursuance of which he has produced a book blossoming on every page with suggestions, and worthy of the most serious study of theologians. His method is perhaps too exclusively psychological, but this dominant fashion in German criticism is a healthy reaction, and full of good fruit.

Its defects are apparent in the present volume. The author seeks to make good not all that criticism can prove to be actual and historical, but only what is psychologically determinable. Necessarily much is left out in his results, and some points seem misrepresented. For example, although the bodily appearance of Christ after the resurrection is not essential to the belief in Him as alive and supreme, yet the question remains, Was it actual? This question scarcely gets a fair answer under our author's method. Psychological congruity is an admirable handmaid to exegesis. As supplementary, it does excellent service, but here it is too exclusively used.

The results obtained are certainly conservative. They increase the solidity of the base on which rests what is essential in the revelation made by Christ. In other hands, no doubt, results of a different kind might be reached. But difference of opinion must needs arise, and the individual cannot reasonably complain that he is thrown upon his own judgment. As already said, it may be questioned whether Professor Schwartzkopff does not give up more than is necessary, and it is not to be expected that his interpretation of our Lord's anticipation of His return will be universally accepted; but every one interested in the great questions here dealt with will gladly acknowledge that they are touched with delicate insight and discernment, and that he has shown the way in the attempt to discriminate between the essential and the non-essential, the kernel and the husk. A remarkable omission in the book is the absence of any attempt to estimate the effect of the Divine Spirit in the enlightenment of the mind of our Lord.

MARCUS DODS.

Der Antichrist in der Ueberlieferung des Judenthums, des neuen Testaments, und der alten Kirche.

Ein Beitrag zur Auslegung der Apocalypse. Von Lic. theol. Wilhelm Bousset, Privatdozenten in Göttingen. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo. Price, 4s. 6d.

IN this acute and learned essay Herr Bousset furnishes us with new material, and sets us on quite a new stand-point for the interpretation of Apocalyptic literature, and especially of some parts of the book of *Revelation*. He is frank and cordial in his acknowledgments of indebtedness to those who have preceded him in this department of study and suggested to him lines of research. He mentions especially Iselin's article on the *Apocalypse* as compared

with the late Syriac Ezra; Bratke's essay on the Arabo-Ethiopic Petrine Apocalypse; Corrodi's History of Chiliasm; and Professors Bonwetsch and Meyer. To Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* he feels himself so much indebted that he might, he says, almost call his work "a modest continuation" of that very original work. Yet in many points he differs in opinion from Gunkel, and is himself entirely independent both in his researches and in his conclusions.

Herr Bousset's present treatise originated in his desire to furnish a comprehensive account of the Eschatology of the Christian Church—a desire which his readers are glad to learn he still cherishes. Certainly the necessity of understanding the references to Antichrist lie on the threshold of such an enquiry. Not only does this mysterious and Protean figure present himself in each of the leading sections of New Testament literature, but he is never absent from the eschatological outlook of the patristic and mediæval writers. But an examination of the long series of documents in which Antichrist is mentioned, has disclosed to Herr Bousset this significant fact, that the later writers are not merely embellishing the features of his person and career which are described in the New Testament, but that they write from knowledge independent of the canonical Scriptures, and probably largely derived from esoteric oral tradition. And the significance of this fresh treatment of the subject largely consists in this, that it establishes the existence of a legend of Antichrist, existing from pre-Christian times and probably running back even into the old Babylonian Dragon-myth.

To trace this Antichrist legend back to its original, and to discover in what features it is derived from that most primitive of myths, is, however, not Herr Bousset's aim. He very wisely declines to entangle an already sufficiently complicated subject with one still more recondite and complex. Abstaining therefore from much allusion to the Babylonian Dragon, and from attempting definitely to ascertain its relation to the Antichrist, he contents himself with merely showing that the probabilities are strongly in favour of their relation, and makes it his chief aim to gather up from extant patristic and mediæval literature the various elements of the legend, and to prove that as an independent tradition it antedates the Christian era.

Herr Bousset's book is divided into two parts; in the former of which he gives a full and critical account of the literature, and in the latter brings together from that literature feature after feature of the Antichrist. The mere mustering of the documents in which Antichrist is depicted sufficiently demonstrates the part he has played in the Church's Eschatology; and the recondite character of some of these sources, and the skill with which their inter-relations are treated exhibit the scholarship of Herr Bousset in the most

favourable light. In the second part of his treatise he will probably carry his readers with him to the conviction that there is an Antichrist legend independent of the New Testament. Certainly there are features in it, recurring with considerable frequency in the writers quoted, which find no point of attachment to the account given by St Paul, St John, or our Lord Himself. No doubt this point requires to be more fully elaborated. If the legend is pre-Christian, then traces of it will necessarily appear in other Jewish Apocalypses besides that of Daniel; and the precise alteration which the advent of the Messiah wrought in the anti-Messiah legend is of importance. Still it is difficult to resist the main conclusion to which Herr Bousset wishes to lead us, that the elements entering into the allusions to Antichrist in the New Testament all belong to the common extra-canonical tradition or legend which persisted through many centuries of Christian history.

The bearing of this conclusion on the interpretation of the Johannine *Revelation*, the passage in 2 *Thess.* regarding the Man of Sin, and the Eschatological Discourse of our Lord is obvious. The law laid down by Gunkel that the individual writer of our Apocalypse does not invent his material, but merely adapts and implies it becomes at once intelligible and significant. Of course each writer has a purpose in view; and, even when using material already provided and laid to his hand by common tradition, he will probably let this purpose be seen by the emphasis he lays on certain features of the well-known picture or by his omissions. But certainly there can be no valid interpretation of any apocalypse until we are able to discriminate between what the writer has borrowed from the common stock and what is peculiar to himself. Hence all previous methods of interpretation have necessarily come to grief. That which depends solely on fitting all allusions found in each passage to some figure in contemporary history fails by neglecting to observe that most of these allusions form part of the normal picture of Antichrist which is handed on from age to age. To divide up the Apocalypse and apportion this verse to one source and that to another is liable to error, until the critic has compared the text with those references to the legend which are so extensively found in Christian literature. The labour and sagacity required for the task of discriminating between the common tradition and the allusions in the Johannine Apocalypse are indeed so great that Herr Bousset does not scruple to say that for a long time to come the exposition of the Apocalypse will surpass the powers of any single interpreter.

To interpret the book of *Revelation* was no part of Herr Bousset's purpose, and he gives us only a hint or two of the manner in which his work may be employed as a key to unlock the hidden meanings

of this obscurest of writings. In the 12th chapter he says we have the old Dragon-myth, in the second part of the 13th chapter we have the Antichrist-Saga, and in the first part of the same chapter its political application. "The three changing forms of the Saga have become three figures standing alongside of one another in a great eschatological picture: the Dragon, the Beast, the False Prophet." Unquestionably, however, this remarkable investigation of the Antichrist legend must mark a new epoch in the interpretation of the Johannine Apocalypse and the other eschatological references of the New Testament.

It may be added that Mr A. H. Keane, F.R.G.S., has furnished the English reader with a translation of Herr Bousset's valuable work. It is published by Messrs Hutchinson & Co., and is entitled *The Antichrist Legend*. This English edition has some advantages over the original. It is furnished with a much fuller Index, and with a preliminary essay by Mr Keane on the Dragon-myth which helps to make the whole treatise more intelligible and is itself interesting. It also gives the passages from Greek and Latin writers in English, relegating the originals to an Appendix. The translation is on the whole excellent, although the translator has nodded at pp. 13, 20, and 124.

MARCUS DODS.

Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristentums.

Von Friedrich Spitta. Zweiter Band. Der Brief des Jakobus ; Studien zum Hirten des Hermas. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 1896. 8vo, pp. vi. 437. Price, M.10.

IN the first part of this volume the author works out the thesis that the Epistle of James is a purely Jewish work from beginning to end, which was adopted by the Christians but altered in no appreciable respects, excepting by the insertion of the name of Christ in two places. The argument is two-fold, first tending to shew the absence of specifically Christian elements in the Epistle, and, secondly, pointing out parallels between every item in the Epistle and corresponding statements in recognised Jewish Literature. The initial step is to dispose of the two passages in which alone it is allowed that there is anything specifically Christian, viz.—I. 1, and II. 1. We are reminded that it only requires a glance at the commentaries to see that the expression τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς δόξης is a *crux interpretum*. The phrases ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης (Psalm xxix., lxx., xxviii.), and

ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης (Psalm xxiv., lxx., xxiii.), would suggest ready analogies for the abbreviated phrase that would remain, if the words ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ were regarded as an interpolation; and in this case there would be no difficulty in interpreting the clause. Spitta points out that the reference in the immediately preceding verse to widows and fatherless children rather prepares us for the mention of God, who is specially named in the Old Testament as caring for such. After he has thus disposed of one of the two Christian passages by shewing that the sentence in which it occurs can be more smoothly translated when it has been cut out, he can deal with the other the more boldly, although here no difficulty is suggested by the full text as it now stands. The title δούλος τοῦ θεοῦ is one of frequent occurrence in the Old Testament (*e.g.* 1 Chron. vi. 49; Isa. xlii. 19; Dan. iii. 26; vi. 20; ix. 11). Having got the two evidently Christian expressions out of the way as interpolations, Spitta proceeds to prove that "our letter in no respects rises above pre-Christian Hellenic literature." In order to demonstrate this position he enters upon an elaborate exposition of the work, going over it phrase by phrase, and adducing in every case parallel passages from the Old Testament or from non-canonical Jewish literature. This part of the treatise brings before us the fruits of wide research in regions rarely visited by the New Testament expositor. Even if the specific hypothesis it is designed to establish is not accepted, a solid piece of original work such as this is must prove to be of permanent value for a right understanding of the Epistle. It is one illustration of the light that may be thrown on the New Testament from the study of Jewish, and especially of nearly contemporary Jewish, literature. The commentator has been accustomed to look for analogies and explanations in the classics; he would find a more fruitful field if he would turn his attention to the till recently much neglected literature which sprang up on the very soil where the books he is studying had their origin, about the same time, and among the people of the same race and original religion as are represented by his authors.

To the reader accustomed to the Christian interpretation of the Epistle of St James there are many passages besides the two mentioning the name of Christ, which appear to indicate ideas that had their origin in the teaching of Christ and the Apostles. One of these is i. 18, which seems to point to the new birth brought about by means of the preaching of the Gospel. Spitta applies it to the creation of man, "the word of truth" being the creative word of which we read in Genesis. This phrase itself has abundant analogies in Jewish literature; and the previous verse, referring to God as "the Father of lights," seems to direct attention to the

creation of the sun and moon and stars. For mankind as the first fruits of creation we are referred to several Jewish analogies (e.g. Jubil. v. 3; Wisd. xiv. 11; Eccclus. xxxvi. 20; Aseneth. xii.). These passages, however, it is to be noted, none of them include the peculiar word ἀπαρχή, which so specifically links itself on to Christian associations. In i. 20 the expression ὁργή γὰρ ἀνδρὸς δικαιοσύνην θεοῦ οὐκ ἐργάζεται, which inculcates the peculiarly Christian duty of meekness, is matched with a parallel from Eccclus. i. 22 as well as more remote resemblances in Prov. xv. 1; xvi. 32. "The perfect law of liberty" is taken to be simply the ancient Hebrew *Torah*, venerated of all Jews. The two attributes which appear to point to the Christian law are both explained from Jewish analogy. The law is described as "perfect" in Psalm xviii. 7. For the attribute of *liberty*, apparently so peculiarly Christian, we have parallels in 4 Macc. v. 24-26, as well as several in Philo, the *Pirkè Aboth*, &c. It is difficult to appreciate an argument of this sort, one on the method of what Mill calls "simple induction," without going carefully through the whole of it; but any impartial reader who will take the trouble to do so must feel its growing weight, as item by item it is slowly piled up. It cannot be doubted that certain passages are very difficult to reconcile with the idea of the Epistle being addressed simply to the members of a Christian Church. The opening verses of the fifth chapter, for example, "Go too now ye rich, weep and howl for your miseries," &c., are not to be readily interpreted with reference to Christian people. But then it is almost equally difficult to apply them to Jews, elsewhere addressed by the writer of the Epistle as "beloved brethren." Spitta remarks that the author may mean persons who were not Jews, but who were in attendance at the synagogue. Of course this line of explanation is equally easy to employ in the case of the Christian interpretation of the Epistle.

Spitta follows his exposition of the Epistle by an inquiry into its apparent relations with various books of the New Testament, and more especially with the Gospels. It has often been pointed out that St James's Epistle contains more echoes of the teaching of Christ recorded in the Synoptics than any other New Testament book. This point has been strongly insisted on by Beyschlag. Some have seen here a direct dependence on the Synoptics. Resch attributes the resemblances to a common use of a pre-canonical, primitive Gospel document. On the hypothesis that the Epistle was written in the earliest times a common oral tradition of the teachings might cover the references to the teachings of Jesus, if such there are. They are in no case given as acknowledged quotations—a point which may be seized as making for Spitta's theory. In taking up the instances *seriatim* Spitta follows the method pursued in the

exposition—finding analogies for the supposed citations from the teachings of our Lord in the various pre-Christian writings. An interest of a special kind arises in considering the relation of the Epistle of St James to the Pauline epistles. It is now generally recognised that our Epistle must either be assigned to a very early date or to a quite late date—at one or other of two points of time which stand almost a century apart, on account of its peculiar treatment of the question of justification. It could not have been written in the midst of St Paul's great controversy with the Judaising Christians. A strong current of opinion has long run in favour of the late date, partly on the assumption that the author was well acquainted with the Pauline epistles. Spitta's arguments go far to shew that this was not the case, and therefore if the Christian character of the book can still be maintained they will tend to help those who, like Mr Mayor in his excellent commentary, contend for the very early date of the epistle.

Nevertheless, when we have reached the end of the whole argument, it is difficult to escape from the conclusion that it is a most elaborate fallacy. The Jewish resemblances are demonstrated, that must be granted; but what do they amount to? In many cases we are simply referred to the Old Testament. But has it not been held by the student of the origins of Christianity that there is a continuity between the two parts of the Bible? Throughout the whole of the New Testament we meet with appeals to the Old Testament as to an inspired authority, although more so in some books than in others. All that we know of St James points to him as a Christian of strong Jewish sympathies, so that we should be prepared to find an especially free resort to the teachings of his people in this work, if it could be proved to have emanated from the head of the Jerusalem church. When we find phrases which seem to be echoes of the teaching of Jesus Christ matched with fragments of Jewish literature, it may be well to remember that our Lord was a Jew by birth, and that His teaching, even where it is most strikingly original, is cast in the mould of Jewish thought. If these ideas and phrases found both in the Epistle of St James and in the Gospels can be paralleled from Jewish literature, is it not equally reasonable to predicate the connection in the latter case as in the former? But if this is done the paradox at once becomes apparent; for it can scarcely be argued that the sayings ascribed to our Lord are no more than a patchwork of shreds and scraps of Hebrew literature.

The mistake is to imagine we have explained a work when we have linked each of its minutest details to similar details in earlier works. We have yet to account for the building up of the whole, and to appreciate the spirit that pervades it. Where is to be found

the book in later Jewish literature that can be paired with the Epistle of St James in spirit and character? This literature is characterised by puerility of thought and extravagance of language. One of the common objections to our epistle is that it is written in too good Greek to be ascribed to a native of Nazareth; and, over and above the charm of its style, the vigour and freshness of its thought mark it out in sharp contrast with the scholastic aridity into which the later Jewish literature had degenerated. A much more important consideration is that nothing narrow, nothing low, nothing unworthy of Christianity is to be found here, although the Jewish literature with which it is compared abounds in elements of an inferior character. We have not only to account for the presence of the gems of Jewish thought; we have also to explain the total absence of the defects of the Jewish writings, and the dreary commonplaces in which, unfortunately, they so largely consist. This negative difference between the epistle and the works to which it is traced is never once alluded to by Spitta! We may compare the case with that of the "Lord's prayer"; phrase by phrase, this has been matched in fragments of Jewish literature; yet, who can deny the incomparable greatness and consequent originality of the prayer as a whole? To put it another way, the Epistle of St James shares in that unique elevation of character which marks the New Testament writings, and which is commonly taken as a sign of their inspiration. Lastly, it is to be noted that there is nothing in the Epistle that really conflicts with Christian ideas, although it may not be easy to reconcile all its contents with Paulinism. Here, however, it may be remarked in passing, that extreme disciples of the Tübingen school have rejected the Epistle as not St James's, for the express reason that it approaches too near the teachings of St Paul to be the work of the leader of the Jewish Christians,—a position at the opposite pole from Spitta's. The two are mutually destructive. Whatever may be said on the question of Paulinism, who that reads the Epistle throughout, gathers the total impression of its teaching, and perceives the spirit that breathes through it, can deny that the Christianity of Christ is here represented with singular purity and vigour?

In the second part of his treatise Spitta examines the character of the *Shepherd of Hermas* with a view to discovering the secret of its composition. He holds that this was originally a Jewish work to which very considerable additions have been made by a Christian writer. He finds no reason to contradict the statement, derived from the Muratorian canon and the *Catalogus Liberianus*, that the writer was Hermas, the brother of Pius, bishop of Rome in the middle of the second century, if this is simply applied to the later Christian hand—not to the first author. The first step is to

shew that the work has been tampered with at all. This is done by pointing out what seems to be a serious disarrangement of its several parts. The very opening words hardly read like the beginning of a book. We look for some explanation in the introduction of the characters; this Spitta thinks has been lost. Elsewhere the order seems to be inappropriate. In examining the contents of the work, Spitta seeks to recover the original Jewish writing, and to detach this from the Christian additions. He begins with the fifth Similitude. In chapter iv. Hermas presses for an explanation of the parable, although one was given in the previous chapter. The explanations given in chapters v. and vi. is inconsistent with what had been already stated, and therefore according to Spitta could not have come from the hand of the writer of the original description of the Similitude. Hermas is found fasting. This is not enough unless he adds good deeds. The parable illustrates the lesson. A servant is left in charge of a vineyard to fence it and do nothing more. He not only does this, but also weeds it. On his return the owner is so pleased that not merely does he grant the servant the freedom which he had promised as the reward of the faithful discharge of his task, he makes him joint-heir with his son, &c. This is applied to the case of fasting with the addition of good works, and the whole is complete, hanging well together. Then comes Hermas's second request for an explanation, which is followed by a totally new course of ideas. Now the Son appears as the Holy Spirit, and the servant is Christ who for His works of supererogation is exalted to the honour of Divine Sonship—the adoptionism which Harnack holds to be the Christology of Hermas (see *Dogmengeschichte* I., page 160). This want of connection had been pointed out by Zahn, who nevertheless had maintained the unity of the book. But even taking the first part by itself, has not the parable of the vineyard a very Christian character? So that if there were two writers, might not each have been Christian? But when we come to that, would it not be simpler to suppose that there is but one writer who adds the second explanation as an afterthought? It must be confessed that if we read the book as a unity it does appear to be singularly involved and confused in several places. But allegory is an awkward instrument to handle, and if Hermas wrote the whole book he is not to be reckoned as the only allegorist who has got entangled in the meshes of his own imagery. Spitta, however, follows up his case through the entire work, separating the Jewish original from the Christian additions all along. The following are his conclusions:—The two first Visions are scarcely touched by the hand of the interpolator. Similitudes I., II., III., IV., VII., and X. are also practically untouched, and there are very few insertions in

Similitude VI. On the other hand, Visions III., IV., and Similitudes V., VIII., and IX. have been very much worked over. The case for the purely Jewish character of the unaltered portions of the book is not without grave difficulties. For example the "Church" is prominent even here. This with Spitta becomes simply the "Jewish community," taken in an ideal sense—not a very readily grasped idea. Spitta concludes by examining the relation of the *Shepherd* to New Testament books. The greatest resemblance is in the case of the Epistle of St James. The decision is that neither work is dependent on the other, the striking likeness being accounted for by their common Jewish origin, and their common relation to earlier Jewish literature. Whatever conclusions we may come to on the main argument of the book—and probably to most readers it will appear that the case is not proven—it cannot be denied that we have here a most valuable analysis of the patristic work, and that set in quite a fresh light. WALTER F. ADENEY.

History of Christian Doctrine.

By George Park Fisher, D.D., LL.D., Yale University. International Theological Library. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896. Large 8vo, pp. 583. Price, 12s.

Few that know anything of the present state of theological studies will question the clamant need for such a volume as this which now comes to us through the medium of the "International Theological Library" from the practised pen of Professor Fisher of Yale. It is a truism to say that theology can only be profitably studied in the light of its history; that a knowledge of the process of dogmas in the making is indispensable to the comprehension of dogmas as made; yet the marvellous fact remains that we have not a single book in English to which the student can turn for efficient and satisfactory guidance in this important field. Shedd's "History of Christian Doctrine," never very reliable, is out of date; the ordinary text-books on Church History do not give a connected view, and are otherwise inadequate; German works are inaccessible to most; and translations, however excellent, can never be quite divested of their foreign character. Professor Fisher is thus in the happy position of having the field in Britain and America practically to himself. It may be said at once that his volume worthily occupies it. This was only to be anticipated from his long-continued preparatory studies, and from the minute familiarity with every portion of the history of the Church, and of its literature, displayed in his previous valuable works. To write a history of Christian doctrine which

shall preserve unbroken the threads of development through nineteen centuries of perpetual change and unprecedented human progress would be a staggering task to any one less perfectly equipped. Few could have attempted it; perhaps none would have accomplished it with equal success. For the task which Professor Fisher sets before himself is somewhat different from that of writers like Harnack in his well-known "History of Dogma"—both narrower and wider. His business is not that of the pathfinder, or original explorer; on the other hand, he does not confine himself to tracing the history of "dogma" in the stricter sense—meaning by that "the interpretations of Christianity which have been cast in an explicit form, and have been raised to the rank of doctrinal standards and tests" (p. 2), but would unroll before us the whole vast map of the development of theological thinking in ancient, mediæval, and modern times, including in the wide compass of his sketch notices of the men, movements, schools, parties, theories, controversies, of every age, that have had any considerable influence in shaping the thoughts of mankind upon the faith. It says much for Professor Fisher's skill of arrangement and presentation that, with so immense a plan in hand, he does not permit its magnitude to overwhelm him, but succeeds in placing before the reader a clear, readable, well-proportioned, and, regarding it as a whole, remarkably just and accurate account of what the course of the development of doctrine throughout the ages, and in different countries, has been.

The difficulties which inhere in so comprehensive an undertaking should abate the zeal of the critic to fasten on what he may fancy are flaws or blemishes in the work; and a pretty careful perusal has convinced the present writer that these flaws are few in comparison with the excellencies. One thing which must impress the most cursory reader is that the author knows his subject thoroughly, and is entirely up to date. This is specially obvious in the earlier part, where the newest lights are discriminatingly followed in the treatment of the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, and the Fathers of the old Catholic Church. The fluency of the author's style, and the rapidity with which he is compelled to glide on with but slight reference to a number of important topics is apt to give one a misleading sense of superficiality. This will be corrected when it is discovered, as it will be with increasing knowledge, that the most summary of these passages nearly always hits the mark of an accurate statement, and gives a just verdict on men and things, such as only a ripe acquaintance with the subject could supply. A further merit of the book is its singular freedom from bias or prejudice; we are unable to point to any passage of which it can be fairly said that the author has allowed his personal theological

leanings to colour his exposition or warp his judgment. The one thing aimed at throughout is to furnish a perfectly objective presentation of the course of the development of opinion on doctrine; even appraisal or criticism of the author's own is allowed to mingle very sparingly with the uniform flow of the narration. On the other hand, it is to be conceded that the work is not without certain drawbacks which can best be described as the defects of its qualities. It is a marvel of comprehensiveness, but the desire to embrace everything within the limits of a moderately-sized volume has obviously its disadvantages, and it may be doubted whether more would not have been gained by dropping subsidiary matters and concentrating attention on the greater men and systems, with a view to a fuller exposition of these than is here possible. Drawbacks, again, result from the necessity the writer is under of producing a spirited, readable sketch of the history of doctrine for general use, where one would desiderate a treatment entering more deeply into the interior of systems, and doing ample justice to their genetic development, and the ramifications of their ideas. In its succession of crisp, short, luminous sentences, Professor Fisher's style flows evenly on with hardly a break; but just for this reason it does not always leave upon the mind as incisive and abiding an impression as might be desired. It is clear and easy reading, but everything, we sometimes feel, is too much on a plane, the central and essential with the secondary and derivative, and the total conception is correspondingly general. Slight exception, also, might occasionally be taken—though only occasionally—to the author's sense of perspective. We fully agree, for example, with Professor Fisher in his exceptionally high estimate of Jonathan Edwards as a theologian, but this scarcely warrants the devotion to this distinguished man of a larger proportion of space than is given, say, to Calvin or Schleiermacher, both of whom have also chapters allotted to them,—or, in fact, to almost any individual in the book, except perhaps Augustine. At the same time, the chapter on the "New England" school of theology will be felt to have a special informatory value for us on this side of the Atlantic.

The general plan of the volume we have sought thus inadequately to characterise is determined by the order of the subject. An introductory section deals, among other questions, with the possibility of theology, and its relations to faith and to philosophy. Newman's doctrine of development is touched upon in passing, and is shown to be wrecked on the assumption of an infallible authority to discriminate between what are sound developments and what are not. In dealing with methods, the author wisely indicates his preference for what he calls, after Ritschl, the "organic or physio-

logical" method, as distinguished from the "anatomic," which divides out the treatment under the headings of the special doctrines. Then comes the general division into Ancient, Mediæval and Modern Periods, and these are sub-divided, as the work proceeds, into minor periods and chapters. A curious thing is that under the second division of Modern Theology, the table of Contents stops short with Chap. V., on "Certain Theological Tendencies in Recent Times," while the body of the work, better than the promise, interpolates Chaps. V.-IX. on recent German and Catholic theology, previously altogether omitted, and relegates the older Chap. V. to the position of Chap. X. This is a most important and valuable modification, and without it the book would have been glaringly incomplete. Of the three periods named, the earliest, in its pre-Arian and post-Arian divisions, occupies fully a third of the volume; the mediæval period is more briefly handled; while the age succeeding the Reformation, with its surpassing wealth of theological development, has proportionately larger space allotted to it. It would be tedious to go into details, or minute discussion of the author's positions, even where one happens to disagree with him, and only the most general survey of the greater divisions will be attempted.

The outstanding fact of the earliest age is the rise of the Old Catholic Church, partly as a result of internal development, and a loss of the purely Pauline conception of faith and grace, and partly as the product of resistance to Gnosticism and Montanism. Theology, no doubt, had its independent roots, but its life is so intertwined with the general growth, and controlled by the conception of the *fides catholica et apostolica*, that it cannot be separated from it. In his admirable sketch of this period, Professor Fisher places himself in the main under the guidance of the Ritschl-Harnack school, and gives fresh expression to their results. In the chapter on Monarchianism we should have liked had fuller treatment been possible of the system of Sabellius, and perhaps the importance of Paul of Samosata as bringing up the rear of the Monarchian development, and giving final utterance to its logical tendency, is insufficiently appreciated. Origen is well interpreted, as are the Old Catholic Fathers generally, but a word seems due on the bearing of his view of the human soul of Christ as a pre-existent unfallen spirit on his doctrine of the incarnation. Does Origen ever really get beyond a moral union of this pure, personal spirit and the Logos? We could have wished that the vital contrasts of the Alexandrian and Antiochian schools of theology—only briefly glanced at—could have had more stress laid upon them. In the Arian controversy, we doubt the correctness of the representation, though it is a common one, that the middle party,

led by Eusebius of Cæsarea, was the majority in the Council of Nicæa, and that "the Nicene creed was carried in the Council by the pressure of imperial influence, against the judgment and inclination of the major part of that body" (p. 139). The two parts of the representation do not hang well together, for if the party of Eusebius, "whom the Emperor regarded with special honour," was in the ascendant, why should the imperial influence have been thrown into the scale to which that party was opposed? It would be truer to say that it was not the emperor's adhesion which won for the Homocousion its acceptance by the Council, but rather its acceptance by all but the semi-Arian fraction of the Council which determined the Emperor to give it his support as the only formula that had the chance of carrying. The tangle of the Christological controversies is unravelled with as much skill as is practicable in "a bare sketch." The need of such guidance is abundantly apparent when even so good a scholar as Mr F. C. Conybeare can permit himself to fall into the extraordinary confusion of declaring that "Nestorius held that in Christ the divine swallows up and absorbs the human character," and, "holding that Christ's body was freed from the limitations of time and space, was incomprehensible and not to be delineated or in any way imaged, fell into the damnable error of Monophysitism," and can suppose that these were the views opposed by Cyril and condemned in the Council of Ephesus in 431 (in "Religious Systems of the World," 1892, pp. 388-9)! These may be "baneful speculations" and "microscopic errors," but it is at least desirable that their nature should be understood. The Augustinian theology is sympathetically expounded, and Harnack's remark endorsed—"Whoever looks away from the formulas to the spirit will find everywhere in the writings of Augustine a stream of Pauline Faith." But the Augustinian doctrine of predestination is surely relegated to too subordinate a place (pp. 191-2). On the crucial question on which so much has been said by new school theologians of the influence of Greek thought on the formation of Christian dogma in this earlier period, Professor Fisher takes up a mediating, and on the whole, as it seems to us, a well-balanced and sensible position. He grants the reality of the influence,—as what mind can withdraw itself from its intellectual environment, even among theologians of the nineteenth century,—but will not go the length of affirming that the substance as well as the form of Christian theology was essentially modified by the Greek moulds into which the Christian truth was cast. Even respecting Origen he observes that "what is eccentric in his opinions excites attention somewhat more in a brief sketch of his system than in his own more copious exposition," and that "Origen is emphatically a Scriptural theologian" (pp. 105, 113). It will probably be found that in the earnest controversies of the

fourth and fifth centuries it is not the Greek category but the Divine reality which is throughout the controlling factor in the minds of the greater theologians who conducted the Church to its dogmatic issues; and that they were ready at any moment to break up and fling away the former when it became unsuitable for the expression of the latter.

Our space warns us not to dwell on the Mediæval theology, which finds its crowning embodiment in the Scholastic systems, or even at any length on the more tempting Modern movements sketched in the history. These include, in the author's plan, not only theological movements proper (Lutheran and Reformed, Arminianism, the Federal theology, Socinianism, Latitudinarianism in England, etc.) but the developments of philosophy (Locke to Leibnitz, Kant to Hegel, &c.), so far as they affect theology, and religious and ecclesiastical movements like Wesleyanism and Tractarianism, with related tendencies of every kind. The doctrine that rises to new prominence from the days of Anselm is that of the Atonement. Not that this doctrine had not its place also in the earlier teaching. Harnack shows his sound Christian feeling here also in words quoted by Professor Fisher—"That the work of Christ was his achievement, that it culminates in his sacrificial death, that it signifies the vanquishing and efficacy (effacing?) of the guilt of sin, that salvation consequently consists in the forgiveness, the justification, and the adoption of man, are thoughts which in no Church Father are wholly absent. In some they stand out boldly. In the case of most they make their way into the explication of the dogma of redemption" (p. 128). But in Anselm and Aquinas the Atonement becomes the subject of serious theological speculation. The statement in our author is good, though we miss some links in the transition to the fully-developed doctrine of the Reformers. On Locke we would doubt the justness of the observation that he "rejects *à priori* proofs of the being of God" (p. 374). Locke's demonstration is as *à priori* as Clarke's. Socinianism is justly judged in words again borrowed from Harnack. "With the old dogmas, Socinianism has at bottom set aside Christianity as a religion—Guilt and Penitence, Faith and Grace, are conceptions which are only saved by inconsistencies—out of regard to the New Testament—from being wholly eliminated" (p. 325). We raise only one other question—on the subject of Calvinism—to which, throughout his volume, our author endeavours to do scrupulous justice. In speaking of the theology of Edwards, he contrasts it "with the doctrine of Augustine, and the more general doctrine even of Calvinistic theologians, the doctrine of the Westminster Assembly's creeds," that man had originally a liberty of will, or power of contrary choice, which he

lost by the fall; and goes on—"It was the common doctrine, too, that in mankind now, while the will is enslaved as regards religious obedience, it remains free outside out of this province, in all civil and secular concerns. In this wide domain the power of contrary choice still subsists. But Edwards' conception of the will admits of no such distinction. . . . He asserts most emphatically that he holds men to be possessed now of all the liberty which it is possible to imagine, or which it ever entered into the heart of man to conceive." He implies, too, that the Augustinian and Westminster doctrine on this point is different from that of Calvin in his earlier supralapsarian writings. We need not deny that Edwards' doctrine of philosophical necessity was not held by all his predecessors. But if it is meant by the above (1) that in the view of Augustine or of the Westminster Divines there were any free acts—before or after the fall—which were withdrawn from the Divine "foreordination"; or (2) that Augustine's doctrine on freedom, and Calvin's, were not substantially identical; or (3) that Edwards with his doctrine of necessity, did not recognise and emphasise the ordinary distinction of "natural" and "moral" inability, we are compelled very decidedly to dissent.

We would close this imperfect notice by again expressing our high sense of the ability and value of Dr Fisher's work. The slips we have noticed in it are few, and hardly worth pointing out, "Pulcheria," on p. 158, should of course be "Theodora"; "votrefflich" on p. 407, should be "vortrefflich"; "1846" on p. 530, should be "1886"; "Aphthardocetæ," on p. 157, should be "Aphartodocetæ," &c. But why should the author designate this sect "Aphartodocetæ," and its opponents "corrupticolæ" (Latinised)? or why write "theotokos" on the one page, and "theotocos" on the next (pp. 152-3)? "One will," on p. 158, should more properly be "one energy." And how should Nathaniel Taylor and Henry B. Smith be *each* the most distinguished member of the New England School after the elder Edwards (pp. 414, 17)?

JAMES ORR.

Kaftan's Balfour's "Einleitung in die Theologie."

*Sonderabdruck aus den Preussischen Jahrbüchern herausgegeben von
Hans Delbrück.*

Preussische Jahrbücher, Decemberheft, 1895. Price, M.2.50.

UNDER the above heading Professor Kaftan of Berlin writes a long article on Mr Balfour's "Foundations of Belief." It is throughout laudatory. The prophet, admired as his prophecy is at home (with qualifications and misgivings), has to look for fullest honour be-

yond his own country. Kaftan, indeed, has his criticisms. But the capital fact, explaining his warm appreciation of the volume, is that he finds that, while there is diversity between his own position and Balfour's, in respect, *e.g.*, of their points of departure, the presentation and expression of topics, and some of the results attained, the tendency of the teaching given forth by both writers is the same. As regards the attitude they assume towards the questions treated, the way they take and recommend as the only way leading to the goal, and the temper which governs them in coping with the difficulties that beset the path of the modern apologist of Christianity, they are at one. More particularly, each of them seeks to define the sphere of natural science, and denies its claim to have jurisdiction in philosophy or theology. Each holds that the speculative philosophy of tradition (Transcendentalism), at least as appearing in their respective countries, fails to yield the rich results once expected from it, and that any support now sought from that quarter would prove a weakness. And in casting about for ground on which to carry out their constructive work, each finds it in the region of *Practice*, of men's *Practical Needs*. Other more specific points on which Kaftan sees resemblance of view might be adduced ; but let these suffice.

An interesting subject brought up by Kaftan is the fact that the views of each of the two thinkers are held by very many to lead in their logical outcome (however different the intention), to sheer scepticism. In our country it has been said on high authority that the assault on Naturalism in the "Foundations of Belief" indirectly affects science, and strikes at the root of all the commonest beliefs even as regards the world of sense. This, it is further held, gives a handle to scepticism which might easily be used for the overthrow of all religion : make reason untrustworthy, in any of its recognised spheres, and you tend to destroy our confidence in it altogether. And clearly Kaftan, from what he says, has been incessantly plied with the charge of working for scepticism.

In answer to this charge it may be said that science is perfectly well able to take care of itself and its methods against any philosophy whatever. Here the most thorough-going criticism—scepticism if you like—cannot possibly do harm. It actually does a great amount of good. A real service is rendered to genuine science when both writers insist on distinguishing it from science falsely so called—from the extravagances and ill-founded speculations of Naturalism.

But it is said the account given of the Laws of Nature, especially the daring analysis of the august Law of Causation itself, could only be furnished by one who is on the high road to scepticism. Is it, then, really a scientific or philosophic sin to ask what is the

meaning even of the Law of Causality? And if the explanation given of the law is "sceptical," what is the correct explanation? Kaftan has hitherto asked the latter question in vain. He finds that those who differ from him will give no explanation of their own, but "prefer to clasp their hands over their heads and exclaim against the scepticism." Thus far, whatever the truth may ultimately prove to be, he seems to have a real grievance. The position is this:—All hold the principle of Causality. But what is to be said as to its origin and the extent of its validity? Is it a "Minerva born in panoply?" That runs counter to modern ideas of development. If it is said to be a law or principle of higher lineage, standing above experience, independent of it and formative of it, we might ask, What does this "standing above experience," or this independence and sovereign power mean? *Without* the stimulus of experience, where were the law? Then what form does that stimulus take? What is the rationale of the process? There is a clamant need for an exposition of the genesis or Natural History of the idea. Only thus is its true nature and the field of its jurisdiction to be determined. We have to deal with the question of its limits when we come to consider human freedom and the possibility of miracles, and we can have no safe guidance in these matters, nor can we refute those who would apply Causality uniformly to every occurrence in the universe, without knowing the essence of the idea, as we can do only by an analysis of its nature. But as if Causality were too sacred to be touched with profane hands, those on the one side in the controversy will give no theory of it at all. Are they entitled to call an existing theory sceptical when they do not bring forward another which is true, or say precisely wherein the scepticism consists?

But one trembles for the ark of Knowledge. It is said knowledge must be vindicated. Undoubtedly it must. Why not recognize that this is most effectually done by bringing a law to meet experience, a law which is clear, unmistakable, fully-formed, absolute? The reason why, is because on the basis of such law—or laws, for if we get one we get more—there is raised without fail a system of metaphysic mounting up to the high heavens, deducing its propositions by good and necessary inference, "with philosophic rigour," but nevertheless yielding results for the most part as worthless as they are pretentious, and making the modern world almost sick of the very name of philosophy. If the process of building has been carried on with the utmost care by men of consummate ability and even genius, and yet the structure soon totters and falls, how can we avoid the conclusion that the foundation may be insecure, and instead of consisting of rock, may consist of loose sand? A survey of the recent past, with its gigantic

failures, shows how needful it is to test such systems from base to summit, and in particular, instead of regarding the laws or ideas that lie at the foundation as in a manner sacred, to subject them to the hottest fire of criticism. This has to be done, in spite of the strong counteracting power of long-standing custom, in the interest of knowledge itself, in order to distinguish fiction from fact.

The judgment formed regarding the books of the two writers will depend greatly on the conclusion which is arrived at on the fundamental point just treated; and the demand which one of them makes appears a most reasonable one. Then there is a result of more importance still, of more general interest. Theology will be largely affected by the issue. The relation to that discipline of science and philosophy will be very different, according to the alternative followed, and philosophy itself assumes a very different complexion.

Coming to the question of Authority and Reason as treated in the Foundations of Belief, Kaftan considers that Authority here is synonymous with history in the widest sense. It signifies the whole stream of development as converging on the individual. The dependence on authority, then, only amounts to the harmless truth that man is the product of his age, is made by history before being a maker of it. Never indeed, even when he has done his best and weightiest intellectual work, vindicating the while, as he ought to do, the fullest freedom for his subjective reason, does he cease to be in organic connection with history and to be indebted to it in a thousand ways. Standing on this rock of fact, let us see the duty that emerges of enquiring as to the truth or untruth of the Christian religion. Even on a casual view, that religion is the most potent factor of history. It, more than anything, has made all of us what we are. On it, more than anything, believers and unbelievers are dependent in many ways in spite of themselves. It follows that he who would understand himself must endeavour to understand it, and, as it is made by Christ, to understand Him. "Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye are digged." Without pressing all that this Apologetic might be made to yield, we see at once that it strikes effectively at what is at present perhaps the chief danger to religion—the wide-spread indifference to all that concerns Christianity. The intellectual and moral man must as such go on to determine what he thinks of Christ. Another result affects the substance of the Christian faith. The subjectivism that would take one or two principles from our religion, such as faith in God and altruism, supposed to be its permanent elements, and start with them *de novo*, is unwarrantable. We cannot thus break

away from Christian history, or remain tied to it by one or two threads only, however important these may be in themselves. The connection must always continue vital and many-sided. The branch must abide in the Vine. The permanent power in the history is its Founder, who is also its Life. GEORGE FERRIES.

Die Erwählung Israels.

Nach der Heilsverkündigung des Apostels Paulus. Von Johannes Dalmer, Privatdozent der Theologie in Griefswald. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1894; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Svo. pp. viii. 147. Price, M.2.

JOHN DALMER, a private lecturer in Theology in the University of Griefswald, discusses the question—or rather the series of questions—connected with the Divine Election of Israel in a detailed exposition of Romans ix.-xi. These chapters raise not a few perplexing problems for the theologian. In a brief notice like the present it is impossible to follow the discussion of any of the controverted questions in detail. But it may be said in a sentence that Herr Dalmer's scholarly and carefully-reasoned exposition well deserves attentive perusal by those who wish to make a thorough study of these important chapters. Like other German authors Herr Dalmer states his opinion clearly and emphatically; but he also supports his conclusions by reasoning founded on the text and the context, which, if not accepted as convincing, will be felt to require a well-grounded answer.

As might be expected, an exposition of these chapters contains a great deal of interesting matter. In the first page the author suggests the work he has in hand by stating a question which, though familiar, deserves the earnest attention of every devout student of holy Scripture. "The predictions of the Old Testament set before Israel the prospect of redemption. In Christ this redemption was realised. In His advent the fulfilment of the divine promises began. How then is it to be explained that Israel rejected the redemption promised to them? At the first blush, this problem seems to be insoluble. A two-fold possibility alone seems to be conceivable: either Israel was not the elect people of God, or Jesus was not the Messiah promised to Israel. But, in either case, the truth of the Gospel would be overthrown,—not merely in the latter case, but also in the former,—for if Israel was not the people of God the whole series of Old Testament promises are worthless and untenable, and the Gospel, which was to bring the fulfilment of these promises, becomes a building without a foundation. The Election

of Israel and the Messiahship of Jesus stand or fall together." These sentences indicate the nature of the problem discussed in the chapters under review.

The crucial difficulty lies in Election itself, as a truth or doctrine of our Christian faith, and on this matter our author states his opinion with sufficient distinctness. The will of God is the sole determining factor. The promise given by God to the seed of Abraham avails only for those whom God reckons as this seed. Among the descendants of Abraham He proceeds to make an election; and neither pure descent, nor works, nor any determining qualification of a subjective kind can give a man a claim to the promised inheritance: in this sphere the will of God who calls rules with absolute freedom (p. 20). Such is the author's conclusion regarding election in his exposition of chapter ix. 10-13. No merit on the part of man can come into the count, otherwise the argument of the Apostle is at fault. The case of Esau and Jacob is taken in order to show how impossible human merit is as a determining element in the divine Election. Even on the ground of the divine foreknowledge there is no place for human merit. For, admitting that God had before Him every detail of the life of Esau and Jacob before they were born, if the election of the latter depended in any respect on his actual life, the Apostle's reference to Election as having preceded the birth of the person elected has no force. And Paul was not the man to load or obscure an argument with irrelevant matter or pointless observations. The conclusion is that works, either as actually accomplished by man, or as foreseen by God, have absolutely nothing to do with Election. The same remark applies to faith. It is true, as Dalmer notes, that Godet in his commentary on the passage introduces a distinction between faith and works in this connection. "Faith foreseen," says Godet, "is a wholly different thing from works foreseen. The latter would really establish a right; the former contains only a moral condition, that, namely, which follows from the fact that possession in the case of a free being supposes acceptance. Work foreseen would impose obligation on God and take away from the freedom of His grace; faith foreseen only serves to direct its exercise."¹ No, says Dalmer, foreseen faith, as a determining element in election, would interfere with the Apostle's argument as seriously as foreseen works. And he holds that every subjective condition must be dealt with in the same way (pp. 18, 19).

The discussion on this important topic furnishes a good sample of the author's work, which, throughout, shows the care and completeness which we expect from German scholars.

What should be understood by the good olive-tree in chapter

¹ Godet: *Comm. on Roms.* (Clark's *For. Theol. Lib.*), vol. ii. pp. 148-9.

xi. ? Is it the Jewish people? No, says Herr Dalmer. For, if so, how could Paul speak of branches being broken off from, and again grafted into the olive-tree? The unbelieving Jews were not cut off from the Jewish people through their unbelief. They remained a part of the people in spite of their unbelief; and the ingrafting of which the Apostle speaks cannot be an incorporating union with the Jews as a people. What the Apostle laments is the cutting off of the unbelieving Jews from the community of the saved, and what he hopes for is that these Jews may yet become members of that community. The good olive-tree therefore represents those who accepted Jesus as the Messiah and were saved through him (pp. 103, 104). All this is true enough; but in the case of a figure of this kind it is a question whether analysis should be very minute, or logic be applied very closely.

The author can scarcely be said to make good his contention that *ἐχθροὶ* has the active sense in xi. 28 (pp. 121, 2). The thought of the verse is against that view. *Ἀγαπητοί*, &c. (beloved for the Father's sake) can only apply to the feeling cherished by God towards the descendants of the Patriarchs. He remembers His covenant, and regards with affection the children of those with whom He made this covenant. Correspondingly *ἐχθροὶ* should be applied to those towards whom a feeling of holy anger is entertained by God on account of their rejection of the Gospel. The feeling—if such a word may be used—is one cherished by God, not by the unbelieving Jews towards God. This explanation of the word *ἐχθρός* is confirmed by chapter v. 10. ("If when we were enemies—*ἐχθροὶ*—we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, &c.). The death of Christ serves to reconcile God and His sinning creatures. But the purpose of a sacrificial death was not to effect a change in the feelings of the person who offered the sacrifice towards God; the object was to propitiate God,—to remove His holy anger, and secure His favour for the sinner. Christ's death sufficed to accomplish this according to chapter v. 10. Those for whom His death was operative lay under the righteous anger of God. So in chapter xi. 28, the unbelieving Jews are represented as being under the anger of their God, because they have rejected the Gospel; but the Apostle, looking down into the distant future, foresees the day when unbelief will give place to faith,—when all Israel will be saved, and adds, "These unbelievers, under wrath though they are, are beloved for the Father's sake."

GEO. G. CAMERON.

The Book of the Twelve Prophets,

Commonly called the Minor. By George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, Free Church College, Glasgow. Vol. I.—Amos, Hosea, and Micah, with an Introduction and a Sketch of Prophecy in Early Israel. Expositor's Bible. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1896. 8vo, pp. xviii. 440, 7s. 6d.

WITH much chivalry Prof. G. A. Smith attempts to rescue the prophets who had the supreme grace of brevity from the undeserved stigma suggested by the epithet "Minor," and recurs to an older and worthier title. His exposition will do more than any change in nomenclature to vindicate their claims, and to secure the fulfilment of the prayer of his motto :

"And of the Twelve Prophets may the bones,
Flourish again from their place."

The Introduction reminds us that "The Book of the Twelve Prophets" probably existed as a unity before its reception into the Canon. Prof. Smith holds that the Canon of the Prophets was closed about B.C. 250-200, and that portions of "The Twelve" may be a little later than B.C. 300. Yet these latest additions may have been made after the collection and fixture of twelve books; which would give a first edition of our Twelve some year before B.C. 300, and a second edition some year toward B.C. 250. It is also "more than probable," that there was a previous collection, as early as the Exile, of the books written before then. The selection of Amos, Hosea, and Micah, as the subjects of Vol. I., implies late dates for Obadiah, Joel, Nahum, and Zechariah, ix.-xiv. We presume that Zechariah i.-ix. on p. 8 is a misprint for i.-viii. Prof. Smith also recognises that "hands have been busy with the texts of the books long after the authors of these must have passed away."

In his sketch of Early Prophecy he insists on the invariable reference of the prophet's message to the circumstances of his own time. "His message is never out of touch with events." Indeed, the whole book emphasises the idea that Revelation is rather of God's dealings than of formal statements, dogmatical or ethical. "It is, therefore, God not merely as Truth, but far more as Providence, whom the prophet reveals." This principle enables our author to connect the early ecstatic prophecy with the utterances of the canonical writers. Though the earlier prophets differed widely in method and ideas from their successors, yet they were at one with them in offering the people practical divine guidance alike

in personal and in public matters. They exalted religion by connecting it with the great movements of national life. "Confine religion to the personal, it grows rancid, morbid. Wed it to patriotism, it lives in the open air and its blood is pure," p. 25. Thus "under their God" these early prophets "made Israel."

The exposition of the three books dealt with is worked out in Prof. Smith's usual masterly style and profusion of apt and luminous illustration. He makes considerable use of *The Vision of Piers Plowman* as affording parallels to our prophets, and traces a certain resemblance between English society in the fourteenth century A.D. and Hebrew society in the eighth century B.C. But we need scarcely say that his applications are not confined to England five hundred years ago. The lessons of the exposition are constantly brought home to English life to-day. The reader will be profoundly grateful to Prof. Smith for one feature of this volume,—it gives a complete translation of the three books expounded, and so can be read without the irritating necessity of constant reference to a Bible. The translation is original, and is for the most part clear, elegant, and forcible; where the Hebrew is unintelligible, a blank is left in the text. We doubt, however, whether the line, p. 412 :

"Now press thyself together, thou daughter of pressure,"

even read in the light of the footnote "uncertain," will appreciably help the reader to understand Micah iv. And this sentence does not stand altogether alone. Considerable space is devoted to philological and critical questions both in the texts and the notes; and there are many traces of the author's recent investigations in the geography of Palestine.

While Prof. Smith fully emphasises the importance of the work of Amos as a new departure in Hebrew prophecy, he is careful to connect that work with the previous religious life of Israel. His introductory chapters enable him to make the connection easily and clearly. "In the ethics of Amos there is nothing which is not rooted in one or other of these achievements of the previous religion of his people," a relation which is symbolised by the divine utterance "from Zion, from Jerusalem." Immorality and oppression had been denounced alike by Moses and Samuel and Elijah. "With Amos we do not seem so much to have arrived at a new stage in a Process as to have penetrated to the Idea which has been behind the Process from the beginning," p. 106. The special teaching of Amos, in which he was followed by almost all the later prophets, was (i.) the assertion that Jehovah's treatment of the nation depended on their moral character, and (ii.) that religion could dispense with a ceremonial of rites and sacrifices. Prof. Smith shows how the cruel selfishness of the period was intimately connected with its civilised luxury, and readily lent itself to an

unspiritual ritualism. The parallel with the nineteenth century is perhaps obvious, but it is worked out with singular force. With regard to many of the disputed passages in Amos, Prof. Smith thinks the evidence inconclusive; but he decidedly rejects ix. 8-15, "The Final Hope," on the ground that while Amos is always pre-occupied with the moral aspects of the questions he deals with, "All these prospects of the future restoration of Israel are absolutely without a moral feature."

Prof. Smith divides the Book of Hosea into two sections; i.-iii. reflecting the period immediately before the death of Jeroboam II., about B.C. 743; and iv.-xiv. between B.C. 743 and 734. He follows the late Prof. W. Robertson Smith in regarding the adultery of Hosea's wife as real, and as suggesting and influencing his prophetic utterances; and in holding that when Hosea attributes to Jehovah the command, "Go, take thee a wife of harlotry," he is recording not what he understood at the time of his marriage, but an interpretation based on subsequent experience. With regard to Hosea's main teaching, he took up the message of Amos, he repeated and emphasised the doom of Israel, the inexorableness of the righteous Law of Jehovah; but he brought it into relation with other aspects of truth." "There was needed a prophet to arise with as keen a conscience of Law as Amos himself, and yet affirm that Love was greater still. . . . The prophet of Conscience had to be followed by the prophet of Repentance. . . . For this task Hosea was equipped with the love and sympathy which Amos lacked," p. 229. Hence Hosea is especially concerned with the need, possibility, and conditions of Repentance, vi. 1-3. "Come and let us return unto the Lord, for He hath torn, and He will heal us," &c., is the expression of a "too facile repentance." The prophet dwells upon the love of God and Israel's sin against that love, tracing this sin to lack of knowledge, or experience of God. In keeping with our author's general view of the teaching of Hosea, he regards the vision of restoration in xiv. as the genuine work of a prophet so much occupied with God's love and Man's repentance.

The treatment of Micah is more slight, partly, doubtless, because Micah in some measure traverses much the same ground as Amos and Hosea, and partly, perhaps, because of uncertainty as to the origin of chapters iv.-vii. Much space is devoted to a statement and discussion of the present position of criticism as to these chapters. Prof. Smith—as against Dr Cheyne and others—argues very strongly for the substantial integrity of the Book of Micah. Yet when he comes to deal with iv.-vii., the exposition does not suggest that he has attained to any strong conviction that this section is really the work of Micah, even in substance. Somehow, when doubts have once been raised as to the authorship of

Micah iv.-vii., it is always difficult to accept them as the work of a prophet of the eighth or early seventh century. It is not so much a matter of formal argument as of general impression, the validity of which is difficult to estimate. But, whatever view we may take on critical questions, as to which doctors disagree, all earnest readers of the Old Testament will feel deeply indebted to Prof. Smith for this most interesting volume, with its brilliant exposition, and its wealth of information and spiritual teaching.

W. H. BENNETT.

Social Rights and Duties : Addresses to Ethical Societies.

By Leslie Stephen. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Limited, 1896. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 255 and 267. Price 9s.

WE gather from the first of these interesting papers that Ethical Societies are intended to provide a refuge for those who reject the Christian faith, while at the same time they desire to cultivate sympathy with all who set before themselves a high ideal of life, who believe that it is only by raising the moral standard that we can hope to solve the problems of modern society. Mr Stephen quietly assumes that all his hearers have taken what he calls the side of the downright thinker ; he is resolved to put away not only the rhetoric of the Salvation Army, but the reasonings of the more intellectual teachers who have attempted to reconcile religion with philosophy. In the judgment of the present writer, this "ethical" position is wholly untenable. If Mr Stephen means to justify the faith that is in him by applying scientific method to the facts of human experience, he will find that his ideal is no more susceptible of strict proof than that of Cardinal Manning. If, on the other hand, his ideal is to be accepted without strict proof, because it seems to sum up and harmonise all the highest conceptions we can form of man's nature and destiny, he will find that he is regarding the universe from a point of view to which mere experience would never have brought him, or, in other words, that he has taken the first step towards the construction of a theology.

Having thus indicated the width of the difference between Mr Stephen's position and my own, I hasten to say that there is much in these two volumes which thoughtful men of all schools will read with pleasure and profit. The form of a popular address (even Ethical Societies are not entirely composed of philosophers) hardly permits of systematic presentation of truth ; here and there we observe that the speaker is humorously walking round a difficulty instead of dealing with it directly. But, when all is said, these lay sermons are excellent examples of the author's manner. We all

know that Mr Stephen is a well-read man, but his learning does not embarrass his style ; clearness of thought and expression is his characteristic merit. His subjects are varied—Science and Politics, the Sphere of Political Economy, Social Equality, Heredity, Luxury, the Vanity of Philosophising—these selected titles may indicate the scope of the volumes under review ; in a short notice, indications are all that can be given.

Mr Stephen is so candidly independent that we hesitate to affix a party label to his name ; but he will probably not object to be described as an academic Liberal. Like the rest of that school, he shews a very proper indifference to popular opinion, when it runs counter to ascertained principles. Like Mill and Maine, and most academic politicians, he sometimes falls into the mistake of identifying the People with the more ignorant and self-confident portion thereof. Thus—to return to my original cause of quarrel with Mr Stephen—he tells us that “a religion really to affect the vulgar must be a superstition ; to satisfy the thoughtful, it must be a philosophy.” If this statement is meant to be exhaustive, it is, I think, misleading, and even, in a sense, unethical. It leaves out of sight the great mass of decent people, who are neither “thoughtful” enough to require a philosophy, nor “vulgar” enough to give themselves over to superstition. In the countries best known to us, this great body of average opinion is moralised by the influence of the Christian religion. Mr Stephen would argue that the Christian religion is, to some extent, a superstition, and that the philosopher cannot accept it without laying aside his intellectual manhood. If this be so, the Ethical Societies must undertake to moralise the average civilised man ; and, with all respect for the honesty of their intentions, I am not quite convinced that they are equal to the task.

T. RALEIGH.

Outlines of Psychology, based upon the Results of Experimental Investigation.

By Oswald Külpe, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Würzburg. Translated from the German (1893) by Edward Bradford Titchener, Sage Professor of Psychology in the Cornell University. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Limited. 8vo, pp. 462. Price 10s. 6d.

Die Moderne Physiologische Psychologie in Deutschland. Eine historische-kritische Untersuchung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Problems der Aufmerksamkeit.

Von Dr W. Heinrich. Zurich: Verlag von E. Speidel. 8vo, pp. iv. 234. Price M.4.

Die Psychologie in der Religionswissenschaft.

Grundlegung von Dr Emil. Koch. Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 146. Price M.2.80.

It is exceedingly difficult, within our limits, to give a clear conception of the contents of the elaborate work of Professor Külpe. It is one of the most complete presentations of the newer psychology which has yet appeared. That it should have appeared in an English translation so complete and adequate, is a source of gratitude. It is one of the best translations we have seen. It is well that the book should appear in English in the best possible form, for it is a book which will inevitably be closely scrutinised, and will give rise to much controversy. It follows in the wake of Wundt, adopts his method, and accentuates his results. Taken in connection with the sudden growth of physiological psychology in Germany and America, and in our land, it indicates a trend of opinion which must be closely examined. We have much to learn from the experimental school, and the knowledge they communicate to us is very valuable, yet we must care lest a true psychology should be swamped in the mass of mere physiological details.

After an introduction which sets forth the meaning and problem, the methods and aids, and the classification and literature of psychology, Professor Külpe divides his book into three parts,—I. The elements of consciousness; II. The connections of consciousness; III. The state of consciousness. The divisions are significant, and of themselves sufficiently indicate the point of view of the author. In this brief notice we deal only with the point of view. Apart from that, we may express our admiration of the literary power, of the clearness of exposition, of the excellent arrangement, and of the freshness and power of the whole work. There is much that is of supreme value from any point of view. The very excellence of the work and the workmanship, however, make a critical examination of its idea of psychology all the more needful. We shall look to the professed psychologists of Great Britain for a thorough criticism of the book, both in its idea and in its details. We shall allow the Professor to set forth his own view. "The business of all science is the description of facts. . . . The facts with which science in general, apart from philosophy, has to deal, we term *facts of experience*. They are the ultimate and original data of our experience; they constitute the subject-matter of reflection, although they are not reflection. Philosophy, on the other hand, has to investigate the description of these facts; our reflection upon experience is made the object of a separate inquiry.

Now, it is evident that the ideas, passions, etc., which psychologists of the most different schools agree in discussing in their treatises, must be considered facts of experience. Hence it follows that psychology belongs, not to the philosophical disciplines, but to the special sciences." Having placed psychology among the special sciences, our author has great difficulty in finding a place for it, and a fitting relation to any of the other sciences. "Psychology is inductive, for instance, while mathematics is deductive; it stands to pedagogy as theory to practice; it is still, in the main, descriptive as compared with the 'exact' sciences, which are, *par excellence*, explanatory. The only principle of delimitation which cannot possibly be employed is that of the subject treated. The reason is, that there is no single fact of experience which cannot be made the subject of psychological investigation. Now, since all the other rubrics specify the form and the matter of the scientific work which they cover, and since the relation of psychology to natural science cannot be subsumed to any one of them in particular, it is clear that we must look for the distinct character of psychological subject-matter, not in the particular nature of a definite class of experiential facts, but rather in some property which attaches to all alike. This property is the *dependence of facts of experience upon experiencing individuals*."

The definition of the meaning and problem of psychology is somewhat peculiar. It departs in certain essential respects from that usually given and commonly accepted. As a matter of fact, the contrast between psychology and the other sciences is usually set forth as the contrast between a science which deals with the phenomena revealed in consciousness to introspection, and the sciences which deal with phenomena given in sense and revealed to observation. The distinction as set forth by Professor Külpe is merely external, and leaves to psychology no distinctive sphere. It depends wholly on what meaning we attach to *facts of experience*, to *dependence* and to *experiencing individuals*. What are we to understand by the phrase, facts of experience? How, on the view of our author, are we to distinguish between the facts of experience, which are the subject of all the sciences, and those facts which are the subject of psychology? All facts of experience depend on the experiencing individual. We have looked in vain for any principle, in virtue of which we can discriminate between the facts of the sciences in general, and the facts peculiar to psychology. Thus at the basis of his scheme there are positions which are left unclear and undefined. Again, Professor Külpe finds himself in great difficulty when he attempts to win universal validity for the results which he has reached by a study of the individual. It is a difficulty on any theory—it is an unsurmountable difficulty on the theory of Pro-

fessor Külpe. For he places the peculiarities of the individual in the forefront, and he makes it impossible for us ever to get beyond the individual to any principle common to all individuals. The particular rules, and anything universal is both illegitimate and impossible.

We have still to learn who is the experiencing individual, and on inquiry we find that the individual is the "corporeal individual." "It is plain, even now, that the dependency of which we are thinking is a dependency upon the corporeal individual." It would appear to follow from this definition of the individual that the Professor would approach his problem from the corporeal side, and set forth mental processes mainly in terms of physiology. We find, to our amazement, that "the introspective method is the simplest and most obvious of all." Along with the introspective method he places the experimental method and speaks of both as direct methods, in contrast with the indirect methods, of which the most conspicuous are the memorial and the linguistic. He has not shown how the corporeity of the individual is related to the use of the introspective method. In fact, he seems to have forgotten his description of the individual as soon as he has given it, and it has no apparent relation to his description of the methods of psychology.

When we pass from the introductory chapter, and come to the working out of his scheme, we are puzzled at the very outset. He seems to begin with an abstraction. The opening sentence reads thus: "A sensation is a simple conscious process standing in a relation of dependency to particular nervous organs, peripheral and central." It is a peculiar definition. It assumes that a sensation can stand alone, and by itself, with no relation to other sensations before or after. There is no reference in the definition to the self which has the sensation, or any inquiry into the possibility of a sensation which is related only to particular nervous organs. English psychology has, in the hands of its more recent exponents, overcome the tendency exemplified in the works of Hume and J. S. Mill, of regarding consciousness as a mere succession of ideas without inner bond and connection, or as a series of our possible and actual sensations. They recognise the fact that the sensation or idea exists only as a member of a connected, conscious series, and that consciousness can never be conceived as a mere sum or product. We may refer to the works of James, Bowne, and to many others for illustration. The difference is vital for psychology. If we believe that every individual element belongs to consciousness only through its union with other elements, our method will be very different from what it will be, if we proceed on the assumption that each sensation can stand by itself. Professor Külpe tries

to justify his method by a reference to chemistry, but chemical molecules can be isolated, and can be studied by themselves. Sensations cannot be isolated, and certainly we ought not to ignore, in any study of them, the supreme fact that they are sensations only in reference to a subject. Professor Külpe thus begins his study with an impossible assumption, and his discussion is barren and unfruitful. He has first sensations abstracted from everything which gives them validity, then in an artificial way he seeks for connections between these sensations formerly assumed as possible, and then he is under the necessity of looking on consciousness as a sum or product, made up somehow by the interaction of elements. It seems a hopeless task. Yet there are so many fine things in the book, so many ingenious speculations, so many subtle observations, reflections, additions to our knowledge, that we are sorry to think—as we are compelled to think—of the book as misleading and reactionary.

The second book on our list is exceedingly valuable. It is both historical and critical. It gives, within short compass, a trustworthy account of the progress of physiological psychology in Germany from Fechner onwards. A brief but weighty Introduction sets forth the problem as it was presented to, and by, successive thinkers during all the history of philosophy. The names of Descartes, Leibnitz, and Wolff are conspicuous on the pages of the first part of the Introduction. With the name of Herbart the account becomes more detailed. His system is sufficiently set forth, while attention is directed to the systems of Drobisch and Waitz, and in the third, notice is taken of Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Ulrici, on to Lotze. Then come detailed critical accounts of Fechner and V. Helmholtz, G. E. Muller and Pilzecker, Wundt, N. Lange, Külpe, Münsterberg, Ziehen, and Richard Avenarius. The book is most valuable, full of information, and rich in critical insight.

Professor Koch is exceedingly anxious to deliver the science of religion from the bondage in which it has been held by metaphysics, and to restore it to psychological freedom. His book is written in a lively and interesting manner, and does good service in calling attention to the barrenness of formal metaphysics. It is stronger in its destructive criticism than it is in its more constructive portions. In fact, it would seem that more agreement is needed as to the aims, methods, and scope of psychology, before we proceed to displace metaphysics in favour of psychology. The question arises what system of psychology are we to substitute for metaphysics. Dr Koch has his own system, but it is not beyond criticism. A

description and a criticism of it cannot be given here and now. We have, however, found the book to be full of interest, and provocative of thought.

JAMES IVERACH.

Petrus der Iberer ein Charakterbild zur Kirchen- und Sittengeschichte des fünften Jahrhunderts.

Syrische Uebersetzung einer um das Jahr 500 verfassten griechischen Biographie. Herausgegeben und uebersetzt von Richard Raabe. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1895; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. vii. 132 and 146. Price, M.15.

It is all too seldom that we get an unrefracted view of one who was a saint in the eyes of his followers, but a heretic in the judgment of the Church. The lives of these men have to be constructed, for the most part, from the reports of their adversaries, broken into fragments, distorted at the best by the desire to exalt orthodoxy by representing only the darker side of schism. Here is the life of a Monophysite Bishop and Saint of the fifth century, written by one who shared both his experiences and his creed. It has been recovered in a Syriac translation from the original Greek, which appears to be lost, and is edited by a competent scholar, with a translation into German, Introduction and Notes. The editor has followed mainly the text of a MS. in Berlin, but gives corrections and additions from another MS. in the British Museum, to which attention was called by Dr Wright.

There were at the same period no fewer than three Monophysite leaders of note bearing the name of Peter—Peter Fullo of Antioch, Peter Mongus, the “Stammerer” of Alexandria, and Peter the Iberian. Of the last, not the least worthy of the three, less has hitherto been known than of the other two. From Evagrius and Zacharias of Mitylene we learn that he enjoyed a great reputation among his fellow-Monophysites, and took part in the consecration of Timotheus Aelurus as Bishop of Alexandria, which Calandro of Antioch frankly denounced as spiritual “adultery.” This new source of information shows that there was not much more of a public character to record, but it fills in particulars of the Iberian priest's history, and sets him in an atmosphere of unbounded admiration and reverence. Born a prince of the royal house of Iberia—some useful light is shed upon the early history of Christianity in this Caucasian kingdom—he was sent in early youth as a hostage to Constantinople. There he became imbued with the spirit of monasticism, and escaped at the age of twenty to make his way to Palestine. Becoming a monk, he dwelt partly in Jerusalem, partly in the monastery on the Mount of Olives, until

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he was taken by main force and ordained to the priesthood, and afterwards consecrated Bishop of Majuma, the port of Gaza. His reputation for sanctity was confirmed by innumerable miracles, and for wisdom by the invitation to proceed to Egypt to advise on the ecclesiastical situation there. Apart from this absence of two years, his life was spent in Palestine, where, however, he travelled much, partly on Church business, partly in search of health.

There is no direct allusion to burning questions in the biography; the orthodoxy of the Monophysites is throughout taken for granted. We get the impression that the Antiochene Christology was almost universal in Palestine. Chalcedon changes places with Ephesus, and becomes the "Robber-Council"; Cyril, Timotheus and Dioscurus are the champions of orthodoxy, Proterius the traitor to the truth.

Apart from the unwonted insight into the life of a heretical sect, and the somewhat pleasing and fantastic effect of a historical mirage in which Pope Leo appears as an arch-heretic, the further interest of the book lies in its contributions to Palestine topography in the latter half of the fifth century. The topography, churches and monasteries of Jerusalem (*cf.* esp. pp. 40 *seq.* 94), Gaza, Jamnia and Shochoh, the trans-Jordanic region (which is called "Arabia") with Nebo, Madaba and the Baths of Livia, are only some of the points worthy of note. There is also a curious reference to Gerizim (p. 35) and to an idol which stood upon the mountain and was worshipped by the Samaritans "unto this day." The garrulous chronicler wastes much of his space and of our patience upon the miracles wrought by his hero, but we can forgive him in consideration of the numerous touches, such as are not common in works of this period, which throw light upon the climate, vegetation, and natural scenery of Palestine, and especially of the East side of Jordan.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

The Doctrine of the Incarnation.

By Robert L. Ottley, Fellow of S. M. Magdalen College, and Principal of Pusey House, Oxford. London: Methuen & Co., 1896. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. xii. 324 and x. 366. Price, 15s.

Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation.

By Charles Gore, M.A., Canon of Westminster, of the Community of the Resurrection, Radley. London: John Murray, 1895. 8vo, pp. xvi. 323. Price, 7s. 6d.

MR OTTLEY'S book on the *Incarnation* is intended for students in Theology. It aims at providing a "compendious and plain introduction to the doctrine of the Incarnation, giving a connected

outline of the theology and doctrinal history which may be studied separately and more minutely in larger books." The volume opens with a general statement on the Incarnation, its "nature, different aspects, and relation to various provinces of thought and inquiry." This is done briefly, and simply by way of introduction to the main subject. The second section of the work is devoted to the "Scriptural presentation of the doctrine," this being treated as belonging to the history of dogma. The bulk of the book, however, is occupied by the third division, which extends from Part III. to Part IX., and gives a historical sketch of the position of the doctrine in the period between the Apostolic Fathers and the close of the sixteenth century. Then follows a section which is described as a "series of notes on the actual contents of the doctrine, comprising a brief discussion both of theological points and of the technical terms most frequently employed by ecclesiastical writers."

In accordance with this plan the Incarnation is expounded first in respect of its purpose as the climax of history, the climax also of creation, the restoration of humanity, and the revelation of God. Little more than hints and outlines will be found here; but these are sometimes very suggestive. A summary is then given of the evidence of the Incarnation, Apostolic teaching, the history of the Church, the spiritual experience of Christians, and the early New Testament literature being successively reviewed. Here some good things are said of the force of the convictions held and proclaimed by the Apostles themselves. The presentation of the doctrine in Scripture is next dealt with, the witness of the Old Testament and that of the New Testament being handled in turn. There are some very vulnerable points in the statement of the Old Testament teaching, particularly as regards the passages adduced in proof of the intimation of a plurality of Persons in the Godhead. The New Testament doctrine is treated with more success, the main points being briefly and clearly indicated in the ideas and deliverances contained in each of the great divisions of the Apostolic writings. The witness of St Paul is perhaps the best part of this section of the work, his implicit teaching being dealt with particular skill, and its significance being enforced with much ability. The most doubtful statements here occur in what is said about the "extension of the Incarnate life," in connection with such passages as the opening paragraphs of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

The history of the doctrine in the Church, in the speculations of individual thinkers, in the great schools of theology, and in the ecclesiastical councils, is given with considerable fulness. There are many points here which invite attention. There are cases in which Mr Ottley attributes a greater precision to his authorities than can justly be claimed for them, and the estimate of the great

heresies is sometimes inadequate. The real meaning of the Arian Movement, the way in which it was met by the great theologians, and the reasons for this are only partially grasped. Too little is said, too, of the way in which the great, defining theological terms came to be selected and commended themselves to the Church generally. On the other hand, many excellent and most useful summaries are given of forms of opinion, ecclesiastical decisions, and the doctrinal systems of the leading theologians. We may refer in particular to the statements on Apollinarianism, Irenaeus, the Christologies of Origen, Athanasius, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. The question of the genius and the influence of the Greek Theology is handled with ability and insight. The book will be a welcome help to theological students. They will find in it a handy and generally reliable *conspectus* of a large and difficult subject. It will furnish them in succinct form with the results of the larger and more authoritative works on Christology, and will give them guiding lines for further studies. The history stops, however, with Richard Hooker. The great and fertile field of modern Christological speculation is left untouched.

In his *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation*, Canon Gore fulfils an expectation which was held forth when his Bampton Lectures were published, and gives us the fruit of extended studies in the great subject which he handled then. The book will be read with attention by all who understand the importance of recent movements of thought on the central questions of Christology. It will be read with special interest by those who have followed Canon Gore's positions in the contributions which he has made to English theology. In this book he gives us his mind on certain subjects which could be dealt with only in a tentative and partial way in his lectures. He does this with large wealth of learning, with the force of strong conviction, and in a clear and telling style. The *Dissertations* are three in number, their subjects being the *Virgin Birth of our Lord*, the *Consciousness of our Lord in His Mortal Life*, and *Transubstantiation and Nihilianism*. The last of these themes is the one that has the least immediate interest. It lies comparatively remote from the thoughts of the Protestantism of the present day. It is of use, however, to be reminded, as here we are reminded, of the tremendous part once played by this dogma, of the position it yet holds in the Roman Catholic system, and of the doctrinal and ecclesiastical connections which must make it a thing of permanent interest to the theologian and the historian. Canon Gore traces it back to its origins, and shows how it owed its rise and its prevalence in large measure to mistaken views of the Incarnation which

were current in the Middle Ages. The crudeness and absurdity of the metaphysical subtleties with which it was underpropped, the burden it imposed upon conscience and intelligence, and the fact that the Christological opinions with which it was vitally connected amounted virtually to an annihilation of Christ's humanity are powerfully exhibited.

The first of the three essays has more than an antiquarian or historical interest. It discusses in a spirit of perfect reverence, and with a deep sense of the importance of the issue, the question of our Lord's birth. The Virgin-birth is studied in its relation to the Incarnation. The position by which Canon Gore stands is the reasonable one—that if the greater miracle of the Incarnation is accepted there is no difficulty *a priori* in accepting the lesser miracle of the Virgin-birth; that on the contrary it may be said that the latter is implied in the former; and that consequently the belief in our Lord's supernatural entrance into humanity cannot be allowed to fall into neglect with justice or without loss. The ultimate question, however, is of course recognised by Canon Gore to be one of fact. Have we reasonable ground for retaining this belief? Canon Gore meets this question frankly. He goes over the usual ground here, and gives his explanation of the silence of Mark, John, and Paul. His view is that Matthew must have derived his knowledge of the fact from Joseph, and Luke his acquaintance with it from Mary; as to Paul and John, his opinion is, that if they do not state the fact, they at least imply it. The history of the belief is then traced as it shaped itself in the early Church, with the view of showing that the Virgin-birth was one of the things which were not doubted, except by a few heretics. There are some questionable points in this argument. The explanation which is given of the silence of Mark and John, as due to the fact that the Gospel was meant to be simply the record of personal testimony to the main facts connected with our Lord's life, will not be felt to be quite adequate; neither will it be accepted as a quite relevant reason for holding Luke's narrative to have been of earlier date than Christ's rejection that it is of a joyous Messianic character. But the whole makes a piece of good and careful reasoning, and the counter-hypotheses which seek to explain the belief by the working of the legendary spirit or by the idea of an accommodation of prophecy, are subjected to a very searching examination.

By much the ablest and most important of these Dissertations, however, is the one on our Lord's consciousness. Canon Gore proceeds upon the just principle that a measure of limitation in knowledge, as in all things else, on the part of the Divine Son, is involved in the reality of His Incarnation, and that here, again,

the acceptance of the greater miracle of the entrance of God into humanity should make the smaller miracle of the limitation of knowledge seem less of a difficulty. He brings together with admirable force the facts in the Gospels which imply Christ's possession of a human nature, genuine and like our own in all normal points—his growth in wisdom and knowledge, His requests for information, His living by prayer, His experience of that trial of soul in which God's Fatherhood ceases to be recognised, His way of speaking at times of the future, His declared ignorance of the day and hour of His own Second Coming. These things imply, he sees, that alongside the possession of a certain supernatural knowledge and insight, our Lord entered really into the conditions of a limited human consciousness. The great passages in the epistles which bear upon this question are expounded, in most cases with success. In the Exposition of Philippians ii., however, it is not quite exact to identify the "form of God" with the *essence* of God: neither is the exegesis of John i. 18 quite adequate. The Christological problem is then considered in its theological relations, and a review of the Kenotic theories is given, which, if it does not carry us beyond what we already had, is useful. On one or two points, however, it is defective. The statements both of Dr Godet's position and of Dr Fairbairn's would not be accepted, we think, as satisfactory by these writers themselves. Canon Gore comes at last to something like Bishop Martensen's view. It seems to us surprising that this is the case. If there is one form of the Kenotic doctrine that is less homogeneous and less intelligible than another, it is this theory of a double life. Canon Gore might have found better things for his purpose in such a construction of the problem as that given by Thomasius, in which all is made to turn on a distinction, which is at least neither unintelligible nor unreasonable, between two classes of attributes. But, apart from his particular conclusion, Canon Gore has given us a book of real value, full of life, and rich in theological thought.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

Professor Sanday's Bampton Lectures on *Inspiration*¹ have reached the third edition. It is pleasant to see that they have had the acceptance which they deserve. The book has already been noticed in this Review, and it is not necessary to repeat what has been said as to its merits. It is a distinct and most helpful contribution to a difficult question, and within the limits which it has set for itself it is the best English book on the subject. It does

¹ London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1896. 8vo, pp. xxix. 477, price 7s. 6d.

not attempt to overtake all that might be brought under its title, but confines itself to the "early history and origin of the Doctrine of Biblical Inspiration." It carries us over the main points in the history of the Canon, the estimates of the New Testament and of the Old in the early Church, the rise first of the Old Testament books and then of the New Testament writings, and the historical course by which they came to be set apart as canonical. That is the chief task to which the book addresses itself, and it is a task involving the discussion of a multitude of questions, especially regarding the New Testament writings, on which few men can speak with such authority as Professor Sanday. In the statement and criticism of the alternative theories of Inspiration, with which the Lectures close, we have what brings us, at least, a step nearer the solution of the main problem. The present edition is enlarged by a new Preface and by the addition of a Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, in which one of the leading ideas of the volume is expanded and restated in popular form. That idea is that the phenomena of the Bible, the spiritual knowledge which the Jewish people possessed, and the message which the Prophets and Apostles delivered, "demand such an explanation as that to which we give the name 'Inspiration,' that the more typical form of this is that which appears in the writings of the Prophets, and that the best account of it is that which may be gathered from the words of the Prophets themselves." Still wider acceptance, we trust, awaits this able and judicious inquiry into what is distinctive of Scripture.

Dr K. S. Macdonald, Fellow of the University of Calcutta, has issued a work of some interest on *The Story of Barlaam and Joasaph*.¹ The book deals with the question of the relations of Buddhism and Christianity. It is the result of studies in the British Museum, in which Dr Macdonald had to do with what was apparently "the latest form in which the story was published in the English language," viz., *The History of the Five Wise Philosophers*, or *The wonderful relation of the Life of Jehoshaphat*, of the dates 1711 and 1732. The author's object is to rectify what he believes to be a "total misapprehension of the facts and history with reference to the supposed influence of Buddhism on Christianity." He gives first an introduction containing a general account of the Story of Barlaam and Joasaph, its peculiar charm, its origin as leading us back to the Legend of Buddha and the Birth-Stories, the Greek authorship of the fifth or the eighth century, its extensive circulation, its marvellous popularity, its embodiment of the Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints, its special interest to the India missionary, etc. He then proceeds to controvert the theories of Mr Arthur Lillie, M. Ernest de Bunsen,

¹ Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co., 1895. 8vo, pp. lxi. 136.

Professor Seydel, and others, and produces an array of considerations showing that we have no reason to suppose that either the Life of Buddha or the Buddhistic doctrine had any influence on the Gospels or other New Testament writings; and that there is as little reason to believe that either Christ or His Apostles had ever heard of Buddha and Buddhism; that, in point of fact, Buddha and Buddhism do not seem to have been known in Syria, Egypt, or Europe, before the third century of the Christian era; and that what is common to the Buddhistic Scriptures and the Bible is not enough to justify the inference that there had been contact between the two. A communication is included, in which Professor Ramsay of Aberdeen gives it as his opinion that "there is not a trace of evidence that Buddhism or Buddhistic ideas were known in Asia Minor in the first century after Christ." There is also a contribution from the Rev. John Morrison, Principal of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta, giving a Philological Introduction and Notes to the Vernon, Harleian, and Bodleian versions.

An important contribution is made to the materials which are at our service for understanding the Church of England by the publication of the collection of *Documents illustrative of English Church History*.¹ The Documents which are given begin with that of the British Signatories at the Council of Arles in 314 A.D., and close with the Act of Settlement in 1700 A.D. In all, we get 124 documents transcribed with great care, the spelling of the old English papers being modernised, and translations being given of those in Latin and Norman French. Of the documents belonging to the period preceding the Norman conquest only those of primary importance are included. After that period a larger selection is made, and many of these documents are of the utmost interest and importance, not only for the student of English Church History, but for all who have an interest in Constitutional History. Among the various papers of historical importance which have been collected from many different quarters, carefully transcribed, and placed at the easy disposal of all readers in this admirable volume, we have the Tithe Ordinance of Athelstan; the Letter of William the Conqueror to Pope Gregory VII.; the Constitutions of Clarendon; John's Surrender of the Kingdom to the Pope; the Mortmain Act; the Act "De Haeretico Comburendo"; the Act for the Dissolution of the Greater Monasteries; Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity; the Millenary Petition; the Solemn League and Covenant; the Engagement; and others.

It is more than a quarter of a century, we are told by the editor,

¹ Compiled from original sources by Henry Gee, B.D., F.S.A., and William John Hardy, F.S.A. London: Macmillan & Co. Crown 8vo. Pp. xii. 670. Price 10s. 6d.

Professor W. R. Clark of Toronto, since the proposal was made to introduce Hefele's great work on the *Councils of the Church*¹ to the English reader. The translation has now reached the fifth volume, and with that the undertaking, begun so long ago, is completed. This volume covers the period from A.D. 626 to the close of the Second Council of Nicæa in A.D. 787. The history of the Mediaeval Councils, which are of real, though subordinate, interest, is thus not to be included. But the five volumes which we now possess embrace the most important periods and the most valuable sections of the History. We cannot be too thankful for these volumes. No student of Church History or of the History of Doctrine can afford to dispense with them. This last volume is one of great interest, dealing as it does with the Monothelite and Iconoclastic Controversies; the Letters of Honorius; the *Ecthesis* of Heraclius; the Trullan Synod; and many other matters of great importance.

We welcome the appearance of the first part of a new edition of *Herzog's Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*.² The original *Herzog* was a vast and most successful undertaking. It contained many articles of the first rank, which are far from being antiquated even now. The second edition has also been widely appreciated, and now a third is projected and actually begun. It is to be an enlarged and improved edition, to be completed in 180 parts, costing one mark each. The editor is Professor Albert Hauck of Leipzig. The first part, which takes us on to the article on *Aberglaube*, augurs well for the success of the undertaking.

In *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*,³ Professor William Henry Green, of Princeton, gives in clear and compact form the arguments and criticisms which he has delivered on different occasions on the Pentateuchal question. He holds, as is well-known, by the old position, and by that indeed more absolutely than is the case with most who adhere to that view as a whole. He believes, with the utmost conviction and without reserve, that "the faith of all past ages in respect to the Pentateuch has not been mistaken," and in this volume he brings together the results of much reverent and laborious study. He first sets forth what he conceives the Pentateuch to be in relation to the Old Testament as a whole. He next unfolds the plan and contents of the Mosaic books, showing their

¹ A History of the Councils of the Church from the Original Documents. By the Right Rev. Charles Joseph Hefele, D.D., late Bishop of Rothenburg, formerly Professor of Theology in the University of Tübingen. Vol. V. translated from the German with the author's approbation, and edited by W. R. Clark, M.A., LL.D., &c. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896. 8vo. Pp. xvi. 472. Price, 12s.

² Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896. Large 8vo, pp. 80. Price, M.1.

³ London: Dickinson, 1895. 8vo, pp. xiii. 184.

unity, their orderly arrangement, and the plan observable in them which is "suggestive of a single author." He then proceeds to detail the various arguments, external and internal, which go to prove Moses to have been the author. In this connection he reviews and criticises the counter-arguments, and closes with some remarks on the methods of the Higher Criticism, and on "the hazardous experiment of the so-called Evangelical Critics." Professor Green's views are well understood, and need not here be criticised anew. He is the ablest defender of the traditional opinion. He is a veteran among Old Testament scholars, whom we congratulate on his accomplished Jubilee. His scholarship entitles him to be heard on this question with the utmost respect, and the publication of his views in this compact form will be gratefully received by many.

Pastor E. V. Starck's *Palestina und Syrien von Anfang der Geschichte bis zum Siege des Islam*,¹ is a collection of ancient geographical names with their modern identifications. The author is a pupil of the late Professor Gildemeister. He endeavours to write in his spirit and in accordance with his methods. He has made diligent use of all the best authorities, ancient and modern, and has enjoyed the valuable assistance of Professors Socin and Guthe among others. He has followed the Maps of Van de Velde, Kiepert, Guthe, and above all, of the Survey. His book will be of much service.

Mr C. G. Montefiore has published the first part of a *Bible for Home Reading*.² It is meant for Jewish homes, and is furnished with Comments and Reflections for the use of Jewish parents and children. The present section embraces all to the second visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem. The book is prepared to meet the case of those parents who are "unwilling to place the Bible, *pur et simple*, in the hands of their children," who no longer believe that "every word in the Bible is historically accurate," and are not "unaware that there are many varieties or degrees in its ethical and religious teaching." It begins with a chapter on the Bible itself, its greatness, its two main subjects, and how the Jews learnt about Goodness and God. It then takes up in succession the stories of Abraham, Isaac and his two Sons, Joseph, the Exodus and Moses, the Laws of the Hebrews, the Judges, and the Kings. It concludes with a chapter on *Traditions of the Past and Visions of the Future*, in which the stories of the Creation, the Flood, the Tower of Babel, and other matters are dealt with. The style is simple, the intention being to suit both parents and children. The comments are brief, and of different degrees of difficulty. The whole is written from

¹ Lexikalisches Hilfsbuch für Freunde des Heiligen Landes. Berlin : Reuther und Reichard. 8vo, pp. vi. 168. Price, M.4.50.

² London : Macmillan, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. 621. Price, 6s.

the standpoint of the Jewish critic, with whom "the inspiration of the letter of Scripture is not a dogma which commends itself to the growing thought of the world or of Judaism."

Mr T. Bailey Saunders continues the series of publications, in which he aims at giving the minor works of Schopenhauer in a form suitable to the English reader. In this new volume we get *The Art of Conversation and other Posthumous Papers*.¹ The selection and the translation are both done with care. Among other things of interest we have the aphorisms on the *Wisdom of Life*, which well deserve to be read, and the curious paper on *Genius and Virtue*, in which the latter is described as "not exactly a positive weakness of the will," but rather "an intentional restraint imposed upon its notice through a knowledge of it in its inmost being, as manifested to the world." The life of the average man is defined as "essentially one of the greatest boredom."

Two additions are made to the *Famous Scots* series, published by Messrs Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, of Edinburgh and London. Both volumes are admirably printed and most tasteful in form, with designs and ornaments by Mr Joseph Brown. The one is a careful and appreciative study of *Hugh Miller*,² by W. Keith Leask, in which one of the most remarkable Scots of recent times, a man of whom all Scotland is proud, the Cromarty mason who rose to the first rank as geologist, journalist, and man of letters, is appropriately presented to us as he appears in the "surroundings of Church and State" in which his work was done. The other is Mr A. Taylor Innes's *John Knox*.³ In the greatest of Scots Mr Innes has a congenial subject, and he has done justice to it. The volume is written with admirable point and clearness. It is interesting from first to last, and gives a picture of the great Reformer as scholar and priest, in the crises of his career, in his inner life, and in his public action, which is both true to fact and attractive in form. One of the best chapters is the one on his *Inner Life*, in which, however, even more might be made of certain elements of nature in Knox,—his humour, for example, which is not so familiar to most readers.

*The Saviour of the World*⁴ is the work of an anonymous writer, whose object is to examine the life of Jesus Christ from the standpoint of one who looks upon Him as belonging to "humanity as a whole," as having a mission to the race, and as possessing "a right to every man." The author writes under the conviction that the mission of our Lord has been "too exclusively regarded as the salvation of a section of humanity"; that morals are too generally

¹ London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 116. Price, 2s. 6d.

² Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 157. Price, 1s. 6d.

³ Cr. 8vo, pp. 158. Price, 1s. 6s.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. 285. Price 5s.

spoken of as "inferior to religion," whereas they "come first for humanity"; that the religion of Jesus, therefore, must be studied as "the inspiration of morality in the highest degree"; and that Christian doctrine has "tended to isolate Him from the common and universal interest of moral beings." His object, consequently, is to claim Jesus again for all humanity, and to review "His life and relations as these are presented in the four Gospels, with a view to finding out how this Man could be what He was evidently designed to be, what He is plainly declared to be, and what He is becoming—the Saviour of the *World*."

The book undertakes, therefore, to make a contribution to a larger apprehension of the work of our Lord than has hitherto generally prevailed, but for which much in the history of the Church has been preparing the way. It has no sympathy with those who "claim Jesus for the common humanity, by depriving Him of all superhuman features." It strongly affirms that humanity, though described with "absolute completeness," cannot measure Him. This is the important note in the book, which compensates for the limited success with which its main purpose is carried out. It is divided into three parts, treating in succession of the *World to which Christ came*, the *Christ who came to the World*, and the *World since Christ came*. On the *Sinlessness* of Christ, and other subjects, many sensible things are said, and the book as a whole will be read with profit.

In the course of his Episcopal Visitation in 1895, Dr Boyd Carpenter delivered seven addresses on *Christian Reunion*.¹ They are as eloquent as others of the Bishop's publications, and carry the reader pleasantly along. They deal in a moderate spirit and an instructive way with the conditions and prospects of reunion. The claims and attitude of the Latin Church are examined with special care. There are also some very good things said on such topics as Authority in Religion, the Bible in relation to Authority, Race Influence and Religion, Churches and Races, &c.

Everything that comes from the pen of the late lamented Dean Church is sure of a hearty welcome, and is certain both to please and to instruct. We are glad to have his admirable volume on *The Beginning of the Middle Ages*² in the attractive *Eversley Series*. Published originally in the *Epochs of Modern History Series*, it soon attained a wide acceptance, and deservedly so. It has all the best characteristics of the Dean's genius.

The Rev. J. M. Gibbon publishes a volume of *Pulpit Discourses*,³

¹ Some Thoughts on Christian Reunion. London: Macmillan & Co. 1895. Cr. 8vo, pp. 222. Price, 3s. 6d.

² London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxii. 269. Price, 5s.

³ London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 184. Price, 4s. 6d.

all pointed, vivid, and edifying. The book contains half-a-dozen sermons for adults on such subjects as the Image of God, the question whether all men are immortal, etc.; four expositions on Amos and other topics; and seven attractive addresses to children.

Mr R. Somervell, M.A., Assistant Master and Bursar of Harrow School, has prepared a very useful *Parallel History of the Jewish Monarchy*.¹ The second part is to hand, embracing the period of the Divided Monarchy. It is given according to the text of the Revised Version, and is preceded by a reprint of the section of Canon Driver's *Literature of the Old Testament*, which deals with the additional matter in Chronicles. A Chronological Table is also given. The whole book is done with care, and is likely to be of real use to students.

Under the title of *The Gospel of Common Sense*,² Dr Charles F. Deems, pastor of the Church of the Strangers, New York, gives a series of twelve studies on the Epistle of James, all of a plain, practical order, dealing in a vigorous and intelligent way with the principles of things and the working rules for the conduct of ordinary daily life.

The Christ in Man, or the Indwelling Christ,³ is the title given to a small volume which attempts to "present the doctrine of the Divine Immanence from a Christological Standpoint." The author's object is to show that "the essential thing in religious experience is the revelation of the Inward Christ," to explain what that involves, and to unfold how it is realised. There are things in the book to which exception may easily be taken; but as a whole it is written, not only in a profoundly reverent spirit, but in a way indicating insight into some of the most practical relations of Christian truth, and some of the deepest passages in Christian experience.

Students of Apocalyptic literature will turn with eager expectation to *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*.⁴ This book is of importance in more than one line of inquiry. Those interested in the study of the origins of Christianity, in questions of Assyriology, in the history of Exegesis, will all find something to their hand in it. Its story is a singular one. For "more than 1200 years," we learn, "it has been unknown, save in Russia, where acquaintance with it goes several centuries back." It was "never known by its

¹ London: C. J. Clay & Sons. 8vo, pp. 114. Price, 2s.

² Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 322. Price, 5s.

³ Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 178. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁴ Translated from the Slavonic by W. R. Morfill, M.A., Reader in Russian and the other Slavonic Languages; and Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by R. H. Charles, M.A., Trinity College, Dublin, and Exeter College, Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1896. 8vo, pp. xlviii. 100. Price, 7s. 6d.

present name in any literature save the Slavonic." Even in it the name seems not to have been always applied to it. It appears to have been referred to largely under the general title of *Enoch*. Its independence was thus lost sight of, and it was confused with the *Book of Enoch*. In 1892 a writer in a German Journal noticed the existence of what he took to be a Slavonic version of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch. This led to its identification, Mr Morfill making it clear that it was a distinct and independent product of the pseudepigraphic genius. So recently has it come to be known in Western Europe.

The difficulties of editing and publishing the book have been great. Our thanks are all the more due to Messrs Morfill and Charles for this handsome and useful *editio princeps*. A full account is furnished of the history of the book and its manuscripts. The questions of language, place of writing, and the like are thoroughly considered. The conclusion reached is that the main part was written originally in Greek at Alexandria, while some sections were written probably in Hebrew in Palestine. The relation in which the book stands to early Jewish and Christian literature, to the Book of Adam and Eve, the Apocalypse of Moses, the Apocalypse of Paul, etc., is also examined with all due care.

It is a remarkable fact that a book which is known to have been widely read in the first three Christian centuries, and to have exercised an influence which must have been considerable, passed so completely out of sight in Western Europe for so long a period. It is in many respects an interesting section of the curious literature which was once so abundant and so popular under the name of the man who "walked with God." It has much that is of importance for the history of ideas, the "Seven Heavens," for example, the Seraphim, the Thousand Years, etc. In providing us with this scholarly edition and translation Messrs Morfill and Charles have done us a great service.

Mrs Lewis has added to the obligations under which her previous labours and discoveries have placed us by publishing the handsome volume entitled, *Some Pages of the Four Gospels retranslated from the Sinaitic Palimpsest; with a Translation of the whole Text*.¹

The Syriac Palimpsest containing the text of the now famous Lewis Gospels was discovered, as is well-known, by Mrs Lewis, in the Convent of St Katharine on Mount Sinai in 1892, and transcribed by Professor Bensley, Mr J. Rendel Harris, and Mr F. C. Burkitt in 1893 during her second journey. A third journey was undertaken in 1895 along with Mrs Gibson, the effect of which was to clear up some things which had remained doubtful, and to obtain

¹ By Agnes Smith Lewis. London: Clay & Sons, 1896. 4to, pp. xxiii. 144 and 139. Price, 10s. 6d.

some additional matter. In the light of these fresh results, the whole Codex is translated anew. The reprint has some pages of addenda and supplies not a little in which the previous issue was defective. The new parts of the text show, however, the same general characteristics as the former portions—the same general conciseness, occasional neglect of copulas, and disposition to add small graphic touches. A list of the more important variations is furnished, along with appropriate discussions of the age of the MS., the version it represents, etc. The text is taken to be not later than the beginning of the fifth or the end of the sixth century. The imputation of heretical influence is discarded. The accounts of the Nativity are held to be homogeneous, and the miraculous conception to be presupposed.

Dr Frank Granger, Professor in University College, Nottingham, writes on *The Worship of the Romans viewed in relation to the Roman Temperament*.¹ The plan of the volume is good, and it is ably carried out. The book opens with an excellent chapter on the *Roman Spirit*, and proceeds to discuss in succession the questions of Dreams and Apparitions, the Soul and its Companions, the World Around, Nature Worship, Primitive Thought, Roman Magic, Divination and Prophecy, the Primitive Idea of Holiness, Holy Places, the Divine Victim, and the Sacred Drama. Under each of these topics we have much interesting matter well arranged. Abundant use is made of the methods and results of the study of folk-lore, and modern parallels to ancient customs and beliefs are introduced as often as possible. The least successful part of the volume, perhaps, is that which deals with the soul and the existence after death. That is less complete than it might easily have been. As a study of beliefs and practices most intimately related to the religion of Rome, in their mutual relations, their place in the organic structure of mental life, their growth, and their transition from one stage to another, the book is ably written and will be read with profit. The student of Latin literature will find much that will be helpful to him, and that is not provided in the ordinary class of books to which he turns for light on Roman life and literature.

Mrs Gibson furnishes an important addition to the series of *Studia Sinaitica* in her edition of certain Apocryphal books.² The volume includes the Anaphora Pilati in three recensions; the Recognitions of Clement in two recensions; the Martyrdom of Clement; the Preaching of Peter; the Martyrdom of James, son of Alphaeus; the Preaching of Simon, the son of Cleophas, in

¹ London: Methuen & Co., 1895. Cr. 8vo., pp. ix. 313. Price, 6s.

² *Studia Sinaitica*, No. V., *Apocrypha Sinaitica*. Edited and translated by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, M.R.A.S. London: Clay & Sons. 4to, pp. xx. 66, with texts. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

Arabic. The volume represents a wealth of labour, which places at our disposal some of the most curious and also most important pieces of the old Apocryphal literature in a very serviceable form. All that is most required is also given in the statement of literary and critical questions. The book is in every sense a scholarly and reliable edition.

Professor William James of Harvard, the author of *The Principles of Psychology*, sends a small, but acute, piquant, and readable book on the question, *Is Life Worth Living?*¹

We cannot say that Mr Latham's exposition of the Book of *Revelation*² is successful. He gives both an original translation and a Commentary. Neither is very good. The translation is marred by the mistaken endeavour to "preserve the precise English equivalents of the Greek Text." The Exegesis is often as far removed as may be from reasonable, historical interpretation. The book is not wholly of this kind. It is devout and painstaking, and has some just observations. But the writer has been betrayed into a forced manner of exegesis by the respect which he gives to a statement of Bishop Westcott's, that "in every syllable of the Bible there is a mystery."

An important addition to the Sammlung Theologischer Lehrbücher is being made by Professor H. J. Holtzmann in his *Handbook of New Testament Theology*.³ The book is to be completed in twelve parts, of which the first is now to hand. An extended notice of it must be deferred till we have a complete section before us. As it comes to us, indeed, it is difficult to judge of it properly, the curious plan being adopted of giving in the one *Lieferung* portions both of the first half and of the second half of the work. We have, therefore, first the *Einleitung*, which goes over the usual ground, and also a part of the first chapter which discusses later Judaism, Pharisaism, Sadduceeism, &c. But along with this we get also part of the section on Paulinism, with discussions of Paul's Anthropology, his doctrines of the Law, Sin, the Wrath of God, &c.

We are indebted to the Rev. Arthur Wright, of Queen's College, Cambridge, for a large, admirably printed, and astonishingly cheap volume, which should be of much use to students of the New Testament, viz.—*A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek after the Westcott and Hort Text*.⁴ It is intended to "assist beginners in the

¹ Philadelphia: Burns Weston, 1896. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 63.

² The Revelation of St John the Divine. London: Elliot Stock. 8vo. Price, 7s. 6d.

³ Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie. Erste Lieferung. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1896. Large 8vo, pp. 48. Price, M.1.50.

⁴ London: Macmillan & Co., 1896. 4to, pp. xv. 168. Price, 6s. net.

critical study of the Gospels," but also to serve as a book of reference to be used by "more advanced students who wish to avail themselves of modern methods." It will amply fulfil both purposes. Mr Wright proceeds on the basis of the oral hypothesis, of the truth of which he is convinced. But he follows an independent course. He analyses the Gospels into what he believes to be their primitive sources. He divides these sources also "into sections, and the speeches contained in them into paragraphs." He goes in the main with those who think that Mark's Gospel corresponds on the whole to St Peter's Memoirs, and that St Mark was unacquainted with St Matthew's Logia. He believes that if Mark had known Matthew's Logia he would probably have "transcribed the whole of them," and he cannot understand a principle of selection which "gave at full length the tragedy of the Baptist's murder (Mark vi. 17-29), but deliberately omitted the Sermon on the Mount." He makes his first division consist of Mark's Gospel, and holds Mark and the Logia of Matthew to be the oldest sources. He concludes also that the Logia must have been a comparatively small collection. He places the well-defined group of Parables in Luke in a division by themselves, as not of the Logia, but "collected by a Pauline Christian for use in a Pauline Church." A number of fragments, which are usually supposed to belong to the Logia, are taken by Mr Wright to be "recollections of private and unknown spectators," and these go into his fourth division; the Logia, as thus reduced, being made his second division. To these four he adds two subordinate divisions, one containing the first two chapters of Luke, with some other sections, and another containing the "editorial notes." We have also suggestive discussions of the omissions in the several Synoptists, the variations in order, &c. The general result of these painstaking studies is that Mark's Gospel is based on one source only, with a few editorial notes; Matthew's on two main sources, some fragments and some editorial notes; and Luke's on all the six sources. The book is an instructive addition to the good work formerly done by Mr Wright in his volume on "The Composition of the Four Gospels."

Dr G. S. Barrett, of Norwich, writes of *The Intermediate State and the Last Things*.¹ He asserts for the doctrine of the Intermediate State, "its own place in the Evangelical Creed," and his purpose is to define what that place is. With this object he examines not only the teaching of Scripture, but also the "witness of the Church as embodied in the great historic creeds of Christendom." He does not expect that his conclusions will be universally received, but he hopes they may "contribute, in some measure at least, to the determination of the grave problems involved in the

¹ London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo. 1896. Pp. vi. 275. Price, 5s.

future punishment of sin." As to Scripture, he admits the dimness of its intimations on his main subject, but builds to some extent on the Old Testament idea of Sheol, his treatment of which is lacking in precision. He builds also, and in larger measure, on certain words and suggestions of the New Testament,—Luke xvi. 23, Phil. i. 23, Rev. vi. 9, Eph. iv. 9, Luke xxiii. 43, Acts ii. 34, and more especially on 1 Peter iii. 18-20, iv. 6. Most of these debated passages, especially those in Peter's Epistles, are too slightly dealt with. Hints of the doctrine are also found in such passages as Phil. ii. 10, 11, Eph. i. 9, Col. i. 29. On the whole, the examination of the Biblical teaching, though it is conducted in a fair and entirely reverent spirit, is the least complete and satisfactory section of the book. The argument from reason is exhibited briefly, but with more point, and all through the book we come upon statements and criticisms which are of value. Dr Barrett objects to the Pre-Millenarian dogma, and gives good reason for so doing. As to the final future of the impenitent, he recognises fully the tendency of character to run into a fixed state. He admits also that the verdict of reason seems to point to the possibility of the endlessness of sin and the consequent endlessness of its punishment. But he thinks that reason has also another verdict. His conclusion is, on the whole, on the side of an antinomy as regards the gravest of all problems. He believes that there are two voices on this matter, both in Scripture and in reason, and that there are the best grounds for its being so. If the book errs by attempting to rise to more than Scripture clearly gives, it is yet a serious and reverent study, which cannot be read without profit.

A paper on *The Criticism of the Old Testament*, contributed some time ago to the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, by Professor A. Köhler of Erlangen, having occasioned considerable discussion, the writer has republished it in separate form, with an appendix in defence of his positions.¹ The publication is a notable one, in respect of the freedom which it claims, from the side of orthodox Confessional Lutheranism, in matters of criticism. Professor Köhler is emphatic in his assertion of a wider liberty than many of those who are of the same ecclesiastical school with him allow. In some respects he occupies a more advanced position than his friend and master, the late Franz Delitzsch, and speaks with refreshing candour of the folly of attempting to set limits to the historical and critical study of Scripture.

Two additions are made to the series of *Bible Class Primers*, both by writers intimately acquainted with their respective subjects, and

¹ Ueber Berechtigung der Kritik des Alten Testaments. Erlangen u. Leipzig: Deichert. 8vo, pp. 68. Price, M.1.

both well suited for use by those for whom they are specially intended, viz.—the Rev. Dr C. G. M'Crie's *The Free Church of Scotland: her Ancestry, her Claims, and her Conflicts*,¹ and the Rev. T. B. Kilpatrick's *Christian Character; a Study of New Testament Morality*.²

Among smaller publications we have also to notice these:—*Religion from the Mystic Standpoint*, by the Rev. R. W. Corbet, M.A.;³ an attractive sketch of *David Livingstone*, by B. K. Gregory;⁴ the interesting series of publications issued by the Directors of the *Old South Studies in History*, Boston, of which the sixty-fifth contains *Washington's Addresses to the Churches*; a cheap edition of Mr Edward Walter Haines's, *The Lord's Supper*;⁵ a sympathetic estimate of Professor Dillmann, by one most competent to speak of him and his work;⁶ a second edition of Professor Martin Kähler's vigorous brochure, *Unser Streit um die Bibel*;⁷ a third edition of Canon Linton's *Christ in the Old Testament*;⁸ a treatise by Otto Ritschl on the origin and meaning of *Werthurtheile*,⁹ in which the idea and the use of the term are traced back in part to Luther and in part to Kant, and the question of the value of the knowledge which the term has in view is carefully considered; a brief Lecture by Professor W. Lütgert of Greifswald on *Faith*,¹⁰ and its relation to historical fact, to experience, and to theological science; three addresses by Professor Valetton of Utrecht,¹¹ containing some fine observations on the *Importance of the Study of the Old Testament for Preachers*, the *Position of the Prophets in the Religion of Israel*, and the *Essence of the Religion of Israel*; a short but careful and instructive treatise, by Professor Ernst Cremer of Marburg, on the *Forgiveness of Sin*,¹² a study in Biblical Theology; some acute exegetical and critical studies by Dr J. Cramer, of

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 24mo, pp. 117. Price, 6d. and 8d.

² Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 24mo, pp. 124. Price, 6d. and 8d.

³ London: Elliot Stock. 1896. Pp. 16. Price, 6d.

⁴ *The Story of David Livingstone*. London: The Sunday-School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 144. Price, 1s.

⁵ *Is it a Memorial or Something else?* London: Elliot Stock. Pp. 105.

⁶ August Dillman. Von Wolf Wilhelm Grafen Baudissin. Leipzig: Hirzel; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 30.

⁷ Leipzig: Deichert. 1895. Cr. 8vo, pp. 78. Price, M.1.25.

⁸ London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 270.

⁹ Ueber Werthurtheile. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 35.

¹⁰ Glaube und Heilsgeschichte. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. 32.

¹¹ Vergängliches und Ewiges im Alten Testament. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard. 8vo, pp. 47.

¹² Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. 61.

Utrecht, on 1 Cor. x. 1-5, xii. 11-14, and Acts xviii. 22, xix. 21-22 ;¹ a discourse on the historico-critical method of exegesis, by Professor Johannes Gottschick of Tübingen ;² a suggestive Lecture on *Das Christenthum und die Geschichte*,³ in which Professor Adolf Harnack exhibits the more positive and conservative side of his teaching in relation to the historical facts which form the foundation of Christianity ; a curious book in defence of the Jews, with some overdrawn and even repulsive things in it, by John Vickers, *The Crucifixion Mystery ; a Review of the Great Charge against the Jews* ;⁴ a volume of Sermons, in the *Life Indeed* series, entitled *Laws and Landmarks of the Spiritual Life*,⁵ by William A. Gray—thoughtful, earnest, well-expressed, and altogether of a high order, dealing with the *Laws of the Higher Vision, Simplicity, Circumspection, Protection, Increase, Charity, Reverence, Hope*, and subjects of like practical moment ; another attempt to harmonise the Creation-record in Genesis with the results of Modern Science, by S. J. L., a modest book, giving first, a general indication of the correspondence between each Scriptural statement and scientific fact, and then discussing more in detail certain matters which could not be worked into the argument without the risk of confusion ;⁶ a volume by Robert Shiells on *The Story of the Token as belonging to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*,⁷ full of curious matter, interesting especially to Scotch and American readers ; an able defence of our Lord's supernatural birth,⁸ in which the counter arguments drawn from the comparative silence of the records, the attitude of His neighbours and relations, and some of His own words are first met, and the objective and subjective grounds for the belief are next stated with force and good judgment ; an interesting contribution to the history of the New Testament by Dr Paul Rohrbach,⁹ written in the spirit of Professor Harnack's teaching, in which the disputed close of Mark's Gospel is examined with much acuteness in

¹ *Exegetica et Critica*, V. 1896. Utrecht : Breijer. 8vo, pp. 40.

² *Die Bedeutung der historisch-kritischen Schriftforschung für die Evangelische Kirche*. Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 32.

³ Leipzig : Hinrichs. 1895. 8vo, pp. 20. Price, M. 0.50.

⁴ London : Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 187.

⁵ London : C. H. Kelly. Cr. 8vo, pp. 258. Price, 3s. 6d.

⁶ *The First Chapter of Genesis Justified by the Teachings of Modern Science*. London : Nisbet & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 72. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁷ New York : John Ireland. Small cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 170.

⁸ *Für unser Bekenntniß "Geboren von der Jungfrau."* Von Ad. Lichtenstein. 1896. Berlin : Wiegandt & Grieben. 8vo, pp. 59.

⁹ *Der Schluss des Markus-evangeliums, der Vier-Evangelischen Kanon, und die Kleinasiatischen Presbyter*. Berlin : Nauck. Cr. 8vo, pp. 66. Price, M. 1.20.

the light of the new turn given to the question by Mr Conybeare's discovery of the subscription, "by the Presbyter Ariston," in an Armenian MS. of the ninth century.

We have to report the appearance of a new German Magazine, devoted to matters of Worship and Ecclesiastical Art—the *Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und Kirchliche Kunst*. The publishers are Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht of Göttingen. The editors are the two well-known Strassburg Professors, Dr Friedrich Spitta and Dr Julius Smend.

Among other books which have come too late for review in the present issue, we may mention the fifth edition of Professor Hermann Schultz's *Alttestamentliche Theologie*,¹ and the *Life and Letters of Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.*, by his son, Arthur Fenton Hort.²

Record of Select Literature.

OLD TESTAMENT.

- WINCKLER, H. *Altorientalische Forschungen*. IV. Leipzig: Pfeiffer. 8vo, pp. iii. 305-370.
- FISKE, A. K. *The Jewish Scriptures: The Books of the O.T. in the Light of their Origin and History*. London: Nutt. Cr. 8vo, pp. 404. 5s.
- BARNSTEIN. *The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis. A Critical enquiry into the Value of the Text exhibited by Yemen MSS., &c.* London: Nutt. 8vo, pp. 100. 3s. 6d. net.
- Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, hrsg. v. F. Delitzsch u. P. Haupt. 3 Bd. 2. Hft. Leipz.: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. 189-385. M.13.50.
- Bibliothek, Assyriologische, hrsg. V. Delitzsch u. P. Haupt. XII. Bd. 1. Lfg. Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion v. H. Zimmern. 1. Lfg. Die Beschwörungstafeln Surpu. Leipz.: Hinrichs. 4to, pp. iv. 80. M.20.
- DELITZSCH, F. *Das Babylonische Welterschöpfungsepos*. Leipz.: Hirzel, Lex. 8. M.8.
- JAPHET, J. M. *Die Accente der hl. Schrift*. Frankf. a/m., Kauffmann. 8vo, pp. xi. 184. M.2.50.
- ROSENZWEIG, A. *Geselligkeit u. Geselligkeits-Freuden in Bibel u. Talmud. Ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte des Alterthums. (1. Hälfte.)* Berl.: Poppelauer. 8vo, pp. 52. M.1.50.
- BRAGIN, A. *Die freireligiösen Strömungen im alten Judenthume. Ein Beitrag zur Jüd. Religionsphilosophie*. Berlin: Calvary & Co. 8vo, pp. 80. M.2.
- GAY, C. *Exposition théologique et mystique des Psaumes*. Paris: Oudin. 12mo, pp. 295. F.3.

¹ Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. vi. 650. Price, M.10.40.

² London: Macmillan & Co. Extra cr. 8vo, 2 vols. Price, 17s. net.

- MEIGNAN. L'Ancien Testament dans ses Rapports avec le Nouveau et la Critique Moderne. De Moïse à David avec une Introduction sur les Types au Figures de la Bible. Paris : Lecoffre. 8vo, pp. lx. 512.
- SELLIN, E. Beiträge zur Israelitischen u. Jüdischen Religionsgeschichte. 1. Hft. : Jahwes Verhältnis zum Israelit. Volk u. Individuum nach altisraelit. Vorstellg. Leipz. : Deichert Nachf. 8vo, pp. viii. 240. M.4.
- KLOSTERMANN, A. Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis zur Restauration unter Esra u. Nehemia. München : C. H. Beck. 8vo, pp. xii. 270. M.4.50.
- SCHWARZ, J. H. Geschichtliche Entwicklung der Messianischen Idee des Judenthums. Vom Culturhistor. Gesichtspunkte behandelt. Frankf. : a/m., Kauffmann. 8vo, pp. 106. M.2.
- HAMBURGER, J. Real-Encyclopädie des Judenthums. 1. Abtlg. Biblische Artikel. 1. Hft. Leipz. : K. F. Koehler's Sort. 8vo, pp. 160. M.2.50.
- KITTEL, R. A History of the Hebrews. In 2 vols. Vol. II. Sources of Information and History of the Period down to the Babylonian Exile. Trans. by Hope W. Hogg, and E. B. Speirs. London : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 420. 10s. 6d.
- SCHUCHTER, S. Studies in Judaism. London : A. & C. Black. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxx. 442. Price 7s. 6d.
- MARTI, Karl. Kurzgefasste Grammatik der Biblisch-Aramäischen Sprache. (Porta Linguarum Orientalium). Berlin : Reuther u. Reichard. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 134 and 90. M.3.60.
- MOULTON, R. G. The Book of Job, edited with an Introduction and Notes (The Modern Reader's Bible). London : Macmillan. 16mo, pp. 288. 2s. 6d.
- MOULTON, R. G. Ecclesiastes and the Wisdom of Solomon, edited with an Introduction and Notes. (The Modern Reader's Bible). London : Macmillan. 16mo, pp. 240. 2s. 6d.

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- KÖNIG, E. Zwei Alttestamentliche Hauptfragen. *N. Kirchl. Z.*, 2, 1896.
- MOOR, Fl. de. Les Juifs Captifs dans l' Empire Chaldéen depuis l'Avènement de Nabuchodonosor jusqu' après la mort de Darius. *Muséon* 1, 1896.
- SCHNEDERMANN, F. D. Geschichtl. Bewusstsein d. älteren Israelitischen Volksgemeinde. *N. Kirchl. Z.* 3, 1896.
- FRIEDLÄNDER, M. Some Fragments of the Hebrew Bible, with peculiar Abbreviations and Signs for Vowels and Accents. *Proced. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeol.*, March 1896.
- LÖHR, D. Einheit d. Sacharja. *Kirchl. Monatsschr.* XV., 7, April, 1896.
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Studies subsidiary to the Works of Bishop Butler.

By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 370. Price, 4s. 6d.

WE have found it hard, during the perusal of this volume, to keep our thoughts from straying from Bishop Butler to his critic. This was not the fault of Mr Gladstone, who maintains throughout the attitude of a humble disciple and interpreter of his favourite philosopher. There is, indeed, a marked absence in the present volume of those personal references in which Mr Gladstone has sometimes indulged in his later writings, greatly to the satisfaction of his readers. But notwithstanding this self-repression on the part of the writer, the reader finds it difficult to forget that the most eminent man of affairs of our time is here revealing his innermost thoughts and hopes regarding the ultimate issues of human destiny. Since the days of Burke no English statesman has done so much to elevate political life as the author of this volume. Burke enriched it by introducing into its discussions a profounder political philosophy; Mr Gladstone's chief contribution has been an unfaltering endeavour, in good and evil days, to make righteous action rather than profit or glory the supreme object of our national policy. In the present volume he describes Butler's view of life in the following terms:—

“All duty is to be regarded from a religious point of view, and all human life is charged with duty. Every movement which takes place in this unmeasured Universe has the Ruler of the Universe behind it. On all occasions, great and small, life is ever presenting to us problems of duty.”

Such a view of human life, for it is assuredly his own as well as that of Butler, explains the immense moral magnetism which Mr Gladstone has exercised over the English people, with whom the language of religious idealism is always popular; perhaps it also explains those sudden fallings away from his leadership which have also marked his political career; for the English, like the Athenians, are apt to tire after a time of Aristides.

Having given during a long life a shining example of the fearless application of his principles to matters of public policy, at an age when most men care only for rest he has addressed himself to the not less arduous task of deepening and strengthening those principles in the minds of his fellow-countrymen. He has chosen the writings of Bishop Butler as his text-book, and as his text; for his papers are not merely learned studies on a philosophical classic;

they are to a greater degree a series of persuasive exhortations to cling to the sober, righteous and religious view of life, which it was the aim of Butler to recommend.

Butler cannot be placed in the front rank of English philosophers, if rank is made to depend upon extent of influence. His name is almost unknown outside English-speaking lands. It was his habit, as Mr Gladstone truly and quaintly says, to encamp near to the region of practice in all his philosophical enquiries. This banal and Philistine habit, as it was deemed by purely speculative thinkers, excluded him from Germany, the Fatherland of transcendental philosophy. In this country, although his writings used to be known to students from their place in Academic study, they gave little satisfaction to eager spirits in the first fervour of speculative thought. Those theologians, Catholic or Evangelical, who have invented for themselves an artificial certainty, by means of theories of Infallibility, naturally look down with scorn upon Butler's modest provision of probable evidence. Butler has, however, exercised a profound and lasting influence upon a class of Englishmen of whom Mr Gladstone may be taken as an eminent example. Too reflective not to perceive the difficulties of religious thought, and too sagacious to accept the solutions which pass muster with the multitude, they are nevertheless debarred by their religious temper from turning away from the supreme source of guidance and comfort open to man. To such men, Butler has often proved a most welcome helper; for in him they found those reserves and hesitations which they feel themselves constrained to make in an acceptance of the Christian Creed. In a fine chapter on his mental qualities, Butler's master passion is defined by Mr Gladstone as the love of truth. Following this as a satellite, there is an unceasing desire to keep faith with his reader; he is therefore careful never to carry the reader's mind an inch beyond what the facts of the case will warrant. This measure, as Mr Gladstone terms his moderation, wins for him an almost unbounded confidence from a certain class of readers. But while candour and caution are excellent qualities, they will not by themselves confer the philosophic character, although they may cause a man to turn away from philosophy. Did Butler possess philosophic genius? To this Mr Gladstone replies that he did possess, and that in a high degree, the power of upward flight, the philosophic imagination, although he only rarely permitted himself to employ that forward and delusive faculty. As it sometimes happens in life that men usually cautious are most successful in persuading others to adopt a bold resolve, the daring divinations of Butler are accepted by men who would distrust them if they came from a thinker usually less circumspect. "I confess," writes Mr Gladstone, "the comparative

security and satisfaction with which I follow the steps of Butler on the rare occasions when he speculates, as comparing him with other speculators. I feel like one resting on the wings of a great and strong bird, when it takes an excursion in mid-air, and is felt to mount as easily as it will descend."

In a chapter on Butler's censors a number of writers of distinction are passed in review who have with more or less emphasis questioned the abiding value of Butler's contribution to religious thought. The list begins with Mr Bagehot, who denied that it was probable that Revelation would contain difficulties of a like kind with Nature, adding, "We should have expected that it would explain those difficulties." The list ends with Mr Matthew Arnold, who spoke of the Analogy as for all real intents and purposes now a failure. Towards the censures passed on Butler Mr Gladstone shows small mercy; to the censors themselves, as his controversial manner ever was, he is full of gracious courtesy not forgetting to mention their other claims to honour. Mr Matthew Arnold evidently tried his temper most severely, and he finds in his criticisms, carelessness, levity and an ungovernable bias towards finding fault. But he concludes with the following characteristic sentence: "It is well for him that all those censures can do is to effect some deduction from the fame which has been earned by him in other fields, as a true man, a searching and sagacious literary critic, and a poet of genuine creative power." There is a slight tendency in this chapter, we think, to overdo advocacy, and to admit, if at all, with unnecessary reluctance, that Butler had the defects of his qualities, and that his religious influence is narrowed by the limitations of the special mission he imposed upon himself. An ingenious attempt is made to throw doubt upon the authenticity of the saying ascribed, in the Life of Wilberforce, to the younger Pitt, to the effect that the Analogy raised more doubts in his mind than they solved. According to the story as it stands in Wilberforce's Diary, Pitt on the 24th November, 1785, recommended to Wilberforce Butler's Analogy, as he knew that the latter was occupied with religious thoughts. In consequence of Pitt's remark, Wilberforce wrote to him opening his mind to him, and detailing the spiritual crisis through which he had recently passed, which led to his open profession of evangelical opinions. On the 3d of December Pitt again called, and then endeavoured to reason Wilberforce out of his convictions; in the course of the conversation he is reported to have said that Butler's Analogy raised more doubts in his mind than they solved. Mr Gladstone maintains that it is incredible that Pitt should have commended the Analogy on the 24th of November, and have condemned it by implication on the 3rd of December. But on the

second occasion Pitt was endeavouring to reason Wilberforce out of his convictions, and probably warding off urgent appeals directed towards himself. In these circumstances, the remark was pertinent that the work of the greatest English Apologist had not brought to his mind complete conviction. While the legitimate tendency of Butler's works is neither towards Atheism, nor towards Agnosticism as Professor Huxley maintained, it may easily happen that they will raise a number of doubts, and for the first time, in minds unfamiliar with religious questions. But Butler, like all Apologists, was writing for the sceptic, or for those disposed to scepticism.

Many of the criticisms passed on Butler err through a forgetfulness of the special work which he placed before himself. The work of an Apologist, according to Butler, was to prove that it was no sacrifice of the intellect to give heed to religion. There existed such evidence in its favour as rational men might regard as sufficient, and such as would be considered sufficient in other matters. It was not the work of the Apologist, as Butler understood it, to bring religious truth into the hearts and affections of men. But the importance he gave to External Religion in a well-known *Charge* which he delivered to his clergy, which gave rise to ridiculous calumnies, makes it plain that he was not insensible to the need of appealing to men in other ways than through arguments addressed to the intellect.

An important section of the *Studies* is devoted to a consideration of the subjects of the future life. It receives more attention in Mr Gladstone's volume than its place in the works of Butler calls for; Mr Gladstone, however, justifies his procedure by the remark that the condition of men after death is a portion of divine truth which appears to be silently passing out of view, so that we are in danger of losing it altogether. Two chapters are given to the history of opinion on the subject, in the times of the Old Testament, and within the Christian Church. The latter is full of interest and instruction. With a learning which a professional theologian might envy, Mr Gladstone writes of Fathers and Councils, and carries us down to the amiable opportunist Dr Thomas Burnet, who wrote "*Quicquid apud te statuas, intus et in pectore, de his pænis, æternis vel non, recepta doctrina verbisque utendum est cum populo, et cum peroratur ad vulgus.*" The account given of the state of opinion in Old Testament times is in our judgment less satisfactory. Mr Gladstone formally abjures the dogma of verbal inspiration, but the habit of mind engendered by that dogma adheres to him. He does not, we venture to think, give sufficient weight to the changes which historical science has made in our views regarding the age of the

Old Testament books. For example, he places the book of Job in a period of great though uncertain antiquity, representing human tradition beyond the limits of the chosen people. We doubt if any serious scholar would now regard the book of Job as having arisen outside Israel, or would place it earlier than the age of Solomon, while most would place it in the days of the Exile. The whole chapter is marred by the haunting presence of the theory that the whole of mankind received a primeval Revelation, and that they subsequently abandoned it for idolatry. We would desire to speak with all deference, for Mr Gladstone does not, we are aware, adhere to the traditional theory without having fully considered it; but to us the results of all recent investigations into the history of religion and morals point to a generally upward, and not to a downward course of movement.

Mr Gladstone's criticisms on the theories in vogue regarding the future destiny of the wicked are conceived in the spirit of reverent caution befitting a mysterious subject. He rejects the theory of Universalism with which the great name of Origen is associated, because it is contrary to Scripture. Neither does he recommend the modern theory of conditional immortality with which no great name is associated, and which seems to have been invented for temporary use, by certain evangelical preachers who desired to employ the language of Scripture while departing from its teaching. The general criticism passed upon modern schemes is undoubtedly just, that they have been simply revolts against the idea of the sinner bearing the consequences of his sin; while no scheme can fit into our conception of moral government which does not give hopes of the abolishing of sin itself if the penalty is to be abolished. Mr Gladstone connects his own theory with a remarkable speculation of Butler's, who says that it is conceivable that virtue in some distant scenes and periods may so display itself among virtuous orders of creatures, and being seen by orders of vicious creatures throughout the universal kingdom of God, it may have a tendency by example, and possibly by other ways, to amend those of them who are capable of amendment. Mr Gladstone limits the application of this theory to the intermediate state, and he maintains that we cannot consistently with Scripture suppose that a second probation is granted, even in the intermediate state, to Christian men whose probation season is the present life. He thinks, however, that we may indulge the hope that many who depart this life in a condition which human judgment must regard as equivocal, may yet have the root of the matter in them, and may finally find mercy with God. The following are his words:—

“These suppositions of Butler are no more than an extension of

the rational and philosophical belief which the greater part of the Christian Church has always held respecting the laws which govern the condition of the believing dead. The Church has walked in the path opened for it by St Paul through his prayer on behalf of Onesiphorus. It has condemned our accepting what is termed a sleep of the soul ; a speculation amounting to a suspension of human existence, and alike at variance with Scripture, which describes active enjoyments and even sufferings of the dead, and with reason, which exhibits to us our nature as constituted with a view to discipline and advance through the prolongation of existence, and through the action it entails. The Christian dead, then, are in a progressive state ; and the appointed office of the interval between death and resurrection is reasonably believed to be the corroboration of every good and holy habit, and the effacement of all remains of human infirmity and vice. The extension suggested by Butler amounts to this : that, while the view of the Church in general only extends to those who have before death given evidence of repentance and faith such as the human eye can reasonably appreciate ; still, as he suggests, where this evidence falls short, the root of the matter may be there notwithstanding, and the Almighty may reserve to his own jurisdiction the development necessary to cover both the ground which a more palpable sanctification had in other cases visibly secured anterior to death, and that remainder of progress generally reserved for accomplishment hereafter, even by souls of a clearly manifested faithfulness to their Lord " (p. 253). No fault can be found with this, or with similar views, if they are offered simply as *pia desideria*, and are couched in such modest and reverential language. We fail to see, however, if we are permitted to hope at all, why we should not give to our hope the wider scope given to it by Butler, and why we should deny a possible probation beyond the grave even for unworthy Christians, as we must certainly regard such probation as possible for the great majority of mankind if we are to entertain regarding those who have not heard the Gospel any hope of their being sharers in the Christian salvation. The whole subject, however, is one that calls for silence rather than for speech ; and we heartily share Mr Gladstone's dislike of the vulgar pictures of the pains of hell, as well as of the voluble and unauthorised remission of penalty pronounced by certain modern teachers. The few glimpses given in Scripture into the other world, shows us the righteous in a condition of felicity, and the wicked in woe. Here we must leave the question : to attempt to lift the veil further and peer into what we call eternity, is a futile task for men whose powers of thinking are conditioned by their finite nature.

Mr Gladstone's volume contains a number of chapters on which

we have not touched. Determinism, Teleology and Miracle are all discussed. The language is always grave, sober, and well considered; but there is withal an almost youthful freshness of interest on the part of the writer in the subjects discussed, which makes the reader quite forget that he is perusing the work of one who is far advanced in the winter of life.

JOHN GIBB.

A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom.

By Andrew Dickson White, late President and Professor of History at Cornell University. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 889. London: Macmillans, 1896. Price, 21s.

THE conflict between those who have claimed to be the official exponents of Theology and the pioneers of scientific progress has been the theme of so many treatises and essays that the subject has been worn almost threadbare, and yet it has seldom been treated in other than a partisan spirit. One section of its historians has been specially concerned with the portrayal of the tyranny of creeds, others in denouncing the assumption of science, while such incidents in the warfare as the oft-told tale of Galileo have been used as elements in sectarian controversy to discredit one section of the Church.

In this respect Dr White's history contrasts favourably with most of its predecessors. The author has a judicial mind, and has made his theme the subject of a prolonged and careful study; and he is unusually successful in accomplishing the difficult task of holding the balance evenly in his treatment of the many vexed controversies which form the materials of his monograph. His work is much more satisfactory than that of his fellow-countryman Prof. Draper. For as Dr White points out, the polemic has not been between science and religion, as Draper has assumed, but between the supporters of theological dogmata on the one hand, and those who propounded scientific hypotheses which were supposed to be incompatible with the dogmata. An amendment of title might be suggested on a ground similar to that on which our author criticises the name of Dr Draper's book. The warfare has really been between science and dogma; for as far as our knowledge of the subject-matter of religion is truly theology, it is itself scientific and cannot conflict with its sister sciences.

The arrangement adopted is ingenious and suggestive, the twenty chapters record twenty episodes in the conflict in which the victory of science has made for the progress of the race. These are named

appropriately:—"From Creation to Evolution," "From Signs and Wonders to Law in the Heavens," "From Genesis to Geology," "From the Prince of the Power of the Air to Meteorology," "From Magic to Chemistry," "From Miracles to Medicine," "From Fetich to Hygiene," "From Diabolism to Hysteria," ending with a chapter "From the Divine Oracles to the Higher Criticism."

This method of treatment is open to one serious objection. The starting point in each controversy really represents the universal belief of mankind, heathen and Christian alike, in the pre-scientific age, and the earlier dogmatists and Christian writers are scarcely to be blamed for adopting such views in the absence of any evidence to the contrary. Progress in scientific research has been slow, and in the early days of each "epoch-making" discovery, while the superstructure of theory built upon it has been intelligible to those engaged in kindred research, the evidence has often been such as did not appeal to any but experts, and the reasoning by which such theories were sustained was often of a kind whose cogency could not be realised by those outside the pale of scientific workers. The unwillingness to change avowed belief when change implies a confession of previous error, has not been confined to Christian writers, but is a common characteristic of humanity, especially of that section which happens to be in power; and the history of philosophy furnishes us with many instances in which the supporters of dogma, non-Christian as well as Christian, have been equally opposed to submit to criticism, and equally ready to use all available means in support of received opinion and against innovation. Dr White does not, however, mean to be unfair to Christianity. These defects are inherent in the limitation which his method imposes on the field of research. It is easy to see throughout that all his sympathies are in favour of the science and against the dogmatism, but he endeavours, and generally succeeds, in fairly stating the case of the discredited competitor.

The work is the product of a careful and laborious study. Dr White has evidently examined the historical materials at first hand and with minute care, and he has appended to each section a valuable and exhaustive bibliography, which errs only on the side of being rather discursive and including books which bear very little on the subject. In the text the author has made singularly few slips, considering the enormous mass of material with which he deals, and these are usually in unimportant matters of detail. Thus he calls the Andrias Scheuchzeri a fossil lizard on p. 228, and he gives the date of the finding of the Cannstadt skull as 1835, on p. 281, although he corrects this later on p. 290. Several other trivial oversights of this kind might be quoted.

It is impossible in the compass of a short review to refer to the great host of controversies whose records are in general so fully given. Some chapters, such as those dealing with the conflict of medical science with mediæval superstition (xiii., xiv., xv.), are not up to the level of those which precede them, and seem to show signs of haste in their composition, but a layman may well be excused for hesitating to tackle the scattered and heterogeneous literature out of which the history of the early struggles of medicine is to be gathered, when scholars such as Sprengel, Portal and Baas have not always succeeded in grappling with the subject in a manner wholly satisfactory. The history of medicine from the third to the fourteenth centuries has yet to be written.

Dr White's fundamental thesis, which these historical sketches are used to illustrate, is that, "in all modern history, interference with science in the supposed interest of religion, no matter how conscientious such interference may have been, has resulted in the direst evils both to religion and science, and invariably: and on the other hand, all untrammelled scientific investigation, no matter how dangerous to religion some of its stages may have seemed for the time to be, has invariably resulted in the highest good both of religion and of science." To this thesis most scientific men and most present-day theologians alike will heartily subscribe.

Most of the controversies referred to in this work are now dead, and are only interesting as matters of history. Science has triumphed over a baseless dogmatism whose spring was in prehistoric superstition rather than in Christian teaching. In the last section, however, Dr White leaves the domain of science, and treats of some points which physical science cannot touch, such as the Incarnation and miraculous birth of our Lord. He considers that the revisers, by deleting the spurious verse of the three witnesses and the word "God" in 1 Tim. iii. 16, have removed the evidence of the former; and by the change in Luke ii. 33 have given up the argument for the latter doctrine. The higher criticism, he believes, "has disengaged as the only valuable residuum the personality, spirit, teaching and ideals of the Blessed Founder of Christianity." But as, according to his view, all the miracles of Christ, His claims and His resurrection, have been legends which have grown luxuriantly around the nucleus of history, the residual element of the Gospel will be of very small dimensions.

From the conflict there emerges, according to Dr White, a residual religion, "in which the Fatherhood of God overarches all, and the brotherhood of man permeates all,"—a religion which consists of a feeling of reverence for a power behind that inexorable system of laws, according to which eternal matter has undergone those evolutionary processes of which we are the transitory products. Such a

feeling cannot rise to love, for there is no personal dealing between the individual and the great Unknown. In this religion there is no scope for prayer and no room for faith.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

Woman under Monasticism: Chapters on Saint Lore and Convent Life, between A.D. 500 and A.D. 1500.

By Lina Eckenstein. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1896. Roy. 8vo, pp. 512. Price, 15s.

THIS work is one of genuine scholarship and much interest. It is written not from a controversial but from a purely scientific standpoint; it is neither a defence of monasticism in the abstract, nor an attack upon it. Its great value lies in the fact that it presents us with a very large amount of important information with regard to the character of monastic life among women in the Middle Ages, and that it enables us to understand, better than we have done before, the part played by these monastic institutions in the life of women in the Middle Ages. Miss Eckenstein has attempted, that is, to do for the monastic system, as it relates to women, that which has been partially done for the monastic system in general by other writers; to estimate the social as distinguished from the religious forces, which favoured its growth, and the functions which the monasteries of women performed in the social life of northern Mediæval Europe.

Miss Eckenstein does not attempt to discuss fully the religious impulses which found satisfaction in monastic life, she does not treat of the mediæval theories of asceticism, nor does she attempt to give any detailed account of the religious features of monastic life. She feels assured, as I understand her, and the correctness of her view cannot well be doubted, that besides the religious impulses and theories which formed the life of the nun, there were powerful social causes which favoured, for many centuries, that form of life; and that, besides the satisfaction of the religious needs of the community, the monasteries played an important part in the general life of the society of Western Europe in the Middle Ages.

This work cannot therefore be regarded, nor is it intended, as a complete account of the monastic life of women. To omit the religious character of this life, is to omit its most important feature; the time has passed when it would have been considered possible to omit the history of religion, in considering the history of society. But what is thus lost in Miss Eckenstein's work in completeness, is

partly made up for by the fact that the omission enables the author to pass lightly over those parts of religious history, which still unfortunately stir the embers of controversy.

Miss Eckenstein, as I understand her, finds that one great social impulse to the monastic life of women was given by the desire to regain some of that personal independence of women which she thinks, no doubt rightly, was tending to disappear at the time when the Teutonic races overran the Empire. I have some doubt whether this part of Miss Eckenstein's work has received that amount of critical consideration which she has given to the main bulk of it. She has, I think, assumed somewhat hastily the conclusiveness of the evidence pointing to a matriarchal stage of society among the Teutonic races, and she is therefore, as it appears to me, a little more confident than the facts warrant, in thinking that the liberty and authority of women were declining among these races when they appear in history. But however this may be, Miss Eckenstein is right, I think, in supposing that the appearance of the Teutonic races in civilized Europe coincides with a period in which women lost much of that personal freedom which they had possessed under the Empire. It is of course well known that, under the later Republic and the Empire, women had attained a degree of freedom of person and property which has only recently been again equalled. This liberty disappears with the decay of the Western Empire: how far this was due to the influence of Semitic conceptions which clung to Christianity, how far to the traditions of Teutonic races, how far to a variety of other causes not yet ascertained or classified, is an interesting and important question. But the recollections of this liberty which must have survived in the West, even after the barbarians had overrun the Roman civilization, may very well have served to give a great impulse to the monastic life of women, in which, as Miss Eckenstein has very admirably shown, they recovered much of that personal independence and social importance which they were losing in general life.

This part of the subject is traced through a very careful examination of the history of the early monasteries for women among the Franks and Anglo-Saxons from the 6th to the 8th centuries. Miss Eckenstein points out that during these ages the monasteries were for the greater part founded and governed by women of high and often of royal birth, who may well be supposed to have frequently chosen this life as giving them greater independence of position. We find these ladies, while living the religious life, often taking a very important part in public affairs, and at least constantly asserting their authority even in face of strong opposition from political rulers. It is easy enough to understand that the protection of their sacred calling enabled these ladies to regain much of that personal indepen-

dence which women, even of the highest rank, lost in those ages when the feudal system of society was growing up, and what is true of these, is true also in a measure of the humbler inmates of the monasteries. Their voluntary submission to a life devoted largely to religious observances, gave them in return opportunities of self-development, of dignity, and of education, which would not have come in their way in the life of the outer world.

And here we touch upon a second point of great interest in this work, its account of the part played by the monasteries in promoting education among women. Miss Eckenstein has brought out a fact which has hitherto met with little notice, that, during the earlier Middle Ages, the monastic life opened to women an education almost of the same character as that open to men in those times. She traces this through the centuries from the 6th to the 10th in a detailed investigation of the attainments and occupations of the nuns. She shews that they learned Latin, and studied not only the religious writers, but also whatever classical authors had survived. I cite a few examples from Miss Eckenstein. In the monastery established, through the influence of St Caesarius, Bishop of Arles, in that city, in the 6th century, all the inmates were instructed in "letters"; "*omnes litteras discant*" says the rule drawn up by St Caesarius for the nuns. In the 8th century we find St Boniface, the missionary of the Bishop of Rome in Germany, in constant correspondence with the Abbesses of various English houses. We find him requesting them to have copies of books, which he desired, prepared for him in their monasteries. We find from the letters of these ladies that they had the same capacity of writing in Latin which was possessed by the ecclesiastics. We hear of St Boniface's friend Lioba who, coming from England to help him in his work in Germany, became Abbess of Bischofsheim, as having studied "*grammar and the other liberal arts*," and as being well read in the Fathers and the laws of the Church. In the 10th century we find the nun Hrotswith of Gandersheim in Saxony, who is thought to have been acquainted with many of the classical authors known at that time, "*such as Virgil, Lucan, Horace, Ovid, Terence, and perhaps Plautus*," actually composing plays in imitation of Terence, only with the intention of enforcing moral lessons. The evidence which Miss Eckenstein has collected amply proves that the education of women in the monasteries was of the same kind as that accessible to men. It need not be supposed that the education given to the ordinary nun was of an advanced kind, but it is certainly a very noteworthy fact that the monasteries, during the earlier Middle Ages, could and did offer to women an education of a kind which was rarely open to them later, until quite recently. Miss Eckenstein points out that the decline of the higher educational functions of the

monasteries corresponds with the period when, with the rise of the universities in the twelfth century, the monasteries ceased to be the principal centres of education and learning in Western Europe. The universities in the Middle Ages were not accessible to women, and indeed the somewhat turbulent character of these great places of education, would in itself have made it difficult for women to frequent them. Women ceased then to receive education of the same kind as the most advanced open to men; the monasteries of women continued indeed to serve as places for the lower branches of instruction, but were no longer able to furnish the highest form of education; and, relatively at least, it would seem that the education of women declined.

I have said enough to show how much there is of importance in Miss Eckenstein's work. She also deals with the artistic work of the monasteries, and with their connection with philanthropic work; she has an interesting chapter on the mystical writings of St Hildegard of Bingen, and St Elizabeth of Schönau in the twelfth century. She has also an excellent and dispassionate account of the condition of the monasteries in the later Middle Ages, of the attempts at reform in the fifteenth century, and of the suppression of the monasteries in England and Germany at the Reformation. She does not add much to the evidence which has been collected, especially by Father Gasquet, but she states carefully the reasons which have led her to the view that, while the monasteries were in many ways changed, there is no sufficient ground for supposing that they were in a state of such profound corruption as has been attributed to them, especially in England, and we are left to the same conclusion as that derived from the critical work of Father Gasquet, that the evidence of Henry VIII.'s commissioners is historically of little value.

It may seem, from the points which I have noticed, that this work turns mainly upon a few matters, but in truth these are only a few out of many which suggest themselves from a consideration of the great mass of information which is brought together in this book. It only remains to add that Miss Eckenstein has carefully examined and estimated the value of the authorities which she has employed.

A. J. CARLYLE.

The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages.

By Hastings Rashdall, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Hertford College, Oxford. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1895. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 562, and viii. 832. Price, 45s. net.

In these days of haste it is a treat to read this careful, learned, and judicious book on the Universities of Europe, which was issued last year by the Clarendon Press from the pen of Mr Rashdall.

Its usefulness and importance to all students of mediæval thought can hardly be over-estimated.

Mediævalism, as can scarcely be too often repeated, meant the rule of three dominant ideas representing State, Church, and Learning; and these ideas took concrete form and were never mere abstractions, although they were always ideals. "As all priestly power had its visible head and source in the city of the Seven Hills, as all secular authority was ultimately held of the Holy Roman Empire, so could all the streams of knowledge, by which the Universal Church was watered and fertilised, be ultimately traced as to their fountain-head to the great Universities, especially to the University of Paris."

The ideal of civil rule was embodied in the Holy Roman Empire, the conception of religion and all that belonged to its sphere in the Holy Catholic Church Visible; and in the same way all learning had its visible realisation in the mediæval University system. Mr Rashdall has made it his aim to trace the embodiment of this mediæval ideal of *Studium* in the University system of the Middle Ages in the same thoroughly scientific way that others have shown how the thoughts of *Imperium* and *Sacerdotium* found outcome in the Empire and in the Papacy.

Just because all mediæval learning was included under this general conception of University, a complete history of the Universities of the Middle Ages is a history of mediæval thought; of the literary culture of four centuries, "of the whole of the Scholastic Philosophy, of Scholastic Theology, of the revived study of Civil Law, of the formation and development of Canon Law, and of the faint, murky, cloud-wrapped dawn of modern Mathematics, modern Science and modern Medicine." All this is involved in the history of the mediæval conception of *Studium*, which embodied itself in the mediæval institution of the University. Such a subject is manifestly too extensive, and Mr Rashdall has had to limit himself to a study of the growth of the Institution, and has contented himself with compelling his readers to understand that the growth of the Institution must always be considered as enfolded in this wider environment. His "paramount object is to study the growth of the University as an Institution, to trace the origin of the various Universities, and to sketch the most important changes which passed over their form and spirit" from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.

The word *Universitas* had, to begin with, no specially scholastic sense; it simply meant a plurality, an aggregate of persons, and was used of all kinds of corporations or guilds. The earliest word to denote the *thing* was *studium generale*, and, while the use of this phrase was somewhat vague, it commonly implied three char-

acteristics :—(1) That the school attracted, or at least invited, students from all parts, not merely those of a particular country or district ; (2) That it was a place where at least one of the higher faculties—Theology, Law or Medicine—was taught ; and (3) That such subjects were taught by at least a plurality of masters. The first of these ideas was the primary one, and a *studium generale* meant a place of learning of *general* resort. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, however, a fourth idea was somewhat vaguely added—That a Master who had acquired a right to teach in such a *studium* had the liberty, without further question, to teach anywhere else he pleased. All these characteristics were due more to recognised fact or custom than settled by authority or definite regulation. In the latter half of the thirteenth century, indeed, in the great strife between the Popes and the Hohenstaufen, the Emperor and the Pope both claimed the right to establish a *studium generale*, and complacent mediæval jurists were inclined to say that no seat of learning could claim to be a University that had not an Imperial or a Papal charter ; but while the newer, and even most of the older Universities sought to establish their rights by procuring such charters, it may almost be laid down as a general principle, that unless these charters were given to Schools that would have succeeded without them they did not create Universities.

Mr Rashdall gives a table of no less than eighty Universities founded in the centuries from the twelfth to the fifteenth—twenty in Italy, eighteen in France, five in Great Britain, fifteen in Spain and Portugal, sixteen in Germany and in the Low Countries, and six in other European lands. All these have their own peculiarities, arising from local needs and national requirements, but “it becomes clear, as we compare Bologna with Paris, and Paris with Oxford and Prague, that the Universities of all countries and all ages are in reality adaptations, under various conditions, of one and the same institution.” Hence our author confines his attention for the most part to the parent or typical Universities.

The three oldest Universities were those of Salerno, Bologna, and Paris ; famed respectively for Medicine, Civil Law, and Theology. Mr Rashdall thinks that Salerno owed both its culture and its eminence in the study for which it was famous to the fact that South Italy was in these early centuries never entirely cut off from intercourse with Constantinople and Greek learning. The origin of both Bologna and Paris he traces to the wonderful revival of letters which was a striking fact of the twelfth century ; and he gives interesting reasons why the same revival took the different lines it did in Italy and in France.

It is difficult to give anything like a precise date for the begin-
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ning of the older Universities, for the reason that they were not created but grew. A little investigation, however, shows that legend has helped to give an entirely wrong idea of the great antiquity of the older Universities. It is quite impossible to accept the idea that King Alfred founded Oxford, that Paris dates from the Palace School of Charles the Great, or that Bologna had the mythical antiquity sometimes claimed for it. All these Universities, although there were schools and teachers there from a very early period, cannot lay real claim to the title until the twelfth century. Mr Rashdall assumes that, while the old Imperial learning never died out during the devastation of Europe by the Northmen so completely as some have supposed, it was kept alive by the Church, and mainly for ecclesiastical purposes; in the ninth and tenth centuries by the Benedictine monasteries, and in the eleventh century by the Cathedral schools; and that the trans-Alpine Universities, at least, are mostly sprung from these Cathedral schools.

The University, or *studium generale*, really begins when a corporation comes into existence, and the evidence for the actual existence of a University in opposition to the presence of adventure teachers is the formation of a corporation or guild.

The evidence shows that in Bologna the corporation first took the form of a students' guild, while in Paris the earliest corporation was a guild of teachers; in the former case the motive was the protection of foreign students residing within a mediæval Italian municipality with its harsh laws for aliens, while the motive in the latter was the protection of the teachers against the arbitrary regulations of the Chancellor of the Bishopric of Paris. In either case the rise of the Universities "is merely a wave of that great movement towards association which swept over the cities of Europe in the course of the eleventh century." In Bologna the movement resulted in the formation of several students' guilds, which were called Universities, each being intended to protect the students of a particular nationality. It seems probable that there were originally at least four corporations called Universities, and that these gradually gave way to two and then to one University, divided into several nations or student clubs for the protection of their members against the arbitrary enactments of the laws for aliens.

The mediæval University of Paris is the most important for the student of mediæval thought, and Mr Rashdall has shown great skill in disentangling its real history from the legends spun round it by its old historian Bulæus. It is undoubted that Paris was an educational centre from the days of Abelard, and that it was an outgrowth of the Cathedral school, but when and how the cor-

poration which became the University grew is the question which Mr Rashdall has set himself to study. The Cathedral school does not seem to have attained any great repute till the close of the eleventh century. Its first great master was William of Champeaux, the first Parisian teacher who left his mark on the scholastic philosophy. "It was the teaching of William's great pupil and opponent Abelard that first attracted students from all parts of Europe, and laid the foundation of that unique prestige which the schools of Paris retained throughout the mediæval period." But there is no trace of any organisation of the schools till very much later. The schools were completely under the control of the Church, and any member of the Church, from the Bishop or Abbot downwards, could gather students round him if he was capable.

The late Joseph Robertson showed, in an interesting monograph on the educational work of the Celtic Church, that when the Roman organisation superseded that of the Celtic Church in Scotland, the office of *Ferlanus*, or highest educational functionary, became merged in that of the Chancellor of the Scottish diocese, and we can trace, in the University of Aberdeen at least, the close connection between the continuous effort of the Cathedral clergy to provide higher education, and the rule of the Chancellor in educational matters. Mr Rashdall has shown the same thing at work in Paris. When the rapid spread of education produced an increasing number of Masters anxious to teach in connection with a well-known ecclesiastical centre, it became the custom of the Chancellor to grant formal permission to Masters to open school, for their own profit in the neighbourhood of the Church. When once this right to license became established, then, other circumstances being favourable, Masters multiplied, and "wherever Masters multiplied there naturally, in that age of association, grew up certain professional customs and unwritten laws which, in some cases, ere long crystallised into the statutes of an organised Guild or University."

The corporation or guild or University of Paris grew up under the aegis of the Chancellor's right to license teachers, and attained to maturity in attempts to defy the power to which at first it owed existence. The beginnings of this effort at independent corporate life are seen in the exercise of the power to *incept*. The idea of *inception* involved two distinct elements. The one came directly from Roman Law, and implied that formal entrance to the right to teach was by an actual instance of teaching. This custom can be traced widely. A Scotch judge to this day enters on his office by trying two cases and reporting his decision upon them before being sworn in as a member of the College of Justice; an English grammar school master in the 16th century entered on his

duties by flogging a boy "openlye in the scolys," on the principle that the child was spoiled if the rod was spared (he had to pay a groat to the bedel for the birch, and a groat to the boy "for his labour," one is thankful to learn); and an English clergyman still reads himself in. The second element consisted in the recognition of the newly-licensed teacher by his old master and by his colleagues—"his incorporation into the Society of teachers." It was this second element which, becoming gradually recognised, gave the fellowship of the Masters all the power of a guild or trades-union, and secured for it a monopoly of the trade of teaching. Their power grew through use and custom to be so strong that the corporation of Masters soon began to measure their strength against the Chancellor; appealed, sometimes successfully, often unsuccessfully, against him to the Pope, and out of the struggle the self-governing corporation or University arose. All this has been traced with careful scholarship by Mr Rashdall, and the student of mediæval times cannot be too grateful to him for his patient researches.

Space forbids our following Mr Rashdall as he traces the reduction of the unwritten customs of the guild of Masters to written statutes, the growth of the right to sue and to be sued as a corporation, the appointment of permanent officers, and the use of a common seal; nor can we show how he traces the rise of the *nations*, the institution of a rector and of proctors; the first notices of the faculties, with their deans. These were all in existence before the close of the 13th century.

We must not pass over, however, what is perhaps the most interesting portion of the history of the University of Paris—the struggle between the corporation of Masters and the teachers of the great Mendicant orders. The 13th century witnessed the beginnings and marvellous growth of two new monastic orders;—the one, founded by St Dominic was from the first meant to lay hold on the rising intellectual life of Europe, and, therefore, could not avoid seeking to establish itself at the most important seats of learning: the second, founded by St Francis, although its primary mission was to the neglected poor of the crowded and plague-ridden cities of mediæval Europe, found itself compelled to make use of the great Universities for recruits of ability and education. The headquarters of the Dominicans in Italy was at Bologna, in France at Paris, and in England at Oxford. These convents or central houses were from the first called colleges, and the undisguised aim of the Dominicans was to get into their hands the theological teaching of the great Universities. The University of Paris was undoubtedly the great centre of theological influence, and the Dominicans made marvellous efforts to place their college there at

the head of all theological learning. Mr Rashdall has not told us of their method to secure this ; it probably lay beyond the limits he had marked out for himself to make use of the investigations of Preger ; but the learned author of the *History of German Mysticism* has proved from old Dominican documents that the Order took the utmost pains, by winnowing all their great convent schools north of the Alps, to gather together the flower of the students into their college at Paris ; and by a similar process of the most careful selection, they promoted their most brilliant and successful teachers throughout their monastic educational colleges to be the Masters of their Paris school. Then by limiting their stay in the Paris college to a short term of years, they had at the head of their Paris school a succession of the ablest teachers their Order could produce. No one was allowed to remain a teacher there when his short term was ended, unless he had shown very exceptional qualities ; and, if my memory does not deceive me, only three teachers were so honoured—Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, and Eckhart the famous mystic. The published list of Masters in the Dominican School in Paris includes the names of a majority of the most famous scholastic theologians, and their number and excellence must have puzzled many a student of the period who was not acquainted with the careful method of selection and the strictly-enforced short service system, which characterised probably the most strenuous endeavour ever made to attain the supreme height of scholastic eminence. We have not the same detailed information of the way in which the Franciscans provided for their college, but I infer, from two references in the interesting and gossipy chronicle of Brother Salambene of Parma, that they too tried a special method of selection.

It was no easy matter for the secular Masters of Paris, and especially of the theological faculty, to maintain their ground against these picked teachers of the Mendicant orders. Mr Rashdall has described, with his usual careful accuracy, the quarrel and the compromise which was come to after a long and bitter struggle. The history is interesting to the outside student, from the decisive light it throws on the perplexing question of what was meant by the so-called "Eternal Gospel," long wrongly attributed to Abbot Joachim of Fiore.

The second volume consists of two parts, in the first of which the author describes the Universities of France (other than Paris), of Italy (other than Salerno and Bologna), of Spain and Portugal, of Germany, Bohemia and the Low Countries, of Poland, Hungary, Denmark and Sweden, and of Scotland. The second part describes the rise and growth of Oxford and Cambridge ; and contains some chapters on mediæval student life which the general reader cannot

fail to find very interesting. The volumes are illustrated with a map of Europe, showing the mediæval University towns, and with plans of mediæval Oxford and mediæval Paris. The index has been compiled with great care, and the appendix contains valuable documents justifying the more important conclusions on difficult points. Altogether, the book is one of the most valuable additions to the history of mediæval thought that has been published in this country, and it is needless to say that it entirely supersedes anything that we have previously had on the mediæval Universities.

THOMAS M. LINDSAY.

The Unity of God and the Moral Idea in the Avesta.

Communication from Dr L. H. Mills, Oxford.

IN the last issue of this Review I was kindly permitted to make some explanations as to the often-mentioned obscurities of the Avesta; and I trust that the remarks which I offered there will be useful to critical theologians who may be disposed to give me credit for sincerity in my purposes, and, may I hope, also for a fair amount of knowledge in reference to the subject to which I have devoted so many years of toil. I have now again to thank the editor of the *Critical Review* that he permits me to occupy these pages with a further treatment of the subject of the doctrines of the Avesta; and I proceed at once to endeavour to carry out the lines of investigation which I took up in the July number, and to bring the distinctions which I there attempted to a closer definition, as well as to plainer illustrations, if not indeed to proof. I was proceeding to say in the concluding words of that other communication that the main theological doctrines which are expressed or involved in these Gâthic hymns are quite obvious and plain, and this notwithstanding the ever-recurring obscurities as to the subordinate details in their exegesis, as to the combinations of their syntax, and so of course as to the exact cast of their thought. I would now, although I trust with a proper modesty, reassert what I then wrote, singular as it must have appeared at first sight; and I would do so without any retraction either as to the substance of what I said, or in the firm conviction of its tone. The main and elementary doctrines that we most value in either ancient or modern theology are present in the Gâthas, and they are present there in a form which leaves little to be desired so far as they should conduce to the positive character of our conclusions; and if these statements, or passages which imply these venerated beliefs and principles, be not so numerous as we should

prefer them to be, we must lay this defect to the charge of the paucity of the documents themselves; for they are of course not treatises directly dealing with these supreme matters, but merely hymns which allude to them in passing, or involve them in allusions to kindred interests of eminent although temporary moment.

Let us then consider, if it be permitted, the two leading subjects which I have mentioned above in the heading, "the Unity of God" and "the Moral Idea."

They are well worthy of the devotion of our first attention, for they are of more importance to comparative theology than all the rest of the less critical ideas which appear in the Gâthas put together.

What then shall we say as to the first of them, the Unity of God, so far as it appears in these hymns which are acknowledged on every side to be the oldest and by far the most important portion of the Avesta which has come down to us? To sum up a succinct report at the immediate outset, I would say in one word that we find God "alone" and apart in the Gâthas—that is to say, alone and apart in His supremacy so far as the presence of gods, who surround Him elsewhere in the Avesta or in the Veda, is concerned. As a very especial circumstance we notice, and with wonder, that there is no Mithra beside Him. This is the most remarkable fact in the entire connection, for Mithra is one of the most prominent gods both of the later Avesta and of the Veda.¹ There is also no Haoma in the Gâthas, a circumstance almost equally as strange, as Haoma (which is Soma) is the subject of many scores of Vedic hymns, and the Haoma Yasht is one of the most pleasing and interesting parts of the later Avesta, while the word occurs with perhaps as great a frequency as that of any other proper name or name of an especially prominent or symbolical object. There seems to be an allusion to the use and effect of the hostile or Vedic Soma in Yasna xlviii. 10, where it stimulates the hostile fury of the non-Iranian depredators, poetically supposed to be drawn up in their line of battle; but, strange to say, this most favoured of the gods Hoama (Soma), the Bacchus of the Aryans, is nowhere at all addressed, or even mentioned as such, in these most ancient hymns, nor have we any Airyaman there as a god, nor a Neryosengh, nor a Verethraghna, with the rest of the doughty or genial throng; the Fire itself is not addressed as a person. These all appear in the Yashts, or Vendidad, while as to Indra, who at one time contends for the first place with Varuṇa in the Rik, he exists only doubtfully even in the later Avesta.

The Vedic gods as grouped together as a class under their most comprehensive name of "Daevas, Shining gods of Heaven," so far from making the Gâthic godhead the kernel or core of a

¹ Under the kindred name of Mitra.

polytheism by their ever-encroaching claims to share its recognition, are with Indra at the head of them everywhere *reversed* in both the older and the later Avesta, and are turned into hostile personalities inspired, or, as I rather should say, instigated by demons, or more directly they are turned into demons themselves. But there remain, it will be said, the personified Attributes, the Ameshaspends (the Amesha spenta), as I have named them (see above in the number of this Review for July). Were not these impressive conceptions co-partners with Ahura, and as much his peers as they were his characteristics? They seem to be such; that is to say, they seem to be his peers or his co-equal children in the later Avesta, and in the Gâthas also they are addressed, one or more of them, as if they were separate deities, and not seldom in the closest connection with Ahura; just as the Holy Spirit is addressed in connection with the Father in our own Christian Scripture, and as the Father is addressed in close association with the Son. Have we not, then, a polytheism here with no Heptade-conception to give us relief as the Sabellian theory gives relief to those who feel constrained to reduce the doctrine of the Trinity to a level with their reason? Not at all. These sublime qualities of Love, Justice, Power, and Zeal, together perhaps with their final but infallible result, "Eternal welfare," are proved to be only as separate from Ahura as the thought and characteristics of any being may be said to be separate from himself. They are indeed grouped with him, one or more of them, in many an appeal and with a personification which is at least poetical; see, for instance, in Yasna xxxiii. 11, "Ye the most bounteous Mazda! Ahura and Piety with Him! and Asha furthering the settlements, Thou Good Mind, and Thou the Dominion, hear ye me all and have mercy! for all gifts which I bring whatsoever." Aside from other passages this certainly looks like an appeal to five gods, each one on an equality, rather than to the attributes of one. But let us consider the matter more closely. Does Asha ever *create*? (see Yasna xlv. 3).

"Who in production first was Asha's father?" this is the question, "Be the just law (Asha) life-strong; yea, clothed with body," see Yasna xliii. 16; this is the prayer. Ahura would not be mentioned thus. Asha comes far nearer representing the holy church, the congregation, and very often does in reality so represent it as that body in which he (Asha) dwells, or with which he is clothed.

Vohu Manah on the same principle is positively used for the pious man; once quite simply even in the Gâthas, and often later in the other parts of the Avesta. Khshathra, the Kingly Power, is mentioned with Aramaiti; in the words, "Whom blest Devotion (Aramaiti) hath set in thy Kingdom" (Khshathra Y. xlv. 7); and

surely Weal and Immortality were not Gods, of themselves? No; there is no polytheism whatsoever in these passages or in the occurrences which may be regarded as parallel to them, that is to say, there is not more co-equal polytheism than appears to some of us to be implied in some of the doctrines of the Christian Church.¹ Even in the later Avesta, so far as the Ameshaspends or the Divine Attributes are concerned, their union with Ahura does not constitute a polytheism positively, although the frequent grouping of Ahura with Mithra once or twice even in the characteristic grammatical form of the dual number most certainly suggests a peerage in divine prerogatives. In that later Avesta, it will be remembered, in the Yashts and in the Vendidad, the Ameshas have fallen from their Gâthic dignity and become arch-angels. I say "fallen," for surely in our opinion at least the Holy Order of the Law as the supreme regulating influence, the Benevolence of the motive, as a spiritual quality, the Power and the Alertness of the One God immediately seized in our minds as His attributes form a far higher conception than that of the fabled personality of these sublime characteristics. They are so degraded in the Yashts, later Yasna and Vendidad, that Asha is often almost the Fire. Vohu Manah is the holy man, Khshathra is a God of metals, Haurvatât presides over water and Ameretatât over plants; they are high indeed as deities, that is to say they would be high if we are indeed to separate them from Ahura; it would be difficult to name Vedic Gods who would occupy as high a place in reference to a Varuṇa as these quasi independent deities would occupy toward Ahura, but they are not at all in such a sense co-equal as to rival Him. We meet no polytheism thus far, but we do come upon a Dualism, and this is one of the most curious of phenomena, as its occurrence is also one of the most important of possible considerations.

DUALISM.

That Dualism expresses the strong polarity of the entire system of Zoroastrianism. That system will mince no matters in its theological and moral or intellectual distinctions; according to it there is to be no fencing between truth and untruth, and, above all things, literally no "beating of the Devil about the bush." He, the Devil, is no inferior factor among the forces in operation throughout the universe; there are woes too bitter for a good God to have made or even to have tolerated. He Himself with all His mighty Power and Love and with His other attributes from Asha to

¹ Mazda and Asha appeared in Y. 1. 9 to be linked together as duals; but see Asha as instrumental in the verse before. Also where, may I ask, is the dual verb?

Ameretatât could not have prevented them from developing, much less could He have radically modified their original characteristics. *There is a Devil*, not only in the heart but in the lot, nor in the lot of man alone, in the lot of everything. This powerful personality is revealed in the Avesta, even in the Old Avesta, the Gâthas, and he is no secondary power; he is original. There were two first Spirits; see S.B.E. xxxi., p. 25 to p. 35, and Gâthas, p. 36 flg. and 431 flg.

It was a most astonishing hypothesis at the time and place in which it was first formulated; the more so as it was made in cold blood and clear metre. It is formally put and constitutes the burden of the most important chapter in the Avesta; the tribes or their delegates were especially assembled to hear it. One of the hymns in which it is prominent begins with the lines "Thus forth I announcing speak; hear ye, now listen, ye who from far have come and ye from nearer." It had of course lurked, stirring slowly into life amid the people's surmises and growing by imperceptible degrees into form and shape, but when it was thought out it was fulminated.

How far it consciously agreed with our modern dualism (for many of us seem slipping fast into a belief in two controlling powers) is not the point of our inquiry at the present moment; it is enough to say that it agrees with modern pessimism unconsciously and by implication as closely perhaps as any old idea could agree with a modern one; but *then* and *there*, at the time when it was more publicly declared, beyond any question at all, it was taken most seriously and—solemnly. Being the main theme of the Religion and the cause of the political movement, it gave the keynote to a class of antitheses which prevail throughout Avestan lore; and it actually became not only possibly but probably the remote ancestor of those prominent antithetical elements which prevail in Western philosophy, especially of that polarity which appeared earlier in the antithesis of certain Gnostic systems, as also later in the conceptions of Jakob Boehme, which issued in the dialectical development by sublated negation brought in anew by Fichte and applied so extensively by Hegel¹; but it has not yet been noticed with sufficient distinctness that it exerted also a deep if not greatly scattered or extended influence in its native home; that is to say, in Persia, and that it has given us there a great deal of "Hegelianism before Hegel," if nowhere else then in the Masnavi (of Rumi); but of this no more just here. Whether the keen-sighted group in Old Iran really grasped the idea of "sublated" dualism, and believed in a Negative as inherent in the nature of things and as *original* to them, that is to say, whether they grasped that idea closely and firmly, and whether they held to

¹ See my article *Zend Avesta* in Chambers's Encyclopedia.

the belief that in the existing or in any conceivable Universe Negation with the misery which it implies was simply an integral element, not only needed and effective to define our conceptions of a universe, but needed to make a "universe" possible, and to hold it in existence, or whether they did not grasp the idea thus in its clear outline, we cannot be sure ; but beyond all manner of doubt they grasped that idea in its general form, and this alone calls for close study of the Gâthas, for they are replete with interest as a link in the chain of the conclusions of natural reason, if not as a block in the foundation of that reason itself. In the eyes of some scholars this Dualism may indeed impair the supremacy of Ahura, and justly so, but *it is the only thing which does*. He is God, even the Father of Asha, and if of Asha, then of all the poetically personified Attributes ; as to this there is not even the shadow of an uncertainty. Either the Six, the Immortals, fold back into His being as His thoughts, having folded out as His characteristics ; or, if personified in rhetoric and by inference, they are His children ; but whether he be alluded to as the Creator or as the Father, He is there as the Supreme God, or rather as the supreme *good* Creator ; and there is no pagan polytheism whatsoever to be found beside Him in the Gâthas, although there may be, as I have acknowledged, in the "New Avesta."¹ So much for the doctrine of the Unity of God in the original Zoroastrian documents.

THE MORAL IDEA.

Let us now inquire as to the presence of the moral idea in the Gâthas. Is it positively expressed or implied in them ? There is as little difficulty about this as there is about the question of the Unity of the Deity as He appears in them. That is to say, there should be no doubt in our minds about the existence of the moral idea within the conceptions expressed in the Gâthas after we have formed a just idea as to what kind of intellectual conception a moral idea may be. To suppose that Zarathushtra had either the leisure or the inclination in the midst of the civil (or border) warfare in which he was so unhappily involved, to vapour about "holiness" by itself and solely in the abstract, pure and simple, and without any necessary connection with his immediate circumstances, would be a very uncritical opinion indeed. We could not reasonably expect this of him during the harassments of his campaigns, military or political, or both military, religious and political together, nor wish him to dwell exclusively upon the concept of "holiness" in general and for all ages, and apart from the matters immediately before him, which called most imperatively

¹ The rest of the Avesta outside the Gâthas.

for the application of the "Righteous Order" to save the existing fabric of the national life ; and if we would not press on that requisition we must then acknowledge that he would be even less inclined to dwell on an abstract "love" (for if it were to a very refined degree an "abstract," it might even exist in the hearts of the "accursed foes" themselves) ; nor had he time to trouble with any "Sovereign Power" so comprehensive as to belong also to the other side,¹ nor with "abstract" zeal (the Alert or Ready Mind) in the same general sense, and as little with Immortal Happiness for every existing being (including the clamouring throngs in arms before his face). When his campaigns *were over*, or in the intervals between them in his brief years of rest, then indeed these thoughts might be or they might become "abstract" and nobly so ; and he may even have longed for their realisation without limit and in every living thing, perhaps even in the non-Iranians so long as they did not take the field, but in the midst of "business," and in the midst of such business as he had before him, he needed all his wits for the movements on which the nation's all depended. Asha was the Holy Order of God's law fast enough ; it was eternal, sublime, etc., etc., as much as one could wish it and as strongly as one could express it, but it was *appropriated*, seized by privilege, and as said above, "*embodied*." He was engaged in a struggle in which supreme interests hung often in suspense, amidst scenes at times terrific. He wished to know, and very quickly too, whether every thing were *taut* ; whether every priest, judge, soldier or ploughman was awake and alive. Had he caught an Atharvan fumbling (with his rites), a judge hesitating, a soldier "dubious," or a farmer lazy, we might almost hear (in imagination) his short sentence ; and it would be one to startle us. Asha was God's Holiness, Eternal Right, Law and Order, but as he for the moment saw Asha, "he" (or it) was Asha in the ranks before his eyes, in the priests beside his altars and in the tillers in his fields ;—work was everywhere to be done, skilled, rapid and thorough ; and Asha (God's Order) was the only force which could get his men to do it. He (Asha) was therefore seen chiefly, if not only in the loyal corps of his armies, in the digested laws of his codes, in the "peculiar" people of his tribes ; wherever else Asha might be, or might not be, was a dream for calmer days. Zarathushtra had no time whatever for a Holiness which might smoulder in the infidel ; his great but at the same time his only "call" was with Asha in the Church. The "abstractness" of Asha was then in so far limited at moments or absorbed for long intervals in the machinery which Zarathushtra had set up, and in the work which it, or he, was intended and destined to complete. It was a holiness deep and living, indeed,

¹ With its accursed deity.

none more so, and there could have been none more far reaching in its judicial and benevolent purposes, for it even aimed at the conversion of contemporaneous opponents,¹ nor could there have been a holiness more fervent in the enthusiasm with which it aimed to inspire every universal virtue, or in the tenacity with which it endeavoured to maintain every noble principle, and to carry such principles out in action; but it was sometimes, nay it was too often, *fixed in a holy race*.

As to how far it ruled beyond the border even amongst the best of living Gentiles, Zarathushtra had not more and perhaps even less to say than the supreme Christian Pontiff has to say to-day about the potential "holiness" of the millions who cannot cede his claims. The principle and the enthusiasm of Asha did not constitute a "mechanical" sanctity as we may be sure; though it pervaded an orderly working structure; no verbal mummeries alone could for a moment have satisfied its ideal of devotion; nor could even a practical honesty in word and barter have been all it sought for; the heart and the soul, according to its principle, must be as absolutely pious as the ritual must be absolutely pure, and the civil statutes flawless. As the two spirits were good or evil "in thought and in word and in deed," so the worshipper "must content Ahura with actions essentially true." His holiness must be practical, and it must be spiritual likewise for the "bodily life and the mental." He could indeed only think of it at moments when he could see it in the castes of his warrior state, and he had no time for Asha either in the distance or in the "atmosphere," but even in the most privileged of his interested oligarchy, the holiness which he recognised must not be of a technically limited character, and it must be, before all things, sincere. And so of the other enthroned characteristics, they were the Good Mind, the Kingdom, the Ready Zeal of Ahura in *His immediate people*, but they were none the less in reality and in actuality as well a "Good Mind," a "Power," and a "Zeal," sovereign and energetic in the individual believer's soul.

Such was the moral idea in the Gâthas as I discover it; it was often closely localised; for the most part losing sight of the non-Zoroastrian, hampered at every step of its progress, as well as marred in every impulse of its sentiment by a furious fanaticism (for the life of Zoroastrianism was at stake), but also to a certain degree preserving fine elements of conscientiousness. No soldier, priest, nor tiller amongst the foreign hordes could have any share even for a moment in the inspired Attributes and in the protection which they offered, but neither was a Gâthic man *ashavan* from his mere membership *per se*; the "official holiness" which he bore

¹ Cf. Y. xxxi. 1.

was no more indelible than the sanctity which cleaves to the modern Catholic disciple. It was a stamp, a *χαρακτήρ* which meant everything in the way of privilege and covenant, but it was a mark which might wear off through abrasions if not guarded with close vigilance, or it might become a brand of infamy if defiled by treason, rather than remain a scar or sign of honour won through a life-time of virtue, valour and of thrift.

But in judging the expressions of the "moral idea" which meet us in the Gâthas, one predominating, nay, all important circumstance must be constantly recalled, fully grasped and firmly held in mind if we would avoid the risk of misjudging the whole matter ; it is this, that the moral idea as it is expressed or implied in the Gâthas has of necessity a peculiar and limited application in them ; and this is owing to a fact which I have referred to more than once ; it is owing to the fact that the Gâthas for the most part breathe an atmosphere of controversy and even the animus of war ; and as the hymns of war, the moral distinctions drawn in them are those which were supposed to exist between opposed and rival communities rather than those which might arise between estranged and intercriminating individuals in the same community, or they were distinctions made between communities rather than those which would be made as to the character of individuals in the same community by the functionaries of the law. Men are judged of in the bulk in the Gâthas, as is usual at similar junctures, or throughout similar long periods of time. As puritans could see no good in cavaliers, and as loyalists could only detest the principles of rebels, so Zoroastrianism knew no term too hard for the hated throngs which opposed at once their interests and their faith. We have, therefore, strange to say, no abundant or even adequate opportunity to judge of the personal aspects under which the moral idea applied itself in that part of Iran at the date of Gâthas ; and this, notwithstanding the fact that they are themselves made up of fervent expressions implying an earnest reverence for the moral sentiment in all its forms, and a devotion to it under every conceivable combination of circumstances. Curious as it may seem, the far less lofty Vendidad and even the Yashts give ampler items for such analyses, for under the jurisdiction of the penal law as under that of the ritual statutes of the Vendidad the Zoroastrian is at peace, immersed in the busy toil of civic life which discloses the individual nature of the average citizen at every turn ; and so of the less warlike Yashts ; see especially the beautiful fragment in Yasht xxii. Asha the inspired spirit of the law is no longer called on to arouse the patriotic ardour of the Zoroastrian to the point of heroic action, fanning its fury to white heat, and painting in still darker colours the malignant motives of the

"enemy," he, or it, is needed to measure all possible deeds, domestic, commercial, social, of the best known Iranian citizen as well as the deeds of the most doubtful, and so to divide good men from the evil, not in vast multitudes or in nations, but individually, and as man is separate from man. Yet the Gáthic type of the moral idea preceded the legal and gave it birth, and therefore, as of course, includes it; and while the hymns themselves do not so fully express its incidence and force; yet at times even there in the Gáthas it searches the individual, and closely, Zoroastrian though he be; see especially Y. xxx. 2, 3. With this remark I will close my plea for the general clearness of these most ancient fragments so far as they express the few salient points in theoretical and moral theology comparatively judged.

Much interest might be awakened by separate expositions of the leading subjects as they present themselves in their detail; but the critical clergy wish first for an answer to their immediate question, and for a reply without delay and in the plainest terms; can the main points in the Gáthas—so I would suppose them to inquire—can their main points be made out clearly so far as they accentuate the common questions which arise in comparative theology and comparative ethics? I would only say in a word, to the best of my knowledge and in the fulness of my belief, "they can."

L. H. MILLS.

Studies in Judaism.

By S. Schechter, M.A. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1896.

8vo, pp. xxx. 442. Price, 7s. 6d.

IN one of these brilliant and scholarly essays Mr Schechter quotes with approval a remark of Zunz, to the effect that for Judaism the Middle Ages lasted till the beginning of the eighteenth century. Most readers know enough of the subsequent developments of Jewish thought to appreciate the force of that saying, in so far as it applies to the Jews of the West. They will remember that the epoch-making friendship between Mendelssohn and Lessing, which stands as a symbol of the alliance of Judaism and modern culture, did not commence till the middle of the century. But probably few outside of Jewish circles have any idea of the contemporary movement in the synagogues of Eastern Europe, where the Polish Jew still leads a separate life, which is something of a mystery to his more enlightened brethren of the West. Yet even there the breath of the *Zeitgeist* has been felt, and the eighteenth century witnessed a sort of renaissance, some aspects of which are dealt

with in the first three essays of this book. The study on "The Chassidim," with which the volume opens, is perhaps the most luminous and instructive of the whole. That remarkable sect, whose vagaries have alienated the sympathies and possibly warped the judgment of many Jewish writers, evidently has a great fascination for Mr Schechter. Graetz, for example, in his *History of the Jews*, dwells so much on the extravagances that marked the movement, as almost to leave the impression that it was largely an affair of trickery and ostentation on the part of the leaders and dram-drinking and tobacco-smoking on the part of the converts. Mr Schechter's attitude is far more sympathetic, and therefore presumably more just. Baal-shem, the founder of the sect (born about the beginning of last century), he regards as a "religious revivalist in the best sense, full of burning faith in his God and His cause," and he finds the secret of his extraordinary success in a revolt against the excessive and notorious casuistry of the Polish Rabbis. Amongst the rude and illiterate Jews of the Trans-Carpathian provinces Baal-shem acquired the fame of a wonder-worker, and soon numbered his followers by tens of thousands. While scornful of the Rabbinical learning, and somewhat addicted to Kabbalistic speculation, he seems to have been wholly uninfluenced by the cosmopolitan tendencies of the age, so that the movement he inaugurated stands entirely aloof from the revival of Jewish learning represented by the school of Elijah Wilna. The central doctrine of Baal-shem's teaching is the Divine Omnipresence or Immanence, and his three cardinal virtues are Humility, Cheerfulness and Enthusiasm. Although Mr Schechter insists on the distinctively Jewish character of the original Chassidism, he admits that it speedily assumed a form irreconcilable with the true interests of Judaism. The dead fly in the ointment was the pernicious heresy of man-worship, in the form of an almost idolatrous veneration for the Zaddikim, the living leaders of the sect. The explanation of this lamentable aberration is found in the "want of something tangible whereon to fix the minds of the people, which has confronted the teachers of so many creeds," a want which the Chassidim met by a fatal exaggeration of their doctrine that the man who has reached the highest level of holiness becomes one with his Divine Father, and is virtually a kind of God-man. It is a striking, and perhaps a significant, fact that this intensely religious movement, springing up in the bosom of Judaism, is wholly indifferent to the Messianic idea.

The two essays on Nachman Krochmal (died 1840) and Elijah Wilna (died 1797) represent the rise of the new Jewish learning in the East. Both men were by extraction Polish Jews, although Krochmal, through his acquaintance with German philosophy and

literature, and his far-reaching influence on Jewish thought, may be said to belong to the West as much as the East. Those of us to whom he has been little more than a name will welcome Mr Schechter's admirable sketch of the life and work of this "fine sceptic," sent by a beneficent Providence to help perplexed Judaism to doubt its doubts away. Elijah Wilna, the Gaon, a scholar of a different type and a narrower range of interests, was the great champion of Jewish orthodoxy against the Chassidim. Yet in his own line he was even a more formidable opponent of Rabbinical casuistry than they. The "simple meaning," in which a shrewd Italian Rabbi of the eighteenth century (p. xiii.) recognised a chief danger to orthodoxy, was to him the best criterion of truth; and it is his fearless application of sound critical methods to the interpretation of Rabbinical literature that entitles him to a place of honour amongst the founders of Jewish science.

It is impossible within the limits of a notice to indicate, even in the briefest manner, the scope of the eleven remaining studies of the volume (the titles are: "Nachmanides," "A Jewish Boswell," "The Dogmas of Judaism," "The History of Jewish Tradition," "The Doctrine of Divine Retribution in Rabbinical Literature," "The Law and Recent Criticism," "The Hebrew Collection of the British Museum," "Titles of Jewish Books," "Women in Temple and Synagogue," "The Earliest Jewish Community in Europe"). Those on "The Dogmas of Judaism" and "The Law and Recent Criticism" are perhaps specially noteworthy, the one for its protest against the prevalent dictum of the Mendelssohnian school that Judaism is a religion without dogma; and the other for its defence of legalism against the disparaging estimate formed by certain leaders of Old Testament criticism. But there is hardly one which does not contain something worthy of being quoted, although the great diversity of subject matter forbids us to make the attempt here. We shall content ourselves with directing attention to the suggestive passage in the introduction, where the author has occasion to speak of the bearing of recent Old Testament criticism on the theological position of Judaism. That, of course, is a question that concerns Christians as well as Jews, and it is interesting to know something of the attitude adopted towards it by Jewish thinkers. If we understand Mr Schechter aright, the dominant tendency at present is that of the historical school, which takes refuge in the secondary meaning of scripture embodied in the Rabbinical tradition and thus transfers the seat of authority from the Bible to the collective conscience of Israel, as expressed from age to age by its accredited organs. The position has a certain analogy in that of the High Churchman, who, when beaten off the field of New Testament exegesis and primitive

church history, simply elevates the whole ecclesiastical development to the dignity of a divine revelation, and makes history responsible for a dogma which cannot be proved from scripture. Now Mr Schechter does not himself belong to this school. He cannot away with this exaltation of tradition at the expense of scripture, which he humourously compares to "a sort of religious bi-metallism in which bold speculators in theology try to keep up the market value of an inferior currency by denouncing loudly the bright shining gold, &c." Unfortunately he does not tell us what is necessary to maintain the gold currency at its old standard. He does not even say whether he accepts or rejects the higher criticism of the Old Testament. He seems to think that the view of the historical school, with all its inherent weakness, may serve our time, although he does not believe it will serve those that come after us. It does not appear that he has any better counsel for Judaism in the present crisis than to trust in God and keep its powder dry.

However that may be, the English public has reason to congratulate itself on having so competent an exponent of Jewish thought as Mr Schechter shows himself to be. He possesses the happy gift of imparting vitality and interest to everything he touches; and there is not one of these papers, whether the matter be biographical or theological or antiquarian, which will not be read with pleasure by all who wish to understand the peculiar position which Judaism occupies in the world of to-day. How far the book is meant as an *Apologia* for Judaism we do not presume to say, but we can hardly be wrong in assuming that the writer wished to enlist the intelligent sympathy of non-Jewish readers in the inner life of his own people. In that aim we venture to say he is entirely successful.

J. SKINNER.

Der Glaube und seine Bedeutung für Erkenntniss Leben und Kirche mit Rücksicht auf die Hauptfragen der Gegenwart.

Von D. Julius Köstlin. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1895. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 343. Price, M.6.

THIS book is in substance an apology, in which an earnest, candid, and many-sided theologian makes a thoroughly modern contribution to one of the oldest branches of divinity. It bears the same title as a monograph published by the author in 1859, and is the outcome of a natural desire to reconsider the fundamental positions

in the light of the fuller knowledge and riper experience accumulated in the intermediate years of strenuous and honoured research. An additional interest attaches to it from the circumstance that the exposition of the essentials of Christianity which it furnishes, is a typical example of the middle school of German theology, and that on occasion it differentiates this standpoint from that of the other contemporary schools with reference to various theoretical and practical questions of capital importance.

The general aim, as is intimated in the Introduction, is to estimate the significance of Christian faith for the higher life, to determine the grounds on which it rests, and to exhibit the objects which it embraces and defends. The first section (pp. 8-79) contains a discussion of the origin and nature of faith. The second and third sections (pp. 80-205) treat of the knowledge which comes by faith, and that (1) in its relation to scientific and philosophical knowledge, (2) in its main content as knowledge of God and historical revelation of salvation. The fourth section (pp. 206-274) describes the life of faith—referring especially to the psychology of faith, the religious boon of justification which it appropriates, and the moral life in which it issues. In the concluding section (pp. 275-335), under the rubric of “the communion of believers,” there follows a discussion of the nature of the Church, of the contrast of the actual with the ideal, of the Church one and divided, and lastly of Church and Creed.

As an apology the treatise develops an argument for the truth of Christianity which is practically based on its self-evidencing power, or its adaptation to the deeper needs and nobler aspirations of human nature. The traditional apologetic, which first lays the basis of Natural Theology with the theistic proofs, and thereafter demonstrates Christianity to be a special revelation authenticated by historical evidence, is rejected for two reasons. In the first place its arguments are unconvincing, in the second place at best they could only generate intellectual assent, which is of little religious value. The true line, according to Dr Köstlin, is to seek to ascertain the grounds on which the faith of believers actually rests. To ascertain this by introspection is a difficult matter; and the method preferred accordingly is to recur to the first period of Christianity, and to inquire as to the objects propounded to the faith of the primitive disciples, and the means by which it was awakened. The objects of faith set up in primitive preaching are discovered to have been the Kingdom of God, the Heavenly Father, and Jesus as the Messiah or Son of God; while faith in Christ is traceable, in part to His mighty works, but, above all, to the impression made upon the heart by His message and His person. It may be added that, according to the teaching of Jesus,

faith was jointly dependent on a mystic divine influence (John vii. 17), and on personal self-determination (John v. 40). In brief, while miracles strengthened—while possibly the miracle of the resurrection saved—the faith of the disciples, the determining factor was the intrinsic power of the revelation in Christ Jesus. And this Biblical precedent commends itself as the model of all fruitful apologetic. We cannot lead the unbeliever through nature up to nature's God, we cannot by a historical argument prove to him that miracles have happened, and that an infallible book has been composed, but we can bring him face to face with the historical Christ—His God and Father, His moral ideal, His person, His life; and we may hope that, made for religion as man is no less than for morality, the whole will so impress his heart and conscience that he will yield to it as disclosing the truth to be received, the life to be lived, and the God to be adored.

To rest the case for Christianity on the internal evidence is, of course, no novelty in German theology; rather has it become the dominant, if not the exclusive method. And it is certainly an interesting circumstance that, while many preachers are delivering apologetical sermons on Agnosticism and miracles, many profound apologists have arrived at the opinion that the only effective apology is the preaching of the Gospel. It is, however, open to serious question whether German apologetic, in depending so exclusively on the internal evidence, or on the argument from the person of Christ, presents the full case for Christianity. There is, doubtless, need of reducing the material agglomerated under the title of Christian Evidences—some of which proves nothing or maintains the indefensible, and we may heartily welcome recent attempts to review the ground and consolidate the argument; but, by cutting the material down to the internal evidence, the average intelligence, which, in the main, is the object addressed, must experience a distinct loss of confidence, and feel that a note of impressive distinction has been obscured. The argument from prophecy, it may be admitted, has been distinctly weakened in its old form by modern exegesis; but it is incontestable that, in any account of the grounds of the faith of believing Christians, and therefore of Christian evidences, the miracles of our Lord must be taken into account as an influential factor. It is doubtless true, as Professor Köstlin says, that we should place no credence in the Bible miracles were it not for the impression made on the heart by the spiritual miracle of Christ's unique personality. But, on the other hand, the report of the miracles, and especially of the resurrection, powerfully reacts upon and elevates the conception of Christ's dignity. With very considerable assurance it may be affirmed that, had no miracles been associated with Jesus, had the narratives of healing been

awanting, had there been no witness to His resurrection from the dead, then, even with His stainless love-inspired life before us, we should not have had courage to proclaim Him more than man—possibly not even to describe Him as the revelation of the Father. A doubt may further be expressed as to whether a Christian apologist can consistently throw over the theistic proofs, according to the prevailing fashion in Germany. After all, the world was made by the wise loving God in whom he believes; and to say that nature does not reveal its author is tantamount to saying, in despite of His honour, that in His works He has not done Himself justice. Professor Köstlin, indeed, holds that our belief in God can be justified over against science and philosophy, but faith may well rise to a bolder utterance that this in reference to the self-manifestation of God in creation and providence.

It is a merit of Professor Köstlin's monograph that he not only furnishes a vindication of Christianity but also sets forth the essential objects of faith. To borrow a useful phrase, he gives us an outline of Christianity defensively stated, instead of proceeding on the assumption, as is so often done, that the nature and contents of Christianity may be taken for granted. While exhibiting some affinity with the Ritschlians, he has been careful to discriminate his position as independent, and may indeed claim to have given to this school as much as he has received. His dogmatic position might be described as that of a free Bible Christian—of one, that is, who accepts Revelation as the supreme rule of faith and practice, but who, at the same time, earnestly distinguishes between the recording scriptures and the historical revelation of which they are a deposit. From the confessionalist school he separates himself by the view that the Catholic formulation of the great dogmas is alike unscriptural and unsatisfactory to the modern Christian consciousness. In particular he emphasises that the Reformation gave an object lesson in reconstruction, rather than finality, of dogma; and that there remains the task, *inter alia*, of re-stating the Trinitarian and Christological dogmas with less regard to philosophy and with greater loyalty to the pristine revelation. That the creeds are to be continuously tested by the Word of God is unquestionably a sound Protestant principle—nowhere more heartily acknowledged than in the Confessions of the Reformed Churches; and there is also a growing consciousness of the advance made in the creeds of the fourth century upon the Biblical positions; but his purpose can hardly be realised until the relevant results of Biblical theology are better assured, and unless it can be proved that the formulæ of the creeds not only transcend, but illegitimately transcend, the Scriptural utterances of faith concerning Christ.

Much might be added as to the treatment of special themes, apologetical, doctrinal, and practical, upon which the writer touches in the course of a book marked by a wide outlook and by extensive learning. Especially might attention be profitably drawn to his account of the nature of faith—that sovereign religious act which it is a merit of modern German theology to have set in its original light as essentially a turning to the living God with heart and will, rather than as intellectual assent to a body of doctrinal propositions. In the power of such a faith Professor Köstlin has been able to say of Pentateuch Criticism and of Evolution: “none of these things move me”; and the tone of sturdy joyful confidence in God and His revelation by which the book is thus pervaded is well fitted to re-assure some who have not sufficiently distinguished between the outworks and the citadel.

W. P. PATERSON.

Johannes Mathesius. Ein Lebens- und Sitten-Bild aus der Reformationszeit.

Von Georg Loesche, Doktor der Philosophie und Theologie, Professor der Kirchengeschichte in Wien. 2 vols. Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1895; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 639, 467. Price, 16s.

WHO is Mathesius? most people will ask. And no wonder, when the “*Encyclopædia Britannica*” does not even mention his name. Professor Loesche opens his preface too with something like a complaint at the neglect with which the subject of his work has been treated, and the consequent ignorance of him which prevails, even among the learned. He says: “Whilst men of less eminence belonging to the second generation of the Reformation period have been brought into the light of day, Mathesius has thus far been left in obscurity, notwithstanding that he was the Reformer of Joachimthal; the most attractive figure in the Lutheran Christianity of Bohemia; alongside of Amos Comenius, the chief representative of Austrian Protestantism; the most important literary name in German-Bohemian literature; one of the most characteristic and eloquent preachers of his day, whose sermons were for centuries favourite books of devotion; and finally, pupil, boarder, close friend of Luther and the first biographer of the Reformer worthy of the name.”

Among the causes assigned by Dr Loesche for this surprising neglect are the seclusion of the scene of his labours; the impoverishment of the district; and the difficulty of collecting and utilizing

his works, whether printed or still in MS., owing to their being so widely scattered. Perhaps the real or chief reason is the ruthless and well-nigh complete suppression of the Reformation in Bohemia, and the destruction by fire or otherwise of everything that could remind later generations of the men who had been its chief representatives and promoters.

Not that Mathesius has been altogether without his biographers; on the contrary, both German and French writers have given him attention; but none of them drew their presentation of him from MS. sources and a study of his entire works.

The gap which existed has been amply filled by the work whose title is given above. Of the amount of careful investigation that it must have cost, one can form a slight estimate from the preface, the list of sources consulted, the footnotes and so forth: it must have been immense. Indeed, but for the bearing such a biography may have on the present and future position of Protestantism in the Austrian Empire, one would be inclined to ask, *cui bono?* Still, in these days of pure research, when the distinction between even *minima* and *maxima* seems to be disappearing—certainly often disregarded—such a question would find deaf ears and awaken scornful echoes. Moreover, there can be no doubt that, as the author hints, in comparison with many others, Mathesius richly deserved a biography such as is here provided, especially as by its means a great deal of light is incidentally thrown on contemporary life and movements. In fact the work, as the title tells us, is a *Sitten-Bild* as well as a *Lebens-Bild*.

Johannes Mathesius was born June 24th, 1504, at Rochlitz, now a small though enterprising manufacturing town of Saxony, in the Department of Leipzig. In Mathesius' days it was a mining centre; for which reason, partly too because his father was financially interested in mining operations, he sometimes jokingly called himself "ein alter Bergmann." Joachimsthal is a small town in Bohemia, about five miles north of Carlsbad, chiefly known as the centre of a mining district. It was noted even in the sixteenth century for its silver production. In fact, the modern German word *Thaler* is an abridgment of the name *Jouchimsthaler*, given to a silver coin, minted at the beginning of the sixteenth century, by the Counts von Schlick, who were at that time Lords of the district.

Early in the sixteenth century, in consequence of the slackness of the mining industry at Rochlitz, there was a "rush," as we should now say, of Saxon miners and their families to the more flourishing Joachimsthal, which, as we shall find, became eventually the occasion of Mathesius' settlement at the latter place.

His father was at one time a man of means and a Councillor of his native town; but owing to reverses and his own and his wife's

early death, the son, to whom this work is devoted, was left first to be brought up by one of his grandmothers, and then to fight his own way pretty much alone.

From his sixth to his thirteenth year he attended the common school at Rochlitz; then he went to the *Trivial* School, with its triple course of Grammar, Dialectics, and Rhetoric, at Mitweida, where he had to depend for subsistence on charitable gifts; thence he removed to one of the Latin Schools of Nürnberg, in those days the Venice of Germany, and one of the chief seats of culture. Whilst there he supported himself by begging, perhaps also in part, as Luther had done in Erfurt, as a member of one of the peripatetic scholar choirs so common in Germany. It is mentioned that the number of these begging scholars in Nürnberg was so great about 1522, that the City Council issued an order strictly limiting it to forty in connection with any one school.

In 1523 he betook himself to the University of Ingolstadt, but feeling himself repelled, or at all events little attracted, by the spirit of the place and the studies pursued, left after two years. Compelled by his poverty to do something for a livelihood, he became private tutor in various houses for the next three years.

Up to this time his connection with the Romish Church had remained, at all events outwardly, unbroken; but now a period of struggle and doubt set in, due greatly to contact with Anabaptists, Sacramentarians and Lutherans, all of whom sought to win him over to their views. It is scarcely likely, however, that the son of a father who regularly read the Biblical lessons in a German translation on the Sunday, and who when asked why he didn't buy masses for the souls of his friends, replied, "Much as people pay for messengers, no one has yet brought back an answer"; besides displaying in other ways a critical temper towards the Church and its priests,—would oppose a strong resistance to new ideas. Nor did he. Unexpectedly favoured by circumstances, he accordingly resolved to go to Wittenberg, the headquarters of the new movement. There he became heart and soul a follower of Luther. Indeed the very first sermon preached by the Reformer after his arrival, which was on the subject of baptism, seems to have decided him, so at least he himself reports; possibly overlooking the inward preparation which he had already been undergoing. But poverty again stepped in to interfere with his own plans,—not, however, with those of God,—shortened his stay at Wittenberg and compelled him to accept a position as assistant master in a school at Altenburg, which had not long been reorganised in accordance with Protestant ideas. The post was by no means a brilliant one; for the "rector" received only about £40 per annum, and out of this sum

had to pay his assistant; but it gave him opportunity of filling sundry gaps in his classical knowledge, particularly, as he tells us, in his Latin; and of quietly increasing his acquaintance with Evangelical men and truth.

Scarcely had he been there two years when he was called to be rector of the Latin school at Joachimsthal,—the place which was destined to be the scene of life-long labours of exceptional vigour and success, in the cause of the Gospel. In this office he spent eight years, which cannot be better characterised than in an inscription which he wrote for the house adjoining the school, and which was built during his rectorate, “*qui docet, sic doceat, qui regit, sic regat, qui servit, sic serviat, tanquam spectante deo, cui sancto juramento juratus est, cui etiam rationem reddet in novissimo die de toto officio suo.*” The school was intended to combine religious instruction of the Lutheran type with Humanistic studies; and good care he took, as long as he held the reins, that his scholars should be as thoroughly drilled in the one branch as in the other. Many utterances of his show how deeply he felt the responsibility of his calling, and how anxious he was to turn out not merely good scholars but good Christian citizens.

Gradually, however, despite the flourishing state of the school, and the good financial circumstances in which he found himself, it was more and more distinctly borne in upon him that a higher work was his true vocation,—no less a work in fact than the ordering of the Church at Joachimsthal on lines akin to those followed by Luther and his disciples. This feeling was doubtless intensified by the frequent changes of pastors, as well as by the unsatisfactory, yea, in some cases, Romanising character of their ministrations; but judging by his after career, shall we not also say that it was due to the secret stirrings, and betokened therefore a call, of the Spirit of God? The fact of his being proposed as preacher by some of the citizens naturally helped to give shape and form to what at first may have been but a vague impulse. It fell, however, to the lot of one of the master miners of the place to settle the question,—which he did by presenting him with a sum of money to be used either in taking a holiday or revisiting Wittenberg. He decided on the latter course.

In 1540, accordingly, he resigned his post and made his way to Wittenberg, where he became a boarder in Luther's house,—it was the custom for Professors then to take such boarders,—as well as his confidant and friend. A bit of advice given by one of the Wittenberg clergy, Magister Georg Rörer, who was Luther's literary assistant, throws an interesting light on the Reformer's person:—it was, “not to make much *contra* with the Doctor; to ask questions as he might like; once and again to raise an objection, but then to

content himself with the answer received." Mathesius tells us that he had never ceased to be thankful for this hint.

The sketch which Dr Loesche gives of the life at Wittenberg, particularly in Luther's private circle, tempts to quotations which would transgress the limits of this notice.

In November 1841 a deputation from the Burgomaster and Council of Joachimsthal came to Wittenberg with a formal invitation in the name of the entire body of parishioners to Mathesius to become preacher, alongside of Magister Wolfgang Calixt, under the chief pastor Steude. At the same time it was proposed to him, through Melanchthon, to undertake the charge of a new church in Pfalz-Neuburg. But the pressure put on him from Joachimsthal was so great that he felt it to be his duty to accept the call thither, and after receiving ordination at Luther's hands, entered on his life-work in April 1542.

The account given by Dr Loesche of the transaction, from the sending of the call to the opening of Mathesius' ministry at Joachimsthal, is full of interest; but I must hasten to close this scanty notice of a biography crowded with exceptionally characteristic details. One little incident, however, of his life at Joachimsthal deserves notice, so distinctive was it of the time. The three colleagues managed to agree very well, we are told, save on one question, that, namely, as to the nature of the righteousness and perfection which man possessed before the Fall. It would seem, in fact, that at last they submitted the point to Melanchthon; for in one of his letters to Mathesius he congratulates them on having ended their hair-splitting controversy, adding that it was much more necessary to concentrate attention on the present distress and the grace of God given to meet it. Possibly, however, another event to which Mathesius' correspondent refers at the same time may have had something to do with the termination of the dispute, to wit, his marriage; an exceptionally important event, considering that only one Joachimsthal clergyman before him had ventured on so anti-Romish a step,—a step which neither then nor years later commended itself to the Counts von Schlick, who were in a sort the patrons of the benefice. In consequence of the political changes which took place in Austria about 1545—changes which seemed to involve the danger of religious persecution—the chief pastor Steude accepted a call to Naumburg, and Mathesius was promoted to the vacancy. In 1555 he too received a call to Leipzig; but many as were the attractions of the place, and urgent as were the pleas of his friends, he resolved to remain, partly from a feeling that, after all, he was in his right place; and partly because to leave his parish just when, by God's grace, he had been enabled to start it on a right course, seemed to him unworthy of a true shepherd of Christ's flock. The words he

used in discourses regarding men who treat every opportunity of "improving themselves" as a call from God, are so characteristic of the man's spirit, word, and style, that it may be well to quote them:—"A true shepherd will not desert his flock because of a stinking ram or a lamb that unwittingly stumbles against him." "He will be like a sheep-dog that guards the flock the whole day, then follows it home, and trotting along the road pays no heed to the yelping of lap-dogs." "For the sake of the world's thanks and praise not begun; for fear of its thanklessness and abuse not given up." "Whom the devil moves, him he sets a rolling." "Whoso has a fixed and fitting vocation should not let himself be driven away, even though the black devil threaten him with hunger, trouble, abuse; or the white devil whisper to him that he is too learned and clever for such a small church and such stupid people; or the rich devil offer him greater honour, quiet, title, and stipend in a strange place." "If my mind had been set on bettering my circumstances, I could long ago have been receiving a much larger income; but my vocation was too dear to me."

Dr Loesche's pages are "gespickt," as a German might say, with epigrammatic sayings of Mathesius which are as vigorous as they are wise, as apt as they are homely, as full as they are terse.

After a twelve years married life of exceptional happiness and mutual helpfulness he lost his wife, and was left with seven children to train up. All of them turned out well; some of them did honour to their father and good service in the kingdom of Christ.

He died on the 7th of October 1565, almost literally in harness; for he was taken ill whilst descending from the pulpit, where he had just been preaching; and passed away a few hours thereafter in his own house. Well might he have said of himself, "I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith."

The "Works" of Mathesius are almost all of the kind commonly described as practical, and may be divided into two great classes—namely, (1) *sermons* on prescribed and unprescribed passages; discourses without texts; expositions of the Catechism; and occasional addresses at marriages, funerals, visitations, inductions, and other public occasions. (2) Ordinances for the regulation of the churches, schools and hospitals of Joachimsthal.

More than half of the first volume, and nearly the same part of the second, of Dr Loesche's "Life" are devoted to a careful analysis of these "Works." The rest is taken up with matter to which the author gives the following titles:—Systematic Characteristics of the Writings of Mathesius; Mathesius as Poetaster; his Correspondence; Vindication (in Latin) addressed to King Ferdinand;

Bibliography of Writings by and about Mathesius. A detailed index and a portrait crown the value of a work of amazing research, able execution and, of its kind, great value. D. W. SIMON.

Heredity and Christian Problems.

By Amory H. Bradford. New York and London: Macmillan & Co., 1895. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 281. Price, 5s. net.

DR BRADFORD has been a frequent visitor to this country, and is already known to many through the written or the spoken word. This new book will further extend his reputation. It consists of a series of papers, collected and revised, and it wants the unity a sustained argument would have given it. But as the writer's aims and interests are chiefly practical, this matters less than it would have done had theory and system been mainly in view.

The earlier chapters give an exposition of the well established fundamental facts. The law of heredity is defined, and its working in the physical, the mental and the moral spheres explained. Environment is put into relation to heredity, and the relevant facts are set down. Finally, the position of the human personality as regards heredity on the one hand, and environment on the other, is considered; and the relative independence, the freedom, and the responsibility of the self are unhesitatingly affirmed. Man is a part of the natural world, but he is nevertheless, as moral and spiritual, superior to it. The rest of the book is occupied with an examination of certain Christian problems, some social and some theological, in the light of these facts. Marriage, education, pauperism, intemperance, crime are reviewed at length. The moral conditions and ends of marriage, the ethical character of education and the need of attending to the peculiar individuality of every child, the desirability of State action for the destruction of vicious environment, the importance of investigating the criminal's ancestry, the necessity of extending the Church's mission in the social direction, the wisdom of endeavouring always to awaken a sense of responsibility and worth, are among the points emphasised. These chapters cannot be summarized here, but they may be cordially commended to all open minded social reformers. Many facts not elsewhere easily accessible are collected, and many suggestions are made as to the lines along which future reforms must move. The theological discussions are partly dogmatic, partly apologetic. In the dogmatic section the drift of the thought is determined by practical considerations, and the question asked is how we must modify our working theology in the light of what has gone before. The modifications

urged are mainly these. Guilt is not the sole possession of the individual sinner, but whoever may have had a share in transmitting the tendency to the sin is a partner in it. Retribution is not an arbitrary thing, but is ever determined by the light granted and the ability to resist that is enjoyed. Unanimity of belief is not demanded of us, for belief is infinitely conditioned by our past, but only the teachable mind and the loyal spirit which are within the reach of all. Salvation is not mere remission of penalty. It is nothing less than a purification of the stream of inheritance, it is deliverance from the law of heredity so far as it concerns the possession and the necessary transmission of an evil nature. We may think the author mistaken in some of his contentions, and the emphasis may not always seem rightly placed, but we can hardly judge what is the present truth demanded by the American theological environment. In any case it is a service to have brought these questions together, and striven to answer them from this point of view. For this is part of the Apologetic age requires, and it naturally leads in the book itself to matter more directly apologetic. This includes a brief argument for Christianity and a lengthy defence of the divinity of Christ. The argument is that Christianity makes progress possible by supplying motives adequate for progress under the established conditions, that the happiness of men depends upon the validity of Christian truth, and that what always and everywhere makes for blessing cannot be false. The defence is that Jesus cannot be explained by natural heredity, direct or otherwise, that we cannot co-ordinate Him with the men of supreme genius, and that we are compelled to fall back upon the Scriptural explanation. This part of the book is the least satisfactory, though many points are admirably stated. The writer is strongest where he takes for granted Christian principles and makes his appeal to the Christian conscience. He is not so convincing when he appeals to the outsider, and is apt to take more for granted than any capable disputant on the other side would allow. But in this respect Dr Bradford is not peculiar, and he sins less than some other Apologists.

The positive value of the book lies in its social discussions, and, though their character makes it impossible to review them briefly, they are the most prominent feature in its pages. Many of the expositions of social duty could hardly be bettered, and not seldom the words breathe the noble passion of Christian citizenship. The sections dealing with theoretical ethics and theology do not pretend to offer any final solutions, but they raise in an interesting way many of the most serious questions now before us, and set us upon thinking. Among other matters open to criticism, attention may be drawn to the estimate of the bearing of Weismannism upon the

problems under discussion, and to the conception of freedom held by the author. But of all the questionable contentions in the book the most significant, because the one most inconsistent with the general drift of the argument, and yet the most difficult to avoid when theology is approached from the scientific side, is that contained in the section dealing with the doctrine of salvation. Dr Bradford's language is vacillating, but he seems to lean to the view that salvation means deliverance not only from tendencies towards evil and wrongdoing, but from the necessity of transmitting to others a polluted nature. Those who accept the new life from Christ are not only new creatures, but in a new and spiritual succession whose legacy to the future is the very life they have received from Christ. But what proof can be given of this? And if, as all admit, the new birth delivers from the bondage of parentage, why should it be so needful to transmit the new life? If the salvation in Christ was enough for the parents with the nature they had, will it not be enough for the children to whom the nature has been transmitted? Salvation is more a matter of environment than of heredity, but we degrade it whenever we try to explain it by either category. The moral and the spiritual are higher than the merely natural, and there is danger alike for morality and for religion in everything that reduces the moral initiative and effaces the spiritual personality. The materialism we drove out at one door will return by another, and we shall find that instead of a living Christianity we have a science where faith and grace are lost in force and law, or a sacerdotalism where they are sunk in ritual and institutions. The one exalts the natural, the other the supernatural, both distrust and depreciate the rational and the ethical, both at the last make shipwreck of true religion. It were much to be wished that some master of spiritual philosophy and Christian ethics, with a competent knowledge of the scientific results, would take up the many problems raised in the latter part of this work, and give them such solution as is possible for our time. Meanwhile Dr Bradford is to be thanked for this pioneer volume, and American theology is to be congratulated upon the production of a book which no future student of its subject can afford to neglect.

WILLIAM JOHNSTON.

A Compendious Syriac Dictionary.

Edited by J. Payne Smith. Part I. Clarendon Press. Pp. 136, 10 x 7½. Price, 8s. 6d. net.

It is a sign of the times that, after referring to the discovery made by Mrs Lewis, we are able next to announce the work of

another lady in Syriac philology. The first part of the abridgment of the late Dean Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*, by his daughter, has lately appeared. Although "compendious," the work will not be short: Part I. extends to less than half of the seventh letter of the alphabet. The abridgment is effected chiefly by omissions of the long quotations in the *Thesaurus* from native grammarians, and the exclusion of all references, except a very few to the Bible. Thus the article on *Athar* (a place) is reduced from 88 lines to 24, the latter lines being about one-third shorter than the former. The root meanings of the words are given without actual quotations of the cognate forms, and the various senses are set forth with a copiousness that seems to leave little to be desired. A list of derivatives is given at the end of the article on their root. This will be helpful to the student. In the *Thesaurus* some derivatives are to be found only in another part of the work. But we fail to see what has been gained by the translation into English. It is inconceivable that any Syriac scholar should be unable to read the Latin of the *Thesaurus*, but the language of the *Compendious Dictionary* may somewhat hinder its use on the Continent.

G. H. GWILLIAM.

**Collatio Codicis Lewisiani Rescripti cum Codice
Curetoniano.**

Auctore Alberto Bonus, e Coll. Pemb., Oxon. Clarendon Press.

Pp. x. 95, 11¼ × 8¾. Price, 8s. 6d. net.

IN our January number, p. 15 (*Communication on the Lewis Palimpsest, &c.*), it was stated that a collation of this MS. had been undertaken by an Oxford man. The book has now appeared. It is printed in the best style of the University Press, on stout paper, in size to range with the Cambridge edition of Mrs Lewis' codex. The author explains that his purpose has been to compare the Lewis text with that of Cureton, quoting the Peshitto where necessary, or desirable, for illustration. The variations are arranged in columns, and the work will be valuable to many at home and abroad in the discussions as to the origin of the extra-Peshitto text, which Mrs Lewis' discovery has revived. The collection is for Syriac scholars only, as the texts alone are given, without any translation. The Peshitto text is illustrated by select readings of the Vatican copy of the Syriac Gospels, written A.D. 548. While many inferences may hereafter be drawn from Mr Bonus' columns of variations, even a brief examination of them will show the reader (1) that the Lewis and Cureton MSS. differ

greatly not only in words and phrases, but also (as showing a difference of origin) in the divisions of the text ; and (2) that the Peshitto is confirmed to a remarkable extent by the ancient witness cited in support and illustration. G. H. GWILLIAM.

Jesu Muttersprache. Das galiläische Aramäisch in seiner Bedeutung für die Erklärung der Reden Jesu und der Evangelien überhaupt.

Von Arnold Meyer. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr, 1896 ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. Pp. xiv. 176. Price, M.3.

THE title prefixed to this interesting volume indicates the importance of the subject the author has undertaken to handle. He has treated his theme not only with the fulness of detail which the works of German scholars never lack, but also with a clearness of methodical arrangement, in which (as we Englishmen think) they are sometimes deficient.

In dealing with the language employed by our Lord in His earthly ministry, a difference is observable between the theory of theologians and their practice. Some, but we think they are very few, are openly followers of Vossius (see *Mutterspr.* p. 18 and n. ¹); most scholars would admit that some dialect of Hebrew (or Aramaic) was the vernacular of Palestine in the first century of our era ; yet in all kinds of theological writings, whether critical or devotional, the references to the text of the Holy Gospels constantly assume that the Greek words are those which were actually uttered by our Lord. But until it has been proved that He spoke Greek, the Greek words of the Evangelists must not be quoted as if they were His. To the Christian, Catholic or Protestant, they will be inspired translations ; but to hear the actual sounds and syllables, we must seek for the Semitic original (see pp. 5, 69), and in the many cases where the language of the Evangelist is obscure or ambiguous, certainty may be attained if we can restore the text which underlies the version. It will be well, however, here to declare our conviction that the reconstruction of the original is a hazardous operation, and the results attained as likely to be false as true.¹ They rest to a very large extent on hypothesis. The intrusion of a very small fact may upset the whole edifice.

¹ Compare the wise caution given by Dr Driver on re-translations, in his review of the newly discovered original of Ecclesiasticus, in the *Guardian* of July 1st.

The *Muttersprache* of our Lord and his first followers was the vernacular of Palestine, or, at least, of Galilee. It was either Greek or some Semitic dialect, for the conceits of Inchofer (p. 16) and Harduin (p. 19) need not detain us (see p. 59, par. 2). The warm advocacy of Greek by Dr Alexander Roberts, and the appearance of the work under review, show that a question still exists; but the arguments and facts which have been adduced by our author, and by such writers as Duval, Neubauer, and Cust, or in the monograph of Archbishop Clement David, of Damascus, suffice to dispose finally of the claims of Greek. We believe also that there is no evidence to show that the inhabitants of Palestine generally spoke Greek as well as their Semitic vernacular (see pp. 25, 26). There remains the question, what was this vernacular? Was it Hebrew, Aramaic, or, as Deutsch thought,¹ a mere jargon of both, with Greek and Latin words. To give a precise answer is not easy. Deutsch's view is an exaggeration; but our materials do not suffice for a full description of the dialect. We are warned (p. 155) against being carried away by the opinion of Lagarde, that the language of the *Palestinian Version* represents the dialect spoken by our Lord. Between A.D. 40 and the composition of that version, however early a date we assume, many linguistic changes in a popular dialect could take place. The *Jerusalem Talmud* (see p. 59) may furnish some evidence, but the difference in dates again suggests extreme caution in drawing conclusions. The best information is afforded by the native words actually preserved in a few places of the New Testament; but the evidence to be derived from them is meagre in the extreme, and somewhat obscured by their transmission through transliteration.² For all we know, these words, the Talmud idiom, and that of the Palestinian Version, may represent as many dialects, contemporaneous with the form of Aramaic spoken in Samaria, and a modern Hebrew prevalent in Jerusalem. The linguistic conditions of England, especially as they existed fifty years ago, would have found place in Palestine. Differences of dialect are compatible with possibility of intercourse, and acquaintance with a common form of written language.

The arguments for our author's main contention may be summarized and re-stated as follows. (1) The population of the Holy Land in the time of Christ was mainly, and in some parts almost exclusively, Jewish. This will not be doubted as regards Judea. The country was not entirely depopulated by the Chaldean invasion,

¹ *Literary Remains*, "The Talmud," p. 42. Such a patois is conceivable, and the Negro jargon of Jamaica affords an illustration.

² Thus ἐφφαθά is explained by the Aramaic *eppethach* or *eppattach* (p. 52), but in *Studia Biblica*, i. p. 56 (Neubauer) by the Hebrew *hippathach*. For μαρναθά, "Our Lord come," is preferred by Meyer to "Our Lord has come."

and the gaps were filled up by the returning exiles. The subsequent period of Jewish ascendancy, created by the Maccabean victories, tended to re-establish Hebraism throughout Palestine. Although in Galilee the population was more mixed, yet it was in our Lord's time chiefly Jewish, by descent or by absorption into the dominant race: else would not He, whose declared mission was "to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," have devoted most of His ministry to teaching in Galilee. (2) The instances in history are rare in which a nation has changed its language for a wholly alien tongue. Those who adopt the views of Dr Roberts, ask us to believe that the Jews, although surrounded by the Semitic speaking tribes of the South, and on the East of Jordan, though bordered by the Phœnicians, and in perpetual contact with the Aramaic population of Syria, had abandoned their ancestral tongue for the alien speech of Greece. Such a change did indeed take place amongst the men of the *Diaspora*, who lived in Greek lands, and in this was one chief difference between the Hellenists and their Palestinian brethren. (3) The threefold inscription on the Cross implies that Greek—the Latin being the official notice—was not understood by all; an interpretation in the vernacular was necessary. Peter bewrayed himself by his pronunciation. It is not known that Greek was pronounced differently in Jerusalem and in Galilee, but it is recorded that the Northern pronunciation of Hebrew letters differed from that of the South (see p. 59 and n. 1). (4) The testimony of Philo and of Josephus to the existence of a *patrios glossa* different from the Greek, which was known only by the few, is justly insisted on¹ (pp. 39-41). (5) The proper names of persons and places are adduced; but to us it seems that the example of our own land shows they are not conclusive evidence of the existing language. A passage, however, like Acts i. 19 cannot be thus explained away; and still more significant are the vernacular remains preserved by St Mark.

It is unreasonable to oppose to these facts the supposition that as Greek had become the language of commerce and of literature, and had extended its domain over the greater part of the civilized world, it had been adopted by the Jews of Palestine. The supposition ignores the peculiar characteristics of the race, and is without historical support (see p. 60). It has been argued that a passage such as St Luke i. 28 implies the use of Greek, as the alliteration belongs to an original and not to a translation. But although the angel perhaps could not have saluted the Virgin in Aramaic or Hebrew with that precise form of words, it would not

¹ Independent testimony is borne by the Syrians. In *Ancient Syriac Documents* (Cureton and Wright) p. 8, the followers of Christ are described as "Hebrews, and only knowing the tongue of the Hebrews."

be inconsistent with the genius of a Hellenistic translation to have introduced an alliteration, in imitation of Old Testament style. Exact rendering was less sought than a clear representation of the sense of the original. Much has been made of the use of the LXX in the Gospels. The quotations prove nothing with reference to the native language of the Evangelists. One who wrote in Greek would naturally employ the well known Greek version for quotations, unless reference to the Hebrew was required for a special purpose. Many of the quotations in the New Testament are translated from the Hebrew; not a few are derived from forms of text not now extant. It has been thought that the conversation between our Lord and the Syrophœnician woman was carried on in Greek; but her native language was closely related to Hebrew, and if there was not enough in common for a short, though memorable, conversation, many an interpreter must have been at hand in that border country. We do not deny that our Lord could speak Greek; there is no evidence on either side. Matthew the tax-gatherer might require Greek in the way of business; Luke was a Hellenist; Mark was the interpreter of St Peter, and St John certainly employed Greek during his residence at Ephesus; but Greek was not the vernacular of Palestine,¹ and therefore was not the language spoken in teaching the common people.

An interesting *geschichtlicher Ueberblick* of the views held on the question in various ages occupies twenty-eight pages. This is followed by an account of the Aramaic dialect, and arguments for its use in Palestine in the time of Christ. It is shown that by *Hebrew* in many ancient writers is meant Aramaic in contrast to Greek, and not the classical Hebrew. Yet (see p. 38) the language of the Jews was not Chaldee, as has been absurdly supposed, brought from Babylon by the returning exiles. It resulted from the gradual corruption of the ancestral Hebrew by contact with the surrounding dialects. We are ourselves inclined to believe that a purer language was preserved in the homes of the Pharisees, and perhaps prevailed in Jerusalem and Judea. The recently recovered fragments of the original of Ecclesiasticus tend to show that a pure Hebrew could be written about two centuries before Christ.

Considerable space is devoted to the attempts which have been made to reproduce the vernacular which is represented by the Greek of the Evangelists. The author makes copious references to those who have laboured in this department, but, as far as we have seen, he does not refer to the researches of Professor Marshall, though he follows him in seeking an Aramaic basis, against Delitzsch

¹ The *Vita Porphyrii ep. Gazenis* (Muttersprache, p. 156), shows that Greek was not understood by all even in the fifth century.

and Resch (p. 30). The *Anhang* includes an interesting history of the interpretation of the phrase, "Son of Man." The orthodox, in reading the earlier remarks on this expression (p. 99), will remember that German views of the Holy Gospels are not always such as we commend. The account of the *Syr. Hier. und christ.-paläst. Dialekt* is useful. For the sake of English scholarship we wish the author had known of the last edition of Scrivener; he refers to that of 1874. Useful indexes close the volume; but in C. 3 (p. 174) there is the strange explanation, *Cur = Syrus Sinaiticus ed. Cureton*. Everybody knows that the fragments were brought from Egypt. The error is not corrected in the Table on p. xiv.; and we have noticed some misprints in addition to those in the author's list.

G. H. GWILLIAM.

Analytic Psychology.

By G. F. Stout, M.A., Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, University Lecturer in the Moral Sciences. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 289, 314. Price, 21s.

THESE volumes form part of the third series of the Library of Philosophy now being issued under the editorship of Mr Muirhead, this series consisting of original contributions to philosophy, the first and second series being historical. The work abundantly justifies its right to the place assigned it, being full of independent thinking and original and subtle argument. It is, as would naturally be expected, an important contribution to the literature of its subject.

The author professes to follow in the main the lines of the traditional English method; he, however, furnishes a striking illustration of the peculiarities which mark the psychological thinking of to-day; the atmosphere, the point of view and the governing ideas are all different from those of the past. The danger is lest some truths should be discredited while others are brought to light and emphasized.

The aim of the author is to bring systematic order into the crowd of facts concerning our mental life by analysis of ordinary experience. The function of psychology is to describe, analyse and arrange. The present work is an analytical investigation of the developed consciousness as the prelude to the genetic treatment of the subject. The author professes to pass by whatever appears capable of more efficient treatment from a genetic point of view, and this must be borne in mind in any attempt to describe or

estimate the present volumes. The genetic treatment or method proposes to itself the task of tracing the evolution of mind from its lowest to its highest planes. The preliminary task is to ascertain and define the processes of the developed consciousness as we now find them. Such is the author's account of his aim and purpose. His strongest psychological interest lies in certain genetic questions, and especially in those on which ethnographic evidence can be brought to bear.

Psychology is defined to be the positive science of mental process. It is a "positive" science, because it investigates matters of fact. It is the science of "mental process." The meaning of this may be stated in a few words. Consciousness includes every possible kind of experience. The term is not synonymous with the term mind, though mind exists wherever consciousness exists, it being the abstract of which mind is the concrete. Mind is regarded as the unity of manifold successive and simultaneous modes of consciousness in an individual whole. This unity, however, necessarily implies conditions which are not themselves modes of consciousness. Present conscious process is conditioned by prior conscious process; and this is only intelligible if we suppose that past experience leaves persistent after-effects, which continue when the corresponding consciousness has ceased. Accordingly, "mental process" involves the operation of these residual traces. It is, therefore, not a conscious, but an unconscious process. The inquiry is as to the exact nature of this unconscious constituent of mind, and it is the discussion of this subject that is a distinguishing feature of the present volumes.

The work is divided into two parts or books. The first, consisting of six chapters, furnishes a general analysis of consciousness, while the second investigates the laws both of mental process and of the origin and growth of certain products of mental process—products which emerge in the normal course of the evolution of every human mind; and these are taken, as far as possible, in the order of their occurrence. The first part is clearly and confessedly preliminary only to the second.

In his general analysis of consciousness the author allows that there are modes of consciousness which do not admit of generic derivation, which do not find their place in the evolution of conscious life, and which, at the most, only admit of definition or description. This department of psychology is purely analytic and largely introspective. The point of view is statical, not dynamical; it is not concerned with the transition from one state of consciousness to another; its aim is to discover the ultimate irreducible constituents of consciousness in general—a preliminary but important inquiry.

In the investigation which occupies the second part, the point of view is dynamical; the general laws and conditions are investigated according to which change takes place in consciousness, the method being in one way analytic, in another synthetic. An exposition in genetic order is promised in a future work.

There are some points in the first part which must be noticed. In the first place, the Kantian and Hamiltonian classification of the faculties or capacities of the soul is rejected, on the ground that it rests on no positive principle of division. Such a principle is found in the mode in which consciousness refers to an object, and this furnishes the division of ultimate mental functions. The point to be regarded is the attitude or posture of consciousness towards the object, and nothing in the nature of the object. This also gives a threefold division, as the Kantian method does, only an essentially different one, viz., *Presentation*, where the object is simply presented to consciousness; where the subject is simply aware of the object as an immediate content of consciousness: *Judgment* or *Belief*, where, in addition, consciousness affirms or denies the object: *Feeling* and *Conation* or *Desire*, where the will is affected by the object.

In regard to Presentations, the analysis of these—since to analyse is to assign the component elements of a complex—must consist in distinguishing, within a total Presentation, the partial Presentations which enter into its composition. The object of thought is never a content of consciousness; if the object exists at all in the sense in which the thinker refers to it, *i.e.*, means or intends it, it exists independently of this consciousness; in a sense, thought and object may be called two aspects of the same fact, but the existence of the object as the thinker himself views it can never be identified with the mere existence. As to the constituents into which analysis resolves the object analysed, these must be discovered, not created; a condition which it would seem impossible to fulfil in the case of Presentations, because their immediate existence as transient contents of consciousness is all the existence they have, and no components may be attributed to them in analysis which have not constituted part of their content at the moment of their appearance in consciousness. This difficulty is discussed with much acuteness, but the discussion cannot be summarised. Distinction is drawn between analysis of actual experience, sense perception, and analysis of psychical disposition, the first alone being regarded as analysis of Presentations.

The author next discusses the connection between our cognisance of form of combination and our cognisance of the parts combined, and concludes that our cognisance of the form of combination characteristic of a whole—take for example a melody—is a mode

of consciousness distinct from our cognisance of its constituents. The form of combination may remain the same, or relatively the same, while the constituents vary.

Implicit apprehension is the apprehension of a whole independently of the apprehension of its component details: where the implicit apprehension of the whole is combined with the successive apprehension of each of its components, so as to control the order of their emergence and to exclude the intrusion of irrelevant objects, you have *schematic apprehension*; and this constitutes the essence of whatever may properly be termed a train of thought. These distinctions are turned to excellent account when the author subsequently discusses the doctrine of association, and separates the conception of noetic synthesis from that of association.

The second part of the work, constituting the most important part of it, deals with mental processes as distinguished from mental products. And, first of all, the author analyses the concept of mental activity. The term activity is regarded as referring to a process. Mental activity is a process in consciousness traceable to previous consciousness, as, under the law of inertia, the continued motion of a body is traceable to its pre-acquired momentum. Activity is not a mere synonym of causality, as in popular language; where scientific explanation is required, each of the contributing factors concerned in a process must be regarded as active precisely in so far as it determines the nature of the result. The application of the term activity to mental process is not in any sense metaphorical: the conception of psychical force is not derived from that of physical force, but the reverse: the metaphorical use of the term is to be found in its application to material change, not in its application to mental. All this is fully worked out. The author is in conflict with those who speak of a purely passive consciousness, as, *e.g.* when Professor Baldwin says that consciousness is not a power or energy of the mind; on the contrary, there is no purely passive content of consciousness, no content which is not in some manner or degree a modification of our total mental activity. He is in conflict also with Mr Bradley, who identifies activity with voluntary activity; voluntary activity is only a special form of activity; there is activity which is not voluntary. Professor James, too, is criticised for identifying the activity of the self with certain particular items of our conscious experience to the exclusion of other items.

The discussion of the doctrine of attention, considered as a mental process, and defined to be the self direction of the mind to an object, seems to me to be of peculiar value, though it is impossible to set it forth in these pages. The characteristics of the attention process—its systematic complexity, and the systematic

unity of its successive phases—are clearly brought out; while many questions, relating more or less intimately to attention, are carefully considered and commonly set in interesting lights.

The author next proceeds to the systematic examination of “noetic synthesis,” as it appears at different levels of mental life, in simple perception, complex perception, image or idea and conception, considering at the same time its connection with associative process; noetic synthesis meaning that union of presentational elements which is involved in every reference to a single object, or, in other words, in their combination, as specifying constituents of the same thought. It is by noetic synthesis that those complex psychical units come into being which we call percepts, ideas and concepts. Here there are many discussions at once interesting and subtle. The conception of noetic synthesis is clearly separated from association. In the contest between psychologists who champion association and those who champion apperception, our author sides with the latter.

After treating of relative suggestion, where some exceedingly important points emerge and are dealt with in a discriminating way; and of the concurrent development of conation and cognition; an interesting chapter is devoted to apperception, a term used by our author to include all such processes as understanding, interpretation, identifying, subsuming, and the like; it is the process by which the mental system appropriates a new element, or otherwise receives a fresh determination. In almost every moment of waking life an apperceptive process is taking place: whenever an object is attended to, the presentation of it is perceived, those aspects of the presentation which are congruent with the apperceptive system acquire special significance, others remain outside the sphere of the attention process. The physician will at a glance detect in a patient symptoms which have escaped the anxious scrutiny of friends and relatives, the reason being, not certainly in the greater intensity of his interest, but in the circumstance, that in his mind an apperceptive system has been organised which they do not possess, enabling him to know what they fail to know. Apperceptive activity involves a systematic combination of the elementary processes of simple suggestion, relative suggestion, conflict, and so forth. Its main value is that it enables us to knit together, in their natural unity, the separate threads of psychological theory, and to include, in a single view, the various aspects and elements of mental process which would otherwise only be treated of in distinct chapters. The author fully discusses the various relations of the apperceptive process.

Under comparison and conception it is pointed out that Locke's surmise that animals do not perceive relations, but that the human

mind alone does this, receives remarkable support from recent experimental inquiry by Mr Lloyd Morgan into the nature of animal intelligence. It is under this head that generic images—a subject on which Mr Francis Galton has laboured so diligently—are considered with independence and care.

The remaining subjects are Thought and Language, Belief and Imagination, Pleasure and Pain, completing an investigation of the utmost interest, and two volumes that worthily take rank in the series of which they form a part.

Enough has been said to show the nature and quality of the work. Throughout the volumes there are scattered acute criticisms of many writers. Some of these will provoke reply; many will awaken inquiry, and result, in some cases, in modifications; but nothing will alter the fact that in these volumes we have a noteworthy—perhaps I ought to say brilliant—contribution to the Psychology of the day.

VAUGHAN PRYCE.

Schopenhauer's System.

Schopenhauer's System in its Philosophical Significance. By William Caldwell, M.A., D.Sc., Professor of Moral and Social Philosophy in the North-western University, U.S.A. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1896. 8vo, pp. xviii. 538. Price, 10s. 6d. net.

THE nebulous mysticism wherein the unrest and half-culture of the "end-of-the-century" seek a perilous comfort has at length brought Schopenhauer the long desiderated and longer delayed attention. But, just on account of its source, the flattering notice he now receives is not invariably marked by equally flattering discrimination. The burden of public apathy and of academic contempt has been removed; the distinction of serious and non-partisan estimate has hardly been conferred yet, at least by the English-speaking peoples. Some of us hold Schopenhauer as a prophet and more than a prophet, others are constrained to regard him as little better than a blasphemer, few, if any, have fairly and squarely set themselves to discover his positive contribution to the march of speculative thought. Professor Caldwell's "Shaw Fellowship Lectures" are important, apart from all detailed criticism, because they embody the first systematic effort to remove this reproach. They represent a laborious attempt to answer the question, What—indiscriminating applause and violent antipathy aside—is the value of Schopenhauer's system so far as, at the present (early) time, we can see? As such they are worthy of careful attention, and compel no small approval.

Touching, as it does, upon all the great problems of philosophy, and often expressing definite opinions with regard to them, the work abounds in controversial matter ; and Dr Caldwell would be the last to anticipate complete agreement with all his conclusions. It is vulnerable, as I think, more on general points than in detail. Yet its main defects are inseparable from its chief excellencies. By an almost inevitable process, Dr Caldwell tends to dwell more on the strength than on the shortcomings of his author. There is a tendency to throw Schopenhauer's besetting sins into shadow, and to pass by some of his principal limitations. The repellent pretentiousness, vulgar intolerance, and repulsive irreverence of the man are not sufficiently blamed. I cannot agree that they are even set down, as they might easily have been, in a treatise conspicuous for fairness and balance. Once again, in his refreshing reaction against the overweening "cocksureness" of some Hegelians, and in his sane opposition to the dry intellectualism of many idealists, Professor Caldwell betrays a leaning towards an abstract treatment of the Will, as if it, in separation from the other psychological primary constituents, were sufficient to provide a basis for a complete philosophy. The stress laid upon the office of Will is timely and important, but several expressions employed in this connection bear a distinctly dangerous construction—or misconstruction. Finally, much as he might approve the matter of the work, Schopenhauer could hardly extend invariable commendation to its manner. The style is unequal. Here and there excellent, even pointed, sayings meet the eye, yet sometimes the sentences jar the ear or puzzle the mind for a moment. When, in a single sentence, the infinitive occurs six times, and is backed by a seventh "to" as the sign of the dative, one cannot help protesting (p. 94). Quite a number of similar instances might be cited. It must be enough here to mention this example, and to insist that style enhances a philosophical work greatly ; indeed, as matters generally stand, it is of the last importance.

Yet, as has been said already, the defects of Professor Caldwell's work are probably inseparable from its merits. The author's perception that Schopenhauer was no mere dreamer, but a significant thinker, has insensibly led him to that kindliness towards faults to which many might take legitimate exception. The sympathy, indispensable to a fair estimate of any philosophical system, is responsible for the tendency to over-emphasize the importance of Schopenhauer's contribution to the theory of Will. And this is in no wise lessened by Professor Caldwell's altogether justifiable opinion, that in their forgetfulness of the office of Will, the great German idealists led themselves into many difficulties that might have been avoided, and created problems which, after all, are more

apparent than real. The defects of style, too, cannot be harshly treated, for they are the obvious accompaniments of a desire to eschew fine writing, to be rid of phrase-making, and to lend the clearest possible expression to ideas that have hitherto been only too much obscured by technical or misleading language. No doubt, Professor Caldwell was handicapped by the fact that the time for a final treatise on Schopenhauer has scarcely arrived. We stand too near him, and are still profoundly troubled by conflicts raging round not a few of the chief problems to which he was so ready to give dogmatic solution. Nevertheless, the book is remarkable for its sanity, and no future worker in the same field can afford to neglect it. The very circumstance that Professor Caldwell has no system of his own is, at the present juncture, of happy omen for his appreciation of this author.

Not one of the chapters into which the book is divided lacks interest, and several are distinct contributions, not merely to the history of philosophy, but also to the elucidation of fundamental questions. While the first chapter, on "Schopenhauer's Significance," is disappointing in some ways, mainly on account of Professor Caldwell's reaction from panlogism, that on "Schopenhauer's Idealism" furnishes compensation. The analysis here elaborated of the kinds of idealism, and of their relation to Schopenhauer's modes of thought, is both original and striking. Curiously enough, chapters three and four present a similar contrast. The latter, on "The Bondage of Man," is clearly superior to the former, on "Schopenhauer's Theory of Knowledge." Indeed, one may say generally, that when Professor Caldwell treats the psychology and ethics of his author, he is happier than in the more distinctively abstract spheres of epistemology and metaphysics. There are two excellent sections on "Schopenhauer's Philosophy of Art," and the discussion of his "Philosophy of Religion" presents many points of interest, although it suffers from a lack of a definite view on the writer's part and from his undeveloped religious affinity. Nevertheless, it is to be remembered that these very traits are by no means without value to one who desires to mete out just measure to the Frankfort pessimist. More than likely they might be absent in a work on another subject from the same hand. "The Positive Aspects of Schopenhauer's System" are summed up in a fine piece of analysis. But here, more markedly than elsewhere, Professor Caldwell's tendency to treat the Will abstractly masters him. Yet there is a remedy for this. And many will, consequently, look forward with interest to the period when Professor Caldwell, having forsaken the process of double refraction, proceeds to furnish forth a systematic treatise embodying his own interpretation of the "World as Will." Till then it would be premature to pass censure

on a reading for which this volume supplies much relative evidence. If careful scholarship can lend aid in the future, Dr Caldwell has it in unusual measure.

R. M. WENLEY.

Life and Letters of Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., sometime Hulsean Professor and Lady Margaret Reader in Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

By his Son, Arthur Fenton Hort, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., 1896. 2 vols. cr. 8vo, pp. 475, 505. Price, 17s. net.

No fitter motto could have been selected for a life of Dr. Hort than the sentence which is given on the title page of these volumes—"A life devoted to truth is a life of vanities abased and ambitions forsworn." The words are those of Dr. Hort himself, and they go to the heart of a character and a career which it is good for us to know. To have left that career unwritten would have been unpardonable. To write it so as to secure the interest and appreciation of the public was nevertheless an anxious undertaking. To tell the story of a scholar who courted the shade, whose years passed quietly by without great event or stirring passage, who sacrificed all ambitions for the sake of the studious pursuit of truth, is not an easy task for any one to face. It becomes a much more difficult task when the biographer is the subject's son. A critical biography is then out of the question, as Mr Hort confesses, and the risk is great that the writer may either fall by reserve into a flat and colourless narrative, or else be betrayed by filial feeling into exaggerated statements. Mr Hort has avoided both extremes. The father deserved all the veneration of the son, but the son's reverence has not led him to pitch his note too high. Neither has the sensitiveness which is natural to the son in such circumstances been allowed to take the life out of his account of the distinguished father. Mr Hort deserves the praise of having done his part with perfect taste, with good sense and admirable sobriety, and with such a regard for the absolute truth of things as that by which his father was so honourably known. He has given us, in short, the kind of memoir which one is glad to have—a memoir just in its estimates, attempting neither too little nor too much, entirely frank and fair in the particulars which it furnishes, and taking abundant advantage of the materials provided by Dr. Hort himself. Fortunately, though Dr. Hort lacked the faculty of unbosoming himself in conversation except in the case of his few most intimate friends,

he had a remarkable gift and a no less remarkable unreserve in letter-writing. His turn in this direction asserted itself even when he was a boy at school, and all through his life it was in his correspondence that he made the freest discovery of his opinions and his sentiments. He left behind him a great mass of letters, and these have been used so as to make him speak for himself. We are brought in this way very close to the man, the scholar, the churchman, the politician, the teacher, the friend, the father. Mr Hort has judged rightly in giving his narrative this form. His book is one that will be prized by scholars, and by no means by these alone. It will help even those who were most closely associated with Dr. Hort, and enjoyed most of his friendship, to know him better; and it will reveal to those outside that very select circle much that will have the force of novelty and surprise. It discloses a variety of gifts, a fertility of ideas, a multitude of pursuits, a width of interests for which few can have been prepared. At the same time it throws no veil over either his limitations and prepossessions or those failings and defects of which he was himself acutely conscious.

The particulars of his life are sufficiently told in these memorial volumes. The first volume gives the story of his parentage, his school days, his career in Cambridge as under-graduate and as graduate, and the first period of his ministry. The second volume opens with the years which the state of his health compelled him to spend in Cheltenham and among the Alps, and with the last period of his parish work. The bulk of it is devoted, however, with excellent judgment, to the narrative of his life and work as Lecturer and Professor in Cambridge, his associations with Drs Lightfoot, Westcott, and others, and the various literary projects, finished and unfinished, in which he became engaged. Some prayers and hymns of his composition are printed in an appendix. An excellent index is provided, and a list of his printed works is given. Mr Hort has done well to add a full report of the meeting which was held in Trinity College Lodge on the 22nd February 1892, for the purpose of providing a suitable memorial. The addresses which were delivered on that occasion are worth preserving in this way. They have more than a passing interest. They have the value which belongs to the careful estimates of distinguished men, who could look at Dr Hort and his work from very different points of view.

Fenton John Anthony Hort was of English extraction, but Irish nativity. He was born in Dublin on the 23rd April 1828, the son of Fenton Hort, grandson of Sir John Hort, Consul General at Lisbon, and great-grandson of another Hort who was brought up a Nonconformist, became the life-long friend of Dr Isaac Watts, afterwards joined the Church of England, and rose to be Archbishop of Tuam.

His parents returning to England and settling in Cheltenham, he was sent to the school of the Rev. John Buckland at Laleham when he was eleven years old. Here he received a training in exact grammatical knowledge, which was a happy preparation for his future work. In 1841 he entered Rugby, not long before Arnold's death, when John Conington was the best boy in the Sixth Form. Here he had the advantage of the instructions of Mr Bonamy Price, of whom he always spoke with enthusiasm, and to whom he held himself more indebted than to any of his school teachers. "To him," he declared so late as 1871, "I owe all scholarship and New Testament criticism." In Rugby he was led to decide for the Church as his profession, and a letter sent to his parents at the time, shows the serious consideration with which he made his choice. In these Rugby days, too, the death of his bright young brother Arthur "desolated him with a grief," as the narrative expresses it, "which, young as he was, had made a permanent mark upon him."

In October 1846 he went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, in which city the most of his active life was destined to be spent. In the University he gave himself to a wide range of subjects, classical, philosophical, and scientific, and earned a variety of distinctions. He entered with zest into the whole life of the place, and took an energetic interest in the great questions and movements which were then engaging men's minds—Christian Socialism and others. In due time he obtained his Fellowship, and finished his residence in 1856. Next year he was presented to St Ippolyts-cum-Great-Wymondley, a small College living about two miles from Hitchin. Here he was married, and settled down to the careful discharge of the duties of a rural vicar. His parochial ministry lasted fifteen years. It was interrupted by a breakdown in health, which made it necessary for him to abstain from parish work during the years 1863-1865. It came to an end in 1872, when he removed to Cambridge to take up a position for which he was better suited. He valued his work and loved his people in St Ippolyts, and spared no pains to do his best for both. But his natural reserve, his inability to bring himself alongside men, and the difficulty which he had in adapting himself and his ministrations to a flock like that of St Ippolyts, stood in the way of that measure of success and comfort in his work for which he longed.

It was in some sense, therefore, a relief to himself and to his friends, though not without its regrets also to him, when in December 1871 there came the offer of a Fellowship and a Lectureship in Theology in Emmanuel College. For six years he continued to lecture to students of Theology in that College on Origen, Irenaeus, Clement, and several of the New Testament books. In 1878 he

was elected to succeed Dr J. J. S. Perowne in the Hulsean Professorship of Divinity. In 1887 he was elected to the Lady Margaret's Readership in Divinity on the death of Dr Swainson. But in all these positions his work continued essentially the same. The nineteen or twenty years which he spent in Cambridge as Lecturer or Professor were years of congenial and fruitful work. His life, which had always been a toilsome one, became still more crowded, if that were possible, with labours and endeavours of many kinds, notwithstanding it was beaten by physical infirmities. These were the years when he gathered around him a band of disciples, to whom his name became a kind of *cultus*, and in which he did his most important work. These were the years in which he published his *Two Dissertations*, and many of his best articles in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and elsewhere; in which, too, he saw the completion of the *New Testament in Greek*, on which Dr Westcott and he had spent a quarter of a century of conjoint patient toil.

It is by this last work that he will be best known. It is a curious fact, however, that the pursuit of those studies in which he became most distinguished, and in which he has done such signal service to sacred learning, was less of his own choice and preference than the result of circumstance. His original intentions and hopes lay in another direction. Towards the end of his life, in 1889, we find him expressing himself thus—"It is only by accident, so to speak, that I have had to occupy myself with texts, literary and historical criticism, or even exegesis of Scripture. What from earliest manhood I have most cared for, and what I have at all times longed to have the faculty and the opportunity to speak about, is what one may call fundamental doctrine, alike on its speculative and on its historical side, and especially the relations of the Gospel to the Jewish and Gentile 'preparations,' and its permanent relations to all human knowledge and action." This is a remarkable statement. From some things which he has left behind him we can judge how much he might have achieved in those departments of inquiry to which he refers as the subjects of his earliest and most cherished desires. But it would be difficult to suppose that he could have done more for his time than he has done by his work on the Revised Version and the Greek Text of the New Testament. In the scientific enunciation of the principles of Textual Criticism, he has not only carried on the succession of the great critics, but has surpassed them all. In this he has accomplished a work which is not for one generation, but for many.

Mr Hort has devoted a good many pages to a statement of his father's contributions to Textual Criticism, his idea of the science, his classification of documents, the principles and methods on which he proceeded. We are glad that he has done so. The importance

of the subject, the misapprehensions to which Dr Hort's criticism has been exposed, and the difficulty which those unversed in these matters have in following him through all its details, make such a statement appropriate in his biography, and in Mr Hort's pages we get a clear and succinct exposition of the second volume of the *New Testament in Greek*. That volume surpasses all that has been written before or after it in scientific grasp of the problem. Had Dr Hort done nothing else than write this exposition of principles he would have had a distinguished position among Biblical scholars. He claimed nothing like finality himself for his criticism, neither need anyone claim that for him. But the text at which he laboured with Dr Westcott, and the discussion of methods which we owe to him in the second volume of the work in question, may be safely said to represent the best that the materials at our disposal have made it practicable to attain to. It will remain a notable memorial of searching investigation and scientific procedure. It will form the starting point for such changes and developments as the enlargement of our materials may make possible.

But though these important studies engaged so much of his time and energy, they were by no means his only studies. For nothing indeed was he more remarkable than for the great range of his interests and pursuits. He had a large acquaintance with botany, a taste for which showed itself in his earliest youth. He had a great talent for historical and philosophical enquiries. He was a skilful exegete, and a diligent student of early Christian literature. His letters reveal to us a mind keenly interested in many different lines of inquiry, and able to deal with each of them with knowledge and authority. The breadth of his interests and the variety of his gifts became indeed his weakness. They betrayed him into diffusing his energies over too large a field for any one to master, and into the habit of projecting more literary undertakings than even the most unwearied of workers could overtake.

The amount of published matter that he left behind him is considerable, and it is all of the greatest value. It is but a small part, however, of what he thought of accomplishing. His extreme fastidiousness stood in the way of large production. He had such a sense of what the work of a parish vicar should be, and such difficulty in satisfying himself with anything that he did for his pulpit and people, that his preparation of discourses became a perfect pain to him. The same extreme fastidiousness, the same exacting idea of what the mastery of a subject implied, clung to him in all his academic and literary work. It gave to everything that he did publish an unusual worth and weight. But it stayed his hand too often from publication, and left him with much unfinished that had occupied him for years.

The independence of his mind was seen in his religious, ecclesiastical, and political relations as in all things else. He was of the evangelical school by his mother's training and other early influences. But he felt the force of the Oxford movement, and he came largely under the spell of Coleridge and Maurice. To Maurice he probably owed more than to any other religious teacher. Writing to Kingsley he speaks of Maurice as the man "to whom we both, I believe, owe under God nearly all the better part of our being, and not least the desire, and in part the power, of calling no man our master, but learning the truth from the strangest and most dissimilar quarters." His admiration for Maurice was profound; yet it is the case that he called no man master in these things. He was a pronounced Churchman, and seems neither to have understood Nonconformity nor to have allowed himself much intercourse with Nonconformists. Yet there was much in the High Churchmanship of his time with which he had small sympathy. He declared himself to have "a deeply rooted agreement with High Churchmen as to the Church, ministry, sacraments, and, above all, creeds, though by no means acquiescing in their unhistorical and unphilosophical treatment of theology, or their fears and antipathies generally." And he could both appreciate and help those who did not think with him. He could keep his head cool even in times of keen political agitation and do justice to political opponents. While even men like his friend Dr Westcott were tempted to think all manner of evil of Mr Gladstone in connection with the Bill for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, he gave him ungrudging credit for honesty and purity of motive.

But it is impossible to say here all that these volumes suggest. They tell us much that is of the deepest interest about the progress of Dr Hort's studies, his literary projects and their fate, the associations which he formed with many distinguished men, his attitude to the social movements of his time, his opinions of books and their authors. They furnish us with many choice criticisms of English men of letters and of theologians of many schools. They help us above all to understand better than before one of the richest thinkers, most profound scholars, and most disciplined and many-sided intellects that Cambridge has nurtured in our day.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Kirchenrecht according to Sohm and Kahl.

Lehrsystem des Kirchenrechts und der Kirchpolitik. Von Dr Wilhelm Kahl, Professor der Rechte an der Universität Bonn. Erste Hälfte. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo. M.1.50.

PROFESSOR KAHL, now of the University of Bonn, has, during the last twenty years, published various books on the Church law of

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Bavaria, Westphalia and Mecklenburg. But he has also written an elaborate treatise on the general German law as to ecclesiastical endowments, and ten years ago he edited the *Kirchenrecht* of Richter-Dove. That he should at length put forth a *Lehrsystem* of his own might be supposed to be in the ordinary course of things. But it is not so, as he explains in his preface. This ponderous book, only the first half of which (dealing with introductory questions and general principles) is before us, is really an occasional treatise. It is no doubt an institute of Church law. But it is built up in order to meet the *Kirchenrecht* of Sohm, who has advanced the brilliant paradox that the relation of the Church to Church law is a relation of hostility and contradiction. "*Das Kirchenrecht steht mit dem Wesen der Kirche in Widerspruch.*" We shall borrow our account of Sohm from his generous adversary, for Kahl acknowledges that Sohm is not only a master in the realm of Church history and law, but already a "classic of the German tongue." And we shall find some reason to think that if we take *Kirchenrecht* in the sense accepted by both combatants, the truth is not unequally divided between them.

The apostolic church, Sohm holds, had no regular constitution or development. The original *ecclesia* had no bounds or locality: it was wherever two or three Christians assembled. And the whole body had only a *charismatic* organisation. The special charisma was that of teaching; and the functions of the Church were various as this or that truth was taught by it. But it has as yet no constitution. It was only as the Christian community became gradually transformed into organised corporations that it came to have to do with law, and the change was effected by the use of the Eucharist and the exclusive claim of the bishop. The degeneration from a "charismatic order" to a *Rechtsordnung* was effected when the Christian community became legally identified as the "community attached to a bishop." Then Christianity was exchanged for Catholicism; and a spiritual community for a legal community, with a fixed constitution. Luther, like the other Reformers, saw this, and he at least rejected all Church law, divine as well as human—rejected Church law "as such." "*Die Kirche Christi will kein Kirchenrecht*" is the sum of the Lutheran teaching, while the Reformed branch of Protestantism, on the other hand, demanded a church which, like the Catholic, should possess a constitution and a law. It is true that the Lutheran churches have now fallen under the sway of *Kirchenrecht*, even more than the Reformed. But that was by the usurpation of authority (*Obrigkeit*) over them by the German princes, largely after Luther's death, and contrary to that great man's original principles, though he submitted to it as an unfortunate necessity. But since his time

they have accepted it more and more continually. And so, "while the early Church was a purely spiritual, and the Catholic Church was a worldly-spiritual organisation, the Evangelical Church (alike in the judgment of law, and as it stands before us to-day) is a purely worldly organisation." It may subserve the purposes of the real Church of Christ, but it is not, and it does not even represent that Church. For the nature (*Wesen*) of the Church is spiritual; but the nature of *Recht* is worldly; and the relation of the one to the other is a relation of hostility or even of contradiction.

So far Sohm. Kahl points out that Adolph Von Scheurl of Erlangen has, especially in his book on the *Selbständigkeit des Kirchenrechts*, partly anticipated and partly answered Sohm. In his own answer he alleges three errors in Sohm's argument just stated. 1. Sohm assumes that the original charismatic organisation of the Church was to be permanent, and permanently binding. That is not so. There is no permanent or unalterable organisation. Catholics hold that there is, in the interest of the *Jus Divinum*, which is their *Recht*. But Protestants leave room for a free development of the Church according to outward circumstances and inward principles; and of these inward principles *Recht* is one, and it leads inevitably to a *Rechtsordnung* of some kind. 2. Sohm, Kahl complains, identifies the Church with the kingdom of God. But the Church is not that kingdom: it is not even its *Darstellung*. It is rather a means to the in-bringing of the kingdom throughout the world; and the Church works towards this by a long *Werdeprocess* in which it must recognise that *Recht* has an important place. That place the Church must recognise even in its own affairs; but this gradually increasing *Rechtsordnung* is not opposed to the being of the Church; rather, it is advantageous to its well-being. 3. Sohm nowhere clearly defines what he means by *Recht*, and throughout his book he tends to mix it up with the right to use force. But that is at best one of the privileges of *Recht*: it is not its being. *Rechtsgewalt* must not be identified with *Zwangsgewalt*. There is a function of law, of *Recht*, in the Church itself, prior to anything of the nature of force. That function is the function of order—of making the Christian community feel that it is a community, and arrange itself accordingly. Law, as force, is originally outside the Church. But law as a regulating power—*Recht als Regel*—is within it and of it from the beginning. And it cannot therefore be, as Sohm would have it, opposed to its original being. No doubt the essence and spirit of the Church is love. But when the community and its members have recognised that, the original *Liebespflicht*, in the process of *Rechtsordnung*, gradually becomes a *Rechtspflicht*. No doubt force comes in later on. (How it comes in belongs to Kahl's

doctrine of the relation to the Church of the State.) But if force, when it does come in, is used only to keep the Church legally together upon the lines of its original foundation—which were love and self-sacrifice—then *Recht*, even when it is backed, as in the development of human things it comes to be, by occasional force, is still essentially in harmony with the Church and with its original principles.

Kahl's answer to Sohm seems substantially sound, and the principles on which he bases the existence of *Recht* in the original Church of Christ seem to prove also its permanence in that Church through all time, its *Selbständigkeit*, and its development *ab intra*. But *Kirchenrecht*, as an historical product in modern Europe and modern Germany, shows a very different result, and requires not only another history but another theory to account for it. And Kahl, in revulsion from Sohm's "*stoffreich und geistvoll*" book, goes on to build up *Kirchenrecht* not only as it might have been, or as it ought to have been, but as it is. He adheres, indeed, to the definition of it as the *Gemeinschaftsordnung* of the association of believers in Christian truth. But he points out that this implies the selection or approval of a creed, apparently by the State; and also that the Church must be distinguished from the sects. *Kirchenrecht* is a part of public law, or, at least, in order to its existence it must be acknowledged by the supreme power (a view which, of course, deprives the ancient Church of it during its first three hundred years, and restores to Sohm half of his case. Coercion and force are not necessary, Kahl grants, to the being of a Church. But they are necessary to its well-being. And as they can only be derived from the State, and as the State will not meddle with the inward dispositions of church members, but only with their external relations to word, sacrament and organisation, and even with those only with a view to carry out the original plan and purpose of the Church, *Recht* must always be viewed in its relation to the supreme power. Not that Church power or functions are derived from the State, but they must always be exercised within and under the State, which has a certain duty of superintendence and supervision, guardianship and restriction, over every association within it. This is the system of the *Kirchenhoheit* of the State, which is rightly described as the *herrschende System* of modern Germany, and which is sketched with much more ability in the well-known book of *Richter-Dove*. It is, of course, difficult to find a theoretical basis for it; indeed it seems stamped on every side with the mark of compromise between systems which are more consistent but not convenient to carry out in practice. In a chapter entitled "Diagnosis and Prognosis," Kahl refers to the system of

"Co-ordination," but remarks that it is only practicable when one of the parties is the Catholic—by which he means the Roman Catholic—Church. But by co-ordination he means rather what we should call the system of Concordats, in which the bounds of the action of the State and the Church respectively are determined, not by general principles, but by positive and detailed agreement between the two parties. Nowhere in this volume is there an attempt to reason out the question whether the duty of the State would not be sufficiently discharged by its recognising the *Rechtsordnung*, which Kahl has proved to be natural and necessary to the Church, and therefore an existing fact, as simply existing; and by its dealing with it (when applied to by anyone having interests to carry it out into civil affairs), on the same principles of fairness and justice as are applied to other facts within its scope. In his Prognosis our author admits the attraction of separation of Church and State as the chief programme for the future. It is a scheme which combines "simplicity, equity and freedom for both parties." It has thus a certain magic for the democracy on the one side, and for the High Church on the other. But it is not the ideal—"at least so far as the relations of Church and State in Germany are concerned." It means on the one hand unlimited freedom of belief to the individual, but on the other, absolute indifference to truth on the part of the State. But the main argument against it is derived from the international and extra-territorial position of the Roman Catholic Church, which should not be set absolutely free; for the State is bound to maintain its rights, even if, as Bismarck found with the May Laws, it is unable to push them as far as it desires into the region of actual Church function. And even if separation is to be the scheme of the future, there should be no sudden or radical breach with the past. The true road is that of Reform. But even Reform (in the direction of the Church and the State each confining itself more to its own matters) must be within the State and carried out under its *Hoheit*. The State must in all cases fix for the Church its boundaries of action. It is plain that if this is the meaning of *Kirchenrecht* (as distinguished from mere *Recht*), Sohm had a good deal to say for his theory of a hostility between it and the early Christian Church. But *Recht* and *Kirche* are really related to each other originally; and there will one day be a *Kirchenrecht* that can stand upon its own feet.

A. TAYLOR INNES.

**Die Palästinenischen Märtyrer des Eusebius von
Cäsarea, &c.**

*Von Bruno Violet. Texte und Untersuchungen: XIV. Band, Heft 4.
Leipzig, 1896. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.
8vo, pp. viii. and 178. Price, M.6.*

EUSEBIUS of Caesarea, in closing his catalogue of martyred Bishops (H.E. viii. 13. 7), undertook to provide a more detailed account of those martyrs with whom he or his friends had been personally acquainted. The carrying out of this purpose has always been recognised in the short work *περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν μαρτυρησάντων*, more commonly known as *De Martyris Palestinensibus*, which is found in most MSS. of the Ecclesiastical History. It is usually found as an Appendix to Book viii., though portions of it, the beginning and the end, are probably embedded in viii. 24 and 17. In other MSS. it appears at the end of Book x., and in at least one good MS. it is wanting altogether. But besides this, which Harnack calls the "shorter" recension, there is another "longer" recension, which is found either in whole or in part in Greek, Syriac and Latin. Part of one Syriac version was published by Asseman (1748); another, which is complete, was edited from a MS. in the British Museum by Cureton (1861), who showed conclusively that the Syriac is a translation. The Greek original, which must have been in existence in the tenth century, when it was in the hands of Simeon Metaphrastes, has since disappeared, with the exception of the section on the Martyrdom of Pamphilus and his companions. Of the Latin version the Martyrdom of Procopius is preserved by Valerius, that of Pamphilus by Lipomanus (1551).

It is the relation between these various versions of the longer recension, and the relation between the "longer" and the "shorter" recensions, of which Violet gives here a careful study. He has been fortunate in discovering further material in another portion of the Greek text containing the Martyrdom of Theodosia, which he has found in a Menology of the Munich Library. He has also collected a number of scattered fragments of the same text from other Menologies and Synaxaries. The first half of the work consists of a collection of these various versions of the longer recension. The foundation is provided by a careful translation of Cureton's Syriac text with the relative portion of Asseman, Lipoman, and the Greek text in parallel columns. This very complete and convenient collection of the material is followed by a discussion (pp. 121-174).

It will suffice here to summarise the results at which Violet arrives; the evidence is derived entirely from a minute comparison

of the texts. (1) Asseman's Syriac is derived from Cureton's. (2) Many of the variations in the former are due to an intention to modify in an orthodox sense all those phrases in the latter which lean towards Arianism by suggesting the subordination of the Second Person. (3) The titles in Cureton's version are probably due to the author himself. (4) It cannot be maintained (as Viteau has lately done) that the longer recension is more oratorical and didactic than the shorter. (5) Both recensions are the work of Eusebius; but whereas Lightfoot concludes that "the shorter recension belongs to a later work in which the sufferings of the martyrs were set off against the deaths of the persecutors," Violet maintains that in the shorter we have a "Vorarbeit gar nicht für die Öffentlichkeit bestimmt"; the longer is "undeniably a far better constructed work"; the martyrdoms are related on a more consistent scale. It is to be observed also that while the longer recension was translated into Syriac as early as 411, and excerpted in all the old Menologies, Greek, Syriac, and Coptic, of the shorter there is not a trace save in the Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrologies directly deriving thence. Violet therefore concludes that in the shorter recension we have a first draft which has been preserved only by an accident.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

Notices.

It would have been strange if so notable a divine and academic teacher as the late Dr James M'Cosh of Princeton had been suffered to pass away without some record of his strenuous and successful career. It is a satisfaction, therefore, to have now a *Life*¹ of the distinguished President, prepared by one who knew and appreciated him, by no means too long, and presented in a very handsome form. It is all the greater a satisfaction that the book is in the main an autobiography. The editor does not obtrude himself, but lets his subject tell his own story. There are reasons why we could have wished a *Life* of another kind, with more of an independent estimate of the man, and with more art in the narrative of his career. But in the circumstances of the case, and with so much matter in Dr M'Cosh's own hand, the editor has probably chosen the more fitting way in keeping himself in the background, and attempting little more than to give his subject's own memoranda and letters with the necessary connections and explanations.

Born in 1811 and dying in 1894, James M'Cosh lived through the most part of the century. He followed with an open and discern-

¹ The *Life* of James M'Cosh. A Record chiefly Autobiographical. Edited by William Milligan Sloane. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. vi. 287. Price, 9s.

ing eye the movements in political, social, scientific, philosophical, and religious affairs by which it has been distinguished. For sixty years he was himself an energetic worker, taking an active interest in most things that occupied the public mind, exercising a considerable influence in this country, and a larger influence in America. He was the friend and associate of many of the leading men on both sides of the Atlantic. His recollections of old times, therefore, and his matured and final judgments on controversies, changes, and endeavours which occupied much of men's attention and interest a quarter of a century or half a century ago, are worth having. These form a large part of the book, and they are full of interest.

His active career was divided between Scotland, Ireland, and America. Educated in the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, he became a minister of the Church of Scotland, first in Arbroath and then in Brechin. When the long conflict over the rights of the people and the freedom of the ecclesiastical courts in Scotland came to its close, he threw in his lot with Thomas Chalmers, of whose policy he had been an enthusiastic supporter, and whom he continued to revere as the greatest man he had known, and became a minister in the Free Church of Scotland. The publication of his book on *The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral*, drew the attention of the learned world to him, and led to his appointment to a Chair of Logic and Metaphysics in Belfast. The next eighteen years of his life were spent in useful work in Ireland. But in 1868 the President of Princeton College died. Dr M'Cosh was elected to succeed him, and the rest of his career was passed in America. He gave twenty years of laborious service to Princeton, raising the College to great eminence; enlisting the munificent support of the wealthy for the many schemes which he projected for its enlargement and better equipment, and gathering round him bands of devoted students. He taught much, and wrote on many subjects, educational, religious, scientific, and above all philosophical. His ambition was to found a philosophical school in Princeton, and he did much for the promotion of metaphysical studies in America. In some things he was ahead of the current thought of his class and country. On the question of Evolution, in particular, he took a liberal and enlightened position long before the trend of American opinion even among the educated went at all that way.

From the *Life* we can see what James M'Cosh was—a Scot of the Scots, a man with obvious mannerisms and limitations, but of indomitable resolution, extraordinary powers of work, acute intellect, and deep religious conviction, a patriotic citizen, too, and a lover of nature and of home. The book will be read with interest both for what it shows of Dr M'Cosh himself, and for what it has to say of

many distinguished men, Carlyle, Chalmers, Sir William Hamilton, The Marquis of Dufferin, Mr Gladstone, Thomas Guthrie, Alexander von Humboldt, The Chevalier Bunsen, Hugh Miller, Michelet, Christopher North, and others.

The value of the investigations which Dr H. Clay Trumbull gave to the public in his book on *The Blood Covenant*, has been widely recognised. In that book his object was to explain the origin of sacrifice and the significance of "transferred or proffered blood or life." The facts which he registered there were seen to have an important bearing both upon certain doctrines of Scripture and upon some of the most deeply rooted ideas of the Ethnic systems. He publishes here a volume of a similar kind on *The Threshold Covenant ; or, The Beginning of Religious Rites*.¹ It enters what is to a large extent an untrodden field. It has all the charm, therefore, of novelty, and it brings together a mass of facts not less important or interesting than those given in the former book. The primitive family altar, the earliest temple altar, the sacred boundary line, the Hebrew "Pass-over or Cross-over Sacrifice," and the Christian Passover, are among the subjects which it handles. On all these it has much curious matter to submit, which points to conclusions of great importance. It exhibits in particular the primitive character and world-wide extent of the rite of the Threshold Covenant, with the ideas attached to it. It seeks an answer to the question how primitive peoples in all parts of the world came to give a sacred meaning to the threshold of hut, tent, cave, house, palace, temple, and domain, and to "count its crossing by blood a form of holy covenanting between the parties engaged in it and the deity invoked in the ceremony." His induction of facts leads him to the result that this threshold rite takes us back to the beginning of family life, that it originated in the "covenant union between the first pair in their instituting of the family relation," and that "blood was early recognised as life, its outpouring as the pledge and gift of life, and its interchange as a life covenant between those who shared its substance." The history of the ideas connected with this rite, the outgrowths of the rite, and its chief perversions, are also carefully stated. In connection with the main topic, too, other subjects of great interest, such as the symbolism of the tree and the serpent in Scripture and elsewhere, come under consideration.

The important series of publications issuing from the Clarendon Press under the general title of *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, proceeds with happy regularity. The ninth part of Vol. I.² (Semitic Series) is now

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 335. Price, 6s. 6d.

² *Anecdota Oxoniensia*. Texts, Documents, and Extracts, chiefly from manuscripts in the Bodleian and other Oxford Libraries. Semitic Series, Vol. I., Part ix. Edited by G. H. Gwilliam, B.D., Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford, F.

before us. It contains a number of Biblical and Patristic Relics of the Palestinian Syriac Literature. These are published from manuscripts in the Bodleian, and in the Library of St Catherine on Mount Sinai. The Biblical and Apocryphal Fragments include: Exodus xxviii. 1-12a, Wisdom ix. 8b—x. 2, 3, Kings ii. 106-15a, and ix. 4-5a, Job xxii. 3b-12. They are taken from two leaves which are connected, as we have them, with the leaf of *Numbers* formerly published. There is not a little to favour the idea that these leaves belonged originally to one and the same MS. An examination of the caligraphy, however, leads the editors to conclude that that was not the case, but that two of them at least are separated by a considerable interval. In addition to these we have a number of fragments of Ancient Homilies which were discovered by Mrs Bensly in the binding of a late Arabic MS., in 1893, in the Convent of St Catherine. These Homilies treat of St Peter and the Flood, and contain some curious things. Ararat is taken as Christ the Rock, on which "The wandering Ark of the Gentiles finally rests." There is the story, too, of the Cedars which Noah was instructed to plant, with a view to the building of the Ark; which is taken to be rather a Jewish legend than a Christian. The original text is given in each case, and is accompanied by a translation and explanatory notes. The names of the editors, Messrs Gwilliam, Burkitt, and Stenning, are guarantees for trustworthy work. In 1893, Mr Gwilliam published *The Palestinian Version of the Holy Scriptures: Five more Fragments recently acquired by the Bodleian Library*. In the present volume he refers to that work, and notes certain additions and corrections occasioned by a fresh collation of the Bodleian Fragments made by Mr Stenning.

The late Dr Alfred Edersheim's *History of the Jewish Nation*¹ supplied a felt want when it was originally published in 1856. Nor has anything quite taken its place since then. When Dr Edersheim wrote it, he was a minister of the Free Church of Scotland in Old Aberdeen. He went afterwards to England, and became associated with the scholars of Oxford. It is a fitting thing, therefore, that two Oxford names should appear on the title page of this new edition. The book is revised by the Rev. H. A. White, of New College, and has the benefit of a Preface by Professor Sanday. It required to be brought up to date in many things, so long a time having elapsed since its first issue. Mr White has done the editorial work with judgment, making all the changes and additions which the circumstances of the case require or permit. All material

Crawford Burkitt, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, and John F. Stenning, M.A., Senior Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1896. 4to, pp. 113. Price, 12s. 6d.

¹ London: Longmans. 8vo. pp. xiv. 533. Price, 18s.

alterations, which are due to the editor's hand, are carefully marked off as such. Under these auspices and in this new form, the book will have a fresh career of usefulness. Its style is pleasant and the grouping of its matter is good ; occasionally it rises into eloquence. In not a few pages we feel the beat of the Jewish heart of the writer. Its most distinctive note perhaps is its Rabbinical learning. Critical students will no doubt find in it much to dissent from and much to question. But it has qualities which do more than justify its republication, and in this revised edition it is likely to hold the field for a length of time with the mass of English readers.

It covers the entire period from the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus to the extinction of the Patriarchate and the final dispersion of the Jews. It begins with the story of the Commonwealth and the "closing scenes of the Jewish War of Independence." Then follow instructive chapters on the Dispersion, the political and religious state of the Jews after the destruction of their capital, etc. The history of the Synagogue is given at length from the return from the captivity on to the times after the last Jewish war. The seventh chapter furnishes a very vivid account of the last struggle of the nation under Bar Cochba. The closing chapters are of special interest for the account they give of the social condition of Palestine, the life of the people, their attainments in poetry, music, and science, and above all, their religious beliefs and theological ideas. Other subjects of importance, the Great Synagogue, the Calendar, Rabbinical Exegesis, &c., are dealt with in Appendices. The last Appendix, which is by the Editor, is on the *De Vita Contemplativa* ascribed to Philo, the genuineness of which Edersheim accepted. It gives a full account of the state of opinion on the subject up to the publication of Conybeare's work in 1895.

Dr James I. Good's volume on *The Origin of the Reformed Church in Germany* took a gratifying place among American contributions to Ecclesiastical History when it was published, now some eight or nine years ago. It has been followed by another volume on *The History of the Reformed Church in Germany*,¹ which continues the study begun in the earlier book. It embraces the whole period between 1620 and 1890, and gives an excellent account of the affairs of the Church, both external and internal. It opens with a well written chapter on the Thirty Years' War. In the five succeeding books it deals with the French Refugees, the Ravage of the Palatinate, Pietism, Rationalism, and the Union. In a concluding book it presents the statistics of the Church, and expounds its doctrinal position. It is a work that should have the attention of English students of the history of the

¹ Reading, Pa. : Daniel Miller. Cr. 8vo, pp. 646.

Church in Germany. The sketches of men like Lampe, Tersteegen, Krummacher, Jung Stilling, Ullmann, Lange, Heppe, and others, are of special interest.

We are indebted to another American scholar for a translation of Thelemann's instructive volume on the *Heidelberg Catechism*.¹ Thelemann's work is one of recognised value; it passed into its second edition in 1891. It gives a short introductory statement under the title of "Outline and Structure of the Catechism." It then takes each Question by itself, and expounds the Answer clause by clause. An important appendix follows, in which we have a succinct and informing history of the Catechism. The work furnishes an admirable guide to one of the noblest of all Confessional books. In this excellent translation English readers now have an opportunity of making themselves thoroughly acquainted with it. It will be to the loss of our common Protestantism if a document which gives so vital an expression to the great doctrines of the Reformed Churches is left unstudied and unappreciated.

In *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*² Dr F. H. Chase of Christ's College, Cambridge, continues the studies of which his volume on *The Old Syriac Element in the text of Codex Bezae* was the earlier result. In that volume he attempted to account for certain phenomena of the Bezan text of the Book of Acts, by the supposition of the operation of an Old Syriac Element. In the present volume he carries the inquiry into the Gospels. Here he has much more to work upon. In the Book of Acts he had no direct evidence to offer. In the Gospels he can work with the Sinaitic and Curetonian MSS., the Arabic Tatian, Ephraem's Commentary, and Aphraat's Quotations. His object is to make good the position that "assimilation to Old Syriac texts was a predominant factor in the formation of the Greek and Latin so-called 'Western' texts of the Gospels." He uses the term *Syro-Latin* text, *Syro-Latin* authorities, as preferable to the term "Western," which most feel now to be inexact. Taking Codex Bezae as the representative of this text, he examines in connection with it all the kindred authorities, especially, of course, the Old Latin. This is done in a very painstaking way. The questions on which critics are divided, especially as to the Latin and Syriac elements in the Bezan text, are by no means settled. But Dr Chase has constructed a very considerable argument in support of his position. The main conclusions which he reaches are these: that the *Syro-Latin* text was

¹ An Aid to the Heidelberg Catechism. By Rev. Otto Thelemann, Detmold, Germany. Translated by Rev. M. Peters, A.M., B.D., Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in the Ursinus School of Theology. Reading, Pa.: James I. Good. 8vo, pp. xxiv. 512.

² London: Macmillan & Co, 1895. 8vo, pp. x. 148. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

a gradual growth; that the approximate date for the Bezan text of Acts is 180 A.D., and that of the Bezan text of the Gospels between 170 A.D. and 180 A.D.; that the phenomena of the Bezan text appear to be due to definite assimilation to a Syriac text, or to the work of a bilingual scribe; that the interpolations in the Bezan text are explained by the circumstances that it "arose in a bilingual Church," and that the Syro-Latin text was "in process of formation before the second century was far advanced"; and that the most probable birth-place of the Syro-Latin text is Antioch. These conclusions are based on the fact that there are readings of different kinds in the Syro-Latin authorities for the text of the Gospels, which "betray their Syriac origin"; on the presence of abundant signs of harmonistic influence; on the nature of the interpolations and omissions; and on the fact that "Syro-Latin readings given by Codex Bezae are found in Irenaeus, Marcion and Justin."

The second number of the third volume of the valuable series of *Texts and Studies*, edited by Professor J. Armitage Robinson, contains the Latin version of the *Fourth Book of Ezra*,¹ on which the late Professor Bensly spent so much labour. It gives for the first time in print the entire book in the Latin version, the missing fragment of the seventh chapter which Professor Bensly was so fortunate as to discover being included. In preparing this interesting edition, Mr. Bensly was able to use four out of the five manuscripts. The fifth came too late to be completely available. The text is printed as it came from Professor Bensly's hands. It is accompanied by copious lists of various readings. It is followed by useful appendices and by indices of Latin words and proper names. An introduction, extending to nearly eighty pages, is contributed by Mr. James, which gives full particulars about the manuscripts, the Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Armenian versions, the other writings attributed to Ezra, the ancient quotations from the book, and other matters. The volume is not all that it might have been had the lamented author been spared to carry it through the press. There are some slips, but they seem few. Mr. James has done his best with a very difficult task. The result is an edition both completer and more exact than those of Fritzsche and Hilgenfeld.

To the same lamented hand, with the help of Mr Barnes of Peterhouse, we are indebted for an admirable edition of the Syriac Version of the *Fourth Book of Maccabees*.² The volume is dedi-

¹ The Latin Version edited from the MSS. by the late Professor Bensly and M. R. James, Litt.D. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1895. 8vo pp. xc. 107. Price, 5s. net.

² The Fourth Book of Maccabees and Kindred Documents in Syriac. First edited on Manuscript authority by the late R. L. Bensly, M.A., Lord Almoner's

cated to Dr Ceriani. It is appropriately so dedicated, not only because of the well-known learning of Dr Ceriani, but for a personal reason. When Professor Bensly had begun the work of copying the Syriac text as contained in a Cambridge Manuscript, he ascertained that Dr Ceriani had it in view to produce an edition from a couple of Milan Manuscripts. He communicated on the subject with the Milan scholar, but the result was that in the most generous manner Dr Ceriani not only gave up his intention, but collated his own two MSS. for the English editor. The work, the printing of which began some twenty-five years ago, is at last completed. The Syriac text, covering over 150 pages, is given with the utmost care, as it was prepared by Professor Bensly. Most of it, indeed, (some 136 pages,) was printed under his own eye, while the rest was left all ready for the printer. Mr Barnes supplies the Introduction, and admirable translations both of IV. Maccabees itself and of the other documents here printed along with it. These are six in number, including a Discourse of Gregory Nazianzen; two forms of a Discourse of Severus, the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch; an anonymous Discourse; a Madrasa of Ephrem; and an anonymous poem in twelve-syllable verses.

The Fourth Book of Maccabees is of no historical value. Its importance lies in the contribution it makes to our knowledge of Jewish thought and Jewish aspiration, in its relation to the New Testament, and in the question of the influence of Greek thought on Judaism. These matters, and also the value and affinities of the text, require further investigation.

The *Book of Joshua*,¹ in Haupt's critical edition of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament printed in colours, is by the hand of Professor W. H. Bennett, of Hackney and New Colleges, London. It is a comparatively small volume, but is done with care and moderation. The Critical Notes are brief and to the point. Nothing superfluous is introduced, nor is there any attempt at startling suggestions or speculations. A short account is given of the most recent forms of analysis proposed for the Book—as by Canon Driver, Mr Addis, and Herr Albers, and the differences between the several schemes are noticed. The work of Albers, while its ingenuity is recognised, is pronounced to be too minute and precise in its analyses for the data at our disposal. The presence of more than one Deuteronomistic hand in Joshua is admitted to be very pro-

Professor of Arabic and Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. With an Introduction and Translations by W. E. Barnes, B.D., Fellow of Peterhouse, formerly Lecturer at Clare College. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1895. 8vo. Price, 10s. net.

¹ Leipzig: Hinrichs; Baltimore: John Hopkins' Press; London: David Nutt, 1895. 4to, pp. 32. Price, 3s. net.

bable. It is added, however, that "this or any other analysis of the R^D sections between two or more Redactors has not yet been sufficiently tested to be regarded as established."

Professor Reinhold Seeberg of Erlangen publishes the first part of what promises to be a very useful *Handbook of the History of Dogmas*.¹ The present volume covers the formative period in both the Greek Church and the Western Church. It brings the history down to John of Damascus, Leo IV. and the Nicene Council of 787 A.D., in the former; and to Caesarius, the Canons of Orange, and Vincent of Lerins in the latter. In his idea of Dogma and the history of Dogma, Professor Seeberg follows explicitly neither the school of Baur and Harnack, nor that of Kliefoth and Thomasius. He has made diligent use, however, of the works of these teachers, and of the most important monographs which have been published by other hands in recent times. The treatment of the subject is strictly in accordance with the idea of a Handbook. It is also almost entirely objective. The author's aim is to let things speak for themselves. The great advantage of the book is that in each case it gives in full the leading passages on which the statement of the dogmatic position of a writer or a council is based. The reader can thus form his own judgment on every important point.

Professor Hermann Schultz is to be congratulated on the issue of a fifth edition of his *Alttestamentliche Theologie*.² Published in 1869, the book at once took rank as one of the most important contributions to the subject of which it treated. By 1885 it had gone into a third edition, and in three years after that there was a call for a fourth edition. Much has been written, however, since 1888. Of the publications, great and small, which have appeared within these seven years, Professor Schultz has been an observant student. The best results of these have been worked into this fifth edition, and the author's statements have been modified by them here and there. Some things have been omitted, and others have been added. The amount of change is considerable. But it is limited to minor points, and matters of detail for the most part. In no case, so far as we have noticed, is any serious alteration made. The work remains substantially what it was in its conception of the subject, in its plan, in its general construction of the ideas of the Old Testament, and in its interpretations of the most important

¹ Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte. Erste Hälfte. Die Dogmengeschichte der alten Kirche. Erlangen und Leipzig: Deichert. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1896. 8vo, pp. xii. 332. Price, M.5.40.

² Alttestamentliche Theologie. Die Offenbarungsreligion auf ihrer vorchristlichen Entwicklungsstufe dargestellt. Fünfte völlig umgearbeitete Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1896. 8vo, pp. vi. 660. Price, M.10.40.

passages of the Hebrew Scriptures. It is so widely recognised as a standard book on the Theology of the Old Testament, that it is superfluous to speak at length of its merits or its conclusions. There are other treatises on these important questions which have much to commend them, notably Oehler's, especially as now so far brought up to date. But Professor Schultz's work has qualities which make it indispensable for the student, and will ensure its passing into further editions.

The Archdeacon of London publishes the *Charge*¹ which he delivered to the clergy and churchwardens of the Archdeaconry in the month of May last. It is a vigorous statement and defence of Evangelical doctrine as contrasted with the teaching of the Church of Rome. The main points of the controversy regarding Church, Scripture, Creeds, the Papal Supremacy and Infallibility, Sin and Forgiveness, Penance, Purgatory, the Sacraments, the Veneration and Invocation of Saints and Angels, Image-worship, and the Worship of Relics, are dealt with one after the other in the spirit of a strong and well informed Protestantism, yet with due respect for all that is most worthy in the Roman Catholic system, and with charity towards those who differ.

Under the title of *The Revelation of the Christ*,² the author of the *Ethics of Gambling* republishes, with certain changes, a series of papers which were written for the *Sunday School Chronicle*. They are unpretending but instructive studies of the main incidents in the Life of our Lord. They are meant to furnish an answer to the question, How did Jesus reveal Himself as the Son of God? They will assist those, and young readers more especially, who wish to be brought face to face with the words and deeds of the Son of Man in their power and beauty. Among the best studies are those on the Growth of Jesus, His Baptism, His Authority over conscience, His Method, and the Principles of His Kingdom.

Dr George Wandel, of Strassburg, publishes a commentary on the *Epistle of James*,³ which is intended to meet the needs of the preacher as well as the scholar. It is addressed more to the former than to the latter. It takes no notice of questions of Textual Criticism, but accepts the text of Tischendorf. It gives the smallest possible place to the refutation of opposing

¹ Points at issue between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. The Fifth Charge of the Ven. William Macdonald Sinclair, D.D. London: Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. xii. 114.

² Familiar Studies in the Life of Jesus. By W. Douglas Mackenzie, M.A., Acting Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary. London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 303. Price, 3s. 6d.

³ Der Brief des Jakobus, exegetisch-praktisch behandelt. Leipzig: Deichert, 1896. 8vo, pp. iv. 195. Price, M. 2.50.

views, and spends little time on the difficult questions of Introduction. Its grand object is to furnish, in connection with the exegesis of the several paragraphs, such an exhibition of the practical teaching of the Epistle as shall be of service to the preacher, to younger theologians, and generally to those who read for edification. In this respect the volume gives much that is useful and well-considered.

Other three parts, the second, third, and fourth, of Professor H. J. Holtzmann's *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie*,¹ are now to hand. The publication proceeds, therefore, with commendable expedition, and the work grows in interest. The second part is occupied with the contemporary world of thought, the theological system of the Synagogue, the Alexandrine theology, and the current ideas on angels and intermediate beings, the Messiah, the Logos, &c. In accordance with the peculiar plan of publication, it also deals with the Pauline doctrines of sin, death, and the Person of Christ. The third and fourth parts complete the statement of the Alexandrine theology. The Preaching of Jesus is then taken up, and expounded in its presuppositions, and in its relation to the Law. Along with this comes the continuation of the study of Paulinism. The Apostle's teaching on Reconciliation, on the Righteousness of God, and on Ethics, the mystic elements in his doctrine, and his Eschatology, are expounded in succession. The last two sections are of special interest. An important chapter follows with the title of *Rückblick und Ausblick*. The author then passes on to *Deuteropaulinismus*, beginning with the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is impossible, however, to do justice to the work until it is all before us.

Dr J. Hamlyn Hill has done a much needed service by the publication of his *Dissertation on the Gospel Commentary of S. Ephraem the Syrian*.² We are already indebted to him for a translation of Tatian's Diatessaron from the Arabic version. In the present volume he gives us a welcome supplement to that, by putting us in possession of the Ephraem Fragments. The Introduction furnishes as complete an account of Ephraem himself as we can well get with our existing materials. The sources of our information, the particulars of Ephraem's life so far as they can be ascertained, his writings, and the various editions in which they have appeared, are all carefully stated. Dr Hill then proceeds to the main question, viz., whether the Gospel Commentary which we have in the Armenian edition of Ephraem's works and in the recent Latin

¹ Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo. Zweite Lieferung, pp. 49-96 and 49-96. Price M.1.50. Dritte und Vierte Lieferung, pp. 97-144 and 97-240. Price M.3.

² Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 177. Price, 7s. 6d.

version of Dr Moesinger, is the work of Ephraem and based upon Tatian's Diatessaron. The result of an elaborate examination of the evidence, both external and internal, is that the Commentary is by Ephraem, and that its groundwork is the Diatessaron. In making his way to this conclusion, Dr Hill has prepared a remarkable list of parallelisms between passages in the Armenian Commentary and passages in other works ascribed to Ephraem. He comes next to the question how far it is possible to reconstruct the Diatessaron by bringing together in their proper order the passages quoted in the Commentary. The answer to this question is given in the form of a complete collection of the Ephraem Fragments, in the order in which they stand in the Arabic Diatessaron. These are given in an English translation, the only complete rendering which we yet possess of them in our own language. The text of these Fragments has been revised by Professor Armitage Robinson, and everything has been done to secure accuracy, and to bring the narrative and the criticism up to date. The usefulness of this laborious and scholarly book is increased by the addition of a very full Scripture Index to Ephraem's works.

Of Mr J. Fulton Blair's book on *The Apostolic Gospel*¹ we must at present say less than we should wish to say. It is the result of much patient toil, and, we doubt not, of a sincere regard for truth. There is much to commend in it. It is an independent and fearless book. It is also, in many points, an acute study of great and perplexing questions. It has many valuable suggestions. It presents old questions in new lights, and compels us now and again to test and revise our conclusions. On the other hand there is much in it to regret, not a little immaturity, and at times a brusque and off-hand way, which is not over-reverent or sufficiently considerate of all that is involved. The bulk of the volume is occupied with a critical reconstruction of the text, in which all the main passages in the evangelical narratives are examined in detail. It is here that there is most to question in the criticism and the exegesis, and most of all, perhaps, in the pages given to the narratives of the Resurrection. The "Apostolic Gospel," which Mr Blair takes to be the groundwork of the evangelical records, begins with the Baptism of John and ends with the Empty Tomb. Outside these limits all is unhistorical or contains unhistorical elements, whatever other value it may have. Within these limits, too, the critical knife has its work to do. The Papias tradition is not to be taken as correct. Mark's Gospel is of the nature of a harmony, combining the various traditions, at first oral and afterwards written, which were current in different parts of the primitive Church, and gradually took form in answer to the needs of the Christian community. On the pro-

¹ London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1896. 8vo, pp. x. 393. Price, 12s. 6d.

blem of the sources of our Gospels, as on many other things, Mr Blair takes a course of his own. Much that he says, however, would carry us into an examination too particular and too detailed for our present limits. Not a little that is advanced in this book will probably be re-considered by himself.

The second part of Professor Paul Drews's edition of Luther's *Disputations*¹ at Wittenberg will be cordially welcomed by all students of the German Reformation. This volume includes the third Disputation against the Antinomians (13 Sept. 1538); that *De sententia: Verbum caro factum est* (January 1539); the one *De divinitate et humanitate Christi* (28 February 1540), and others of various degrees of interest. There are also important appendices and admirably complete indices. The documents thus edited for the first time are undoubtedly of great value as regards our judgment of Luther himself, his many-sided genius, his gifts as an academic teacher, his relations to his students, and his ways of dealing with questions of acute public interest. They also contain many things which have an important bearing on the Reformation movement and its developments. The utmost care and pains have been expended on the production of the book. An addition has been made by it to the materials for our knowledge of Luther and his times, for which the laborious editor deserves the heartiest thanks.

We are glad to receive the third edition of Professor A. Sabatier's *St Paul*.² The book no longer needs any introduction to English readers. It has become almost as well known and valued on this side of the English Channel as on the other. It is a book full of fine and suggestive thoughts. It is not likely to carry the suffrages of all students of St Paul in the view it takes of the development of his ideas, or in all the points of its construction of his theology, but it cannot be read without impressing itself on the reader. In this revised and enlarged edition it will have a still wider acceptance.

We have received the tenth volume of Pastor Hermann Couard's *Commentary on the New Testament*, as also a second and improved edition of the first part of the same. The former includes the Epistles of Peter, Jude, and John,³ the latter the Gospel according to

¹ Disputationen Dr Martin Luthers in d. J. 1535-1545, an der Universität Wittenberg gehalten. Zum ersten Male herausgegeben von Paul Drews, a. o. Professor in Jena. 2. Hälfte. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vi. 347-999. Price, M.23.

² L'Apôtre Paul. Esquisse d'une Histoire de sa Pensée. Paris: Fischbacher, 1896. 8vo, pp. xxix. 424.

³ Das Neue Testament forschenden Bibellesern durch Umschreibung und Erläuterung erklärt. Potsdam: Stein. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 176. Price, 1s. 9d.

Matthew.¹ The Commentary is meant for the general reader as well as for the Greek student. Its plan is to give a paraphrase of each section, and to follow this by a paragraph of explanatory remarks. These two volumes show that the plan is carried out with a proper regard to the two great ends of understanding and edification.

Professor John S. Banks, of Headingley College, contributes a volume to the *Books for Bible Students* series on *Scripture and its Witnesses*.² He proposes to answer these two questions: Why do we believe in the genuineness of the Scriptures? and Why do we believe their divine origin and authority? The first section deals with the first of these two questions, the old Testament and the New being handled separately. The second section, which is by much the largest, takes up the second question, and sets forth the argument as derived from a series of witnesses—that of Scripture to itself, that of Prophecy, that of Christ's life and character, those of history, miracle, Christ's resurrection, and personal experience. The last section grapples with the question of the Inspiration of Scripture. There are some excellent remarks at the outset, which have the spirit of Butler's teaching, on the nature of the evidence and the degree of the certainty which we are entitled to expect. The attitude of writers like Kaftan and Herrmann to Scripture, and consequently to Christian doctrine, is entirely alien to Professor Banks, and is subjected to a criticism which at times goes rather beyond the mark. The "attempt to set up the teaching of Christ in the Gospels as the sole binding authority for Christians" is characterised as "the newest fashion in rationalistic interpretation." This is one of those overdone statements which meet us occasionally in the volume. Apart from that, however, there are some instructive criticisms of the distinction made between the teaching of Christ and that of the Apostles, especially as it is put by Wendt, and favoured by Dr Horton. The best part of the book is the statement of the argument for the Divine origin and authority of Scripture. At most points of the argument this statement is given in a clear and cogent way, free of weakening exaggerations. As a succinct and careful summary of the usual lines of Christian evidence, the volume should commend itself to many readers.

Thoughts on the Spiritual Life by Jacob Behmen³ is a small book, admirable in its printing, attractive in its form, rich in its contents, which ought to be sure of a good reception. The translator has done her part with excellent taste. She will have the thanks of many devout readers for putting them in possession of this admirable

¹ 8vo., pp. xvi. 247. Price, 3s.

² London: C. H. Kelly. Small Cr. 8vo, pp. 221. Price, 2s. 6d.

³ Translated from the German by Charlotte Ada Rainy. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 87. Price, 1s. 3d.

selection of those deep thoughts of the great mystic which are good for edification.

Professor Charles Foster Kent of Brown University writes on *The Wise Men of Ancient Israel and their Proverbs*.¹ The book is divided into three parts, in the first of which we have a series of instructive studies on the Hebrew wise men, the different types of the Wisdom literature, Proverbs in general, and the Hebrew Book of Proverbs in particular. The second part expounds the teaching of the Proverbs on man, his duties and the rewards of conduct, and on God, sin, sacrifice, prayer, the future life, and Sheol. A special chapter is devoted to the *Numerical Enigmas* propounded in the book. The third part contains a series of Supplementary Studies on the Social Teachings of the Book, and the use made of it by our Lord Himself. The volume is an able and useful one. It shows a competent acquaintance with the best recent scholarship on the subject. The important contributions made to our knowledge of the character and worth of the Hebrew sages by Professor A. B. Davidson and Canon Cheyne receive due acknowledgement. The author himself gives a very modest estimate of his book. It is worth all that he claims for it, and more.

President M'Garvey, of the College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky, writes on *Jesus and Jonah*.² The book gives first a statement on a recent Symposium in the *Biblical World* on our Lord's words respecting Jonah. This is followed by a review of the critical theory of the origin and character of the Book of Jonah. Professor Driver's account of the book is taken as the fairest representation of that theory, and is subjected to a criticism which does not penetrate far, although it is always respectful. The remaining sections deal with the question whether the story of Jonah is incredible, and with the import of Christ's declaration that the Son of Man should be "three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." The book is a strong defence of the literal, historical character of the story of Jonah in all its parts. In attempting to make this good, however, the author takes it too easily to be the case that we have the "solemn assertion" of our Lord Himself that the "leading incidents are real transactions."

The seventh volume of the *Expository Times*³ is quite equal to any of its predecessors. Clergymen of all kinds and of every possible theological leaning or ecclesiastical liking will find something to suit them in its large and varied contents. Its list of

¹ New York, Boston, Chicago: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1895. Cr. 8vo, pp. 207.

² Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 72.

³ Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. viii. 568. Price, 7s. 6d.

contributors includes writers of many different schools and churches, among whom are not a few of acknowledged eminence in their respective departments. The editor's own work, especially in the running paragraphs with which each number opens, is of the best quality.

The *Expositor*¹ has now come to the third volume of its fifth series. It has had a long and useful career, and it shows no signs of a diminution of its vigour. The present volume will stand comparison with any previous volume in the quality of the papers. There are several series of articles, those by Professor A. B. Bruce, Dr Dale, Dr Denney, Professor W. M. Ramsay and Professor Sanday, which have been followed with interest from month to month. There are also single papers of great value, among which Professor Kirkpatrick's on *The Septuagint Version: its bearing on the Text and Interpretation of the Old Testament*, and Professor Cheyne's on *A Forgotten Kingdom in a Prophecy of Balaam*, deserve special mention. There is little in the volume that one reads but once and is done with. There is much that will induce one to consult it again and again.

Missarum Sacrificia is the title given to a collection of "Testimonies of English Divines in respect of the Claim of the 'Massing-Priests' to offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or guilt."² The purpose of the book is declared to be "to show the contrast between the tradition of the English Reformed Church and the doctrine which is unhappily being loudly proclaimed by some in her name." The catena of "Testimonies" begins with the declarations of Tyndal, Geste, Cranmer, Ridley, Hutchinson and Hooper, and closes with those of Law, Secker, Warburton, Tomline, and Cleaver. It is preceded by a long Introduction and a Supplemental Postscript. It is followed by three interesting appendices on the "Publication of Ælfric's Homily by Archbishop Parker," the "Two distinct senses of the verb 'to offer,'" and the "Mass-doctrine of Salmeron." The book professes to be no more than a compilation. It furnishes a notable series of passages on the Protestant doctrine of the Eucharist.

The twelfth volume of the *Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellschriften* consists of a collection of Canons of ancient Church Councils.³ These are preceded by

¹ Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price, 7s. 6d.

² With an Introduction by the Rev. W. Dimock, A.M. London: Elliot Stock, 1896. 8vo, pp. 246.

³ Die Kanones der wichtigsten altkirchlichen Concilien nebst den Apostolischen Kanones. Herausgegeben von Lic. Dr Friedrich Lauchert, Professor am altkath. theol. Seminar in Bonn. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. xxx. 228. Price, M.3.50.

the Apostolic Canons, of which a brief account is also given in the Introduction. The Councils represented are those of Elvira 306, Arles 314, Ancyra 314, Neocaesarea, Nicaea 325, Antiochia 341, Sardica 343 or 344, Laodicea, Gangra, Constantinople 381, Ephesus 431, Chalcedon 451, Quinisextum 692 and Nicaea 787; together with three African (Carthage I., c. 345-348, Carthage II., c. 387-390, Carthage III., 397), two Spanish (Saragossa 380, Toledo 400), and three Gallican Councils (Valence 374, Nîmes 394, Turin 401). The Introduction furnishes brief but careful notices of the Councils themselves, the different editions of the Canons, and the most important literature on the subject. The various readings in the texts of the Canons are also carefully indicated in an Appendix. The whole is provided with an excellent index, which makes the book a most useful one.

Second editions have been called for, we are glad to see, of Professor Krüger's *Apologies of Justin Martyr*¹; Professor Achelis's *Practical Theology*,² this being also an enlarged and improved issue; and Professor Lobstein's Christological Study on the *Doctrine of Christ's Supernatural Birth*.³ The first edition of this last was published in French in Paris in 1890. The present issue in German is much more than a simple reproduction of the French edition. Much new matter has been worked into it, due to the criticisms to which the essay has been subjected and to the discussions which have been proceeding in connection with the problems of the Apostle's Creed. The plan of the work is to examine the traditional doctrine first from the exegetical standpoint, and in respect of its historical origin, and then from the dogmatic point of view, and in the light of its religious significance. The writer concludes that the traditional dogma must be given up; that the narratives of Matthew and Luke must be taken as the creations of the faith of the Church; but that, while this is so, we can hold with the greater certainty by John's report of Christ's declaration regarding Himself as "from above" and "not of this world."

The Rev. J. N. Ogilvie, M.A., Bangalore, writes on *The Presbyterian Churches, their Place and Power in Modern Christendom*.

¹ Die Apologien Justins des Märtyrers. (Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Literatur.) Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. vii. 87. Price, M.1.50.

² Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften. Fünfte Abtheilung. Praktische Theologie. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xiv. 299. Price, M.6.

³ Die Lehre von der übernatürlichen Geburt Christi. Zweite stark vermehrte Auflage. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 65. Price, M.1.50.

The volume appears in two forms, in the smaller *Guild Text-Book*¹ edition, and in the larger issue of the *Guild Library*.² It begins with a chapter on the Restoration of Presbyterianism, in which Calvin's work obtains due appreciation. It next gives interesting sketches of the Presbyterian Church in France, the Netherlands, and other parts of the Continent of Europe. From this it proceeds to the history of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, Ireland, England and Wales, the United States, Canada, and the Southern Hemisphere. Under the title of the "Catholic Presbyterian Church," the closing chapter gives a succinct view of the Church's catholicity of range, numerical strength, services in the past, fitness for the present, and prospects for the future. The work is well done. The book supplies a mass of information, and presents an imposing view of the magnitude of the Presbyterian Communion. It is written, however, with a too obvious, though natural, bias in favour of the particular branch of the Presbyterian Church to which the author belongs; with an equally obvious leaning to State Churches generally, which form, however, but a small part of the vast Presbyterian connection; and with a very imperfect appreciation of the position of those who do not hold with the writer on the question of Establishment. This betrays him at times into some unfairness, and introduces a controversial leaven of which the book had better been free.

We notice a second edition of a tasteful little volume by Professor Lucien Gautier of Lausanne, admirably printed and illustrated, in which, under the title of *Au dela du Jourdain*,³ he gives Notes of a Journey made in March 1894; a second edition also of *Ros Rosarum ex Horto Poetarum*,⁴ a dainty and delightful volume dedicated to Lady Eastlake, in which the compiler, E. V. B., gives the choicest things which have been said of the rose in Scripture, in the Apocrypha, and by the poets of many climes and ages; a volume by Louis H. Victory on *The Higher Teaching of Shakespeare*,⁵ the criticism of which, though good things are not wanting in it, is marked too often by a perverted ingenuity, and dominated by the mistaken idea that each drama was "indestructibly erected" on some "consistent moral and psychological basis"; a series of practical discourses by the Rev. William Middleton on *God in Human Life*, published under the title of *Alpha and Omega*;⁶

¹ Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark; London: A. & C. Black, 1896. Pp. 154. Price, 6d. net.

² Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark; London: A. & C. Black, 1896. Cr. 8vo. pp. x. 198. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

³ Genève: Eggimann & Cie; Paris: Fischbacher; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 141.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock. 12mo, pp. 292. Price, 6s.

⁵ London: Elliot Stock. Small cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 190. Price, 5s.

⁶ London: C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 138. Price, 1s. 6d.

a volume of *Sermons*¹ by the Bishop of Newport, most of them on subjects of general Christian interest, the *Obedience of Faith*, the *Place of Church Praise and Worship*, and the like—many of them of a high order both in thought and in practical power, and such as any Christian may read with profit; a fourth edition of Mr George Washington Moon's *Elijah the Prophet and other Sacred Poems*,² in which the original epic is presented in a carefully revised form, and some new pieces are added, including *Eden the Garden of God* (a poem in blank verse) and detached sacred poems on various subjects; Mr F. F. Belsey's *The Bible and the Blackboard*—a series of attractive lessons for eye and ear;³ Dr A. F. Schauffler's *Ways of Working*,⁴ a series of useful suggestions for Sunday School teachers and others; a *Book of Beginnings*,⁵ being an attempt to show how the narratives in the book of Genesis may be taught the young when they are taken simply as men's thoughts about God.

We have the pleasure of welcoming the *Annales de Bibliographie Théologique*,⁶ which appears in the name of an editorial committee consisting of MM. R. Allier, G. Chastand, E. Ehrhardt, E. de Faye, Ad. Lods, E. Ménégoz, Jean Monnier, Frank Puaux, Jean Réville, A. Sabatier. The June number contains brief but careful and informing articles by Professor Ménégoz on Koehler's *Jesus und das Alte Testament* and Jean Meinhold's book on the same subject; by Professor S. Berger on two historical treatises by M. J. Viénot; by M. Eugène de Faye on the new edition of Sabatier's *L'Apôtre Paul*; by M. E. Combe on Reville's *Les Origines de l'Épiscopat*, and others.

The *Revue biblique internationale*⁷ also deserves a word of greeting. This able Quarterly has reached its fifth year. The second part is now to hand. Besides smaller papers which will be read with interest, it contains several articles of peculiar value. Among these we have one by Mgr. de Harlez on the Bible and the Avesta; a second by M. Loisy, whose name should be better known to English scholars than it is, on the Synoptical Apocalypse (Mark xiii.;

¹ The Christian Inheritance. Set forth in Sermons by the Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, O.S.B. London: Burns & Oates. Cr. 8vo, pp. 430. Price, 6s.

² London: Longmans. 16mo, pp. 262. Price, 2s. 6d.

³ London: The Sunday School Union. Post 8vo, pp. 128. Price, 1s. 6d.

⁴ London: The Sunday School Union. Post 8vo, pp. 138. Price, 1s. 6d.

⁵ London: The Sunday School Association. Pp. 133. Price, 2s. net.

⁶ Recueil mensuel—nouvelle series. Paris: Fischbacher. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Un numero, 50 cent.

⁷ Publiée sous la direction des Professeurs de l'École pratique de l'Études bibliques établie au couvent dominicain Saint-Étienne de Jerusalem. Paris: Lecoffre; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate; abonnement pour l'année, pour la France, F.12, pour l'Étranger, F.14.

Matthew xxiv.-xxv.; Luke xxi. 5-38); and others by R. P. Lagrange on the question of Inspiration, the Baron Carra de Vaux on the Epistle to the Laodiceans, and M. Vigouroux on the Priests of Baal.

We have also to notice the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*.¹ The third number of this new Review has come to hand. It contains an article by P. Pisani on Les Chrétiens de rite oriental à Venise et dans les possessions vénitiennes (1439-1791); Notes by Alfred Loisy on the Book of Genesis; a paper by L. Duchesne on Le temps de Charlemagne; and a readable *Bibliographie Scripturaire*, which gives a careful survey of a number of publications on Old and New Testament subjects.

The Bampton Lectures for 1895 are now in the hands of the public. The lecturer, the Rev. Thomas B. Strong, M.A., Student of Christ Church, has a noble and seasonable theme in *Christian Ethics*.² His object is to show that the Christian theory of moral life is an entirely new view of life based upon a new experience of facts. In other words, it is to bring out the connection of the Christian doctrines of the Incarnation with the Christian view of life. In working out this great theme he examines the Greek and Jewish ideas of life, Christ's ideal, the theological virtues, the cardinal virtues, the ethical meaning of sin, the growth of moral theory in the Church, the relation of morality to reason, the division between creed and life, which he supposes to have taken place since the Reformation, and other subjects. But of this more hereafter.

Record of Select Literature.

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